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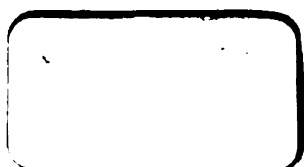
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#### ERRATA.

P. 124, l. 19, *for* "resting" *read* "resting place." L. 49, *for* "subjects" *read* "question." P. 125, l. 32, *for* "the Ysowilpe" *read* "the figure of Ysowilpe." P. 131, l. 17, *for* "would" *read* "could." P. 164, l. 31, *for* "conjugi" *read* "conjuges." P. 383, *for* "Bradley Priory Church, Lincolnshire" *read* "Bradley Priory Church, Leicestershire." P. 383, *for* "Brykley" *read* "Byrkley." P. 385, *for* "Kitchen of the steeper" *read* "Kitchen of the steeple." P. 391, *for* "Hardham, to S. Botolph" *read* "Hardham, of S. Botolph." P. 398, *for* "of Huntingdon, found" *read* "of Huntingdon, founded." P. 400, *for* "in loco quo dicitur" *read* "in loco qui dicitur." Page 412, *for* "Wigmore Abbey Church, Hertfordshire" *read* "Wigmore Abbey Church, Herefordshire."

## The Archaeological Journal.

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MARCH, 1885.

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### OPENING ADDRESS TO THE SECTION OF ARCHITECTURE AT THE NEWCASTLE MEETING.<sup>1</sup>

By REV. CANON RAINE.

In offering some preliminary remarks upon the great theme of Architecture, I shall try to avoid discursiveness, and endeavour to give a few descriptive hints and suggestions which wayfarers, such as we are, may find of some little use, as we inspect some of the chief objects of architectural interest which Northumberland can still exhibit. In that great county I must always feel an hereditary interest. It is out of the domain of history that I look upon the handiwork of ancient builders. The dates which the historian discovers are the framework upon which the whole system of architectural science is laid down. It is history, likewise, which reproduces men and manners, feats of arms, and the achievements of the gentle life, without which stones are mere stones, and wood and water, the forest and the moor, lose half their charm. And there is added to history in Northumberland the poetry of legend and tradition which invests tower and stream in this wide district with its own inimitable grace.

Domestic architecture in Northumberland from the very earliest times was the architecture of defence, as was the case, although to a less extent, upon the borders of Wales. The Roman wall—which I shall leave to its modern Hadrian, Dr. Bruce—the Roman wall, and the Roman fortified towns which guarded, or were strengthened by it,

<sup>1</sup> Delivered at Newcastle, August 6th, 1884.

all tell the same tale. The Picts and Scots who broke at times through that great barrier, or angled over it with their grappling hooks for the unwary legionary, were not a whit more restless and uncivilized than the rievers and moss-troopers who, in an after day, came down through the gaps in the hills into Redesdale or Tynedale, or carried terror and ruin into Norhamshire and Islandshire. And these marauders were in no degree worse than many of Northumbrians whom they plundered. Robbing and being robbed, century after century, produced a race of reckless, daring men whom no law could curb, and it was only after the accession of James of Scotland to the English throne that there was any sensible diminution in the long list of deeds of rapine and bloodshed on the Borders. In 1522 the Bishop of Carlisle, writing to Wolsey, says boldly : " There is more theft, more extortion by English thieves than by all the Scots in Scotland. No one, who is not in a stronghold, can keep any cattle or goods." This shows the absolute necessity for the towers and fortified houses with which Northumberland used to be filled. In that most able and valuable State-paper, the Survey of the Borders, drawn up by Sir John Forster in 1542, there is a complete picture of the materials for protection and defence which the county possessed. In Redesdale and Tynedale these towers and houses were often perched upon rocks, which a goat could scarcely climb ; they were difficult of access also by reason of half-concealed roads, and made stronger still by hiding places and caves in the woods and hills. Their owners had a system of signals by which they could concentrate upon any point with an almost incredible speed, whilst there was everything to bewilder and entangle any daring foe who endeavoured to approach. In middle and northern Northumberland these towers were not secluded, but generally stood in the centre of some village or hamlet which clustered around them for protection. The dwellings of the poorer sort were usually of post and pan work covered with thatch, or mud sheelings still more miserable and rude. The tower was here and there called a peel or bastille, whilst you might see often a smaller building with a fortified enclosure around it, called a barmkin, into which the cattle were driven for protection whenever a scry, as it was named, was raised. In 1468

there were seventy-eight towers in the county, and in Sir John Forster's time there would probably be more, although many of them were in decay. Here and there the parsonage houses were places of defence, nay, the towers of the churches were used occasionally for the same purpose. Whenever the Scots were near, the cleric fled to his church, and, drawing up his ladder after him, shut down the trap-door and laughed at the foe who did not dare to stay long enough to burn him out. More potent than all these places in defence were the castles, which in 1468 reached the large number of thirty-seven. They were intended, not to ward off contending clansmen, but to be places of safety amid opposing armies. Berwick, Norham, Ford, and Wark guarded the lines of the Tweed and Till. On Berwick, Norham, and Newcastle the utmost skill of engineers and masons seems to have been exerted from Norman times throughout the middle-ages. In the mid-country there were Morpeth, Bothal, Mitford, Alnwick, Warkworth, and Dunstanborough. Alnwick, ever since it was built, has been the residence of the greatest family in the county and itself the greatest house. But I must not pass over Bambrough, with its glorious associations, the home of Saxon king and Norman baron, the screen which for many a long year sheltered the flickering beacon-light of religion upon the Holy Isle, and still happily consecrated by the superadded beneficence of a later age to the very highest purposes of true Christian philanthropy.

Thus far the architecture of Northumberland is that of war alone ; and from the very earliest times to the beginning of the seventeenth century we have the record of local feuds and national strife, resulting frequently in bloodshed, and generating at all times hatred and alarm. Had religion no controlling power over the borderers ? Not much, I fear, when we are told that the thieves were good church-goers, and that they were never more intent upon their devotions than on the eve of some great plundering foray or raid. The chapel of Bellingham was the great place of resort in upper Tynedale ; the inhabitants held their public meetings and worshipped in it, after their fashion. When Wolsey put the churches in that district under an interdict, the clansmen, keenly sensitive about their spiritual welfare, employed a Scottish

friar to minister to them the Sacraments. Nor did the Reformation make any difference, at least not for a considerable time. At Tughill, near Bambrough, in 1599 and 1600, three men, two of them bearing the ubiquitous name of Forster, were proceeded against in the Ecclesiastical court. One had struck the minister on the head with his dagger; another had fired a pistol among the congregation as it was leaving the chapel; and the third had deliberately ridden into the chapel on horseback whilst the service was going on. Such examples may be multiplied, but sufficient evidence has been given to show that whilst men did not know the difference between *meum* and *tuum*, and right and wrong, religious progress was impossible. We must not imagine, however, that vast religious efforts were not made from the very earliest times. Putting aside the remains of British Christianity, of which Eddi speaks, I am inclined to think that the evangelization of Northumberland, in its present boundaries, was attempted by missionaries from Glasgow and Iona long before the work of Paulinus and the mission of Aidan. The first effort to reach it from the south was that of Paulinus from York, between 627 and 633. The first permanent settlement in it from Iona was effected in 635, when the work of Paulinus had failed. Then Aidan, with his little band of followers, made himself a home at Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, under the shelter of the royal castle of Bambrough, from whence he could penetrate the mainland in every direction, and where he and his friends could lead, if they chose, their old ascetic lives in a place which was as wild almost as their old home at Iona. Tiningham, Coldingham, and Melrose became centres whence missionaries could go out to evangelize the Lothians. From Lindisfarne Aidan and his successors spread the Gospel in Northumberland. The work for a long time was mission work. The churches would be mainly baptisteries on the banks of rivers and streams. And as there was at that time no bishop at York, the Lindisfarne influence and teaching spread across the Tyne and Tees into Deira, or Yorkshire, itself, until it became practically coextensive with the kingdom of Northumbria. And at the same time that the first stone church between the Tees and the Firth of Forth was being raised at

Lindisfarne, the pious care of Oswald, Aidan's patron in the north, was completing the first stone-built temple in Deira which Edwin had begun at York. After the year 664 the Lindisfarne prelates ruled no more in Yorkshire, and a new missionary effort on a grand scale was made from York upon the Tyne and Wear. The leaders of this movement were Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop, who, among other innovations, introduced Italian and French architecture and workmen into the north. The architecture of Lindisfarne was derived, through Iona, from Ireland. In this way a double influence (in addition to that from Cumbria or Glasgow) was brought to bear upon the architectural progress of Northumberland, and to show the fame of the workmanship on the Tyne and Wear, we have a notice in Bede, of Naitan, king of the Picts in the far north, sending thither for instructors in masonry and sculpture. We might expect to find, therefore, in Northumberland, or rather, in the kingdom of Northumbria, which covers a much wider area than the single county, a composite style of sculpture and architecture, peculiar to itself. And that this is the case, I must refer my hearers to the numerous specimens in the district of interlacing or basket work, as it has been called, of a most interesting kind. In many localities there are few churches in the walls of which such carvings have not been found, and in not a few churches there are remains of Saxon masonry as well. We have no Domesday book in the north to show what churches were then in existence, but I think that investigation, where documentary evidence fails us, will sooner or later show that wherever there was a parish church in the counties of Durham and Northumberland a century ago, there was a parish church on the same site in pre-Norman times. I may mention, with no small satisfaction, that there is every probability of these early sculptured remains being perpetuated by the graver's art at the cost of the University of Cambridge. This is a just tribute of respect to the country of Bede and Cuthbert. From Bede came the idea of the great school or university of York, the mother of the universities of Europe. And from Northumbria came the Christianity of every kingdom in the Heptarchy excepting Kent, the Christianity too of Sweden and North Germany. The architectural remains

of Saxon Northumbria, therefore, have an interest which we cannot estimate or measure. I trust most heartily that before this meeting closes some message of gratitude and promise of help may go forth to Cambridge, possessing, as that University already does, a thousand claims to the sympathy and respect of the old kingdom of Northumbria.

It is at Hexham that you will find the most interesting remains in the county of Anglo-Saxon work, and you may mark the influence of the place in the churches in the neighbourhood, beginning with Ovingham. At Holy Island and Farne, still more sacred ground, there is little of that date; there is next to nothing also at Tynemouth; later building has obliterated or concealed it; but at Whittingham, Edlingham, Bolam, Whalton, Long Houghton, and other churches, you will find Saxon towers or masonry, whilst the interlacing sculpture meets your eye in many of the churches and churchyards.

The Norman era found the bishopric of Lindisfarne and Chester transferred to Durham, which renovated Jarrow and Wearmouth and rebuilt Lindisfarne, all of which the Danes had ruined. You may trace, also, the influence of Durham at this time in many churches in north Northumberland—nay, you may see the massive columnar work of Durham at Kirkby Lonsdale, at Cartmel, and in the crypt of York itself. St. Albans also established itself upon the cliff at Tynemouth, and acquired the churches of Eglingham and Hartburn, in the latter of which you may observe the Tynemouth influence. Newminster also sprang up on the Wansbeck in the twelfth century to plead for the Cistercians, but it had little or no effect upon the architecture of the county. A single arch is all that remains of the abbey itself. Hexham in post-Norman times was under the control of York. But the monastic system did not prosper in the county. It was too disturbed and unsettled, and it was very difficult for the monks to get their rents paid. The little religious houses at Carham, Lambley, and Holystone were almost eaten up by the Scots, whilst Holy Island and Farne were always suffering and nearly always in debt. Hexham was on several occasions reduced to the very verge of ruin, and was only rescued from it by the well-paid up rents of its Yorkshire estates, on which it

could always depend. Brinkburn was only a small place, and the religious houses at Alnwick clung for protection to the castle. Still, in spite of this turmoil and poverty, you may see at Tynemouth, Brinkburn, and Hexham fabrics of twelfth and thirteenth century work of remarkable beauty; and throughout the county, here and there, are choice specimens of mediæval architecture of various periods, often grievously mutilated, but showing that, if circumstances only had been different, the genius was there, and the readiness to evoke it as well. But what was it possible to do when the country was for centuries almost in a state of siege, and nothing, even of the most sacred kind, was secure? The Scottish inroads between 1290 and 1330 were of the most dreadful kind, and church after church was practically destroyed with the exception of the bare walls. There are, indeed, some very fine churches in the county, such as Norham, Bambrough, Alnwick, Morpeth, Mitford, Warkworth, St. Nicholas in this city, and a few others, but these owe their preservation in each case only to the happy proximity of a castle, or fort, to which a wide berth was generally given. The Scots themselves built at one time, as if in cruel mockery, just across the Tweed, a church called Ladykirk, which could not be destroyed as there was not an inch of wood in it. A happy contrast this to the battered fabrics on the other side of the river. Battered indeed they were at most times, but, if possible, they suffered more from ill-usage and neglect in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than they did before, especially in middle and north Northumberland. The greater part of the ancient chapels were then disused and became ruined, whilst the fabric of the parish churches themselves was cruelly neglected, as every one strove to discard any obligation to repair it. The most necessary and simple appliances of worship were frequently wanting. The little chapel of Hebborn originated a proverb by its condition, "It's no a byword, like Hebborn kirk," and no wonder, as an archdeacon reported of it, that he found it held together by thirteen props of wood. But, speaking of archdeacons, let me say that many churches which had withstood the onsets of the Scots fell in the middle of the last century before the charge of an arch-



deacon. It will scarcely be believed that this dignitary, who was in all other respects a most estimable person, actually desired the incumbents and churchwardens, for use as well as for ornament, to take the mullions out of the church windows and put in sashes instead, and that in many instances his directions were carried out.

And now let us contrast the condition in the last century with that of the present day. There has certainly been a most remarkable change. In the archdeaconry of Lindisfarne nearly every church has been either rebuilt or restored within the last thirty years, not always wisely or well, but still assuredly not in the spirit of that Northumbrian vicar, whom I could name, who chiselled away a whole corbel-table formed of grotesque heads, as he thought his congregation looked too much at *them* when they ought to have been looking at *him*. In the archdeaconry of Northumberland there has been less done, but still a great deal. I am unwilling to criticize. I remember an old friend of mine making the caustic remark that medieval architects erected buildings which we are unable to restore. I do not agree with this, but I do think that in far too many cases ancient remains have not been sufficiently respected, and that modern architects have often entirely overlooked the feeling and character of the architecture of the district in the work which they carry out. Every county, nay, various parts of each county have architectural features peculiar to themselves, with which an architect ought at least to make himself acquainted. There is an unhappy phrase in vogue describing the renovation of a church. "It has undergone restoration."—It used to be "It has been beautified."—Now it is worse still "It has undergone restoration." Poor church, I often think, what pangs it must have suffered. The stones must surely have been crying out. Now I am not one of those who would retain even discomfort and decay, and keep their churches empty, rather than improve and preserve them. By all means make your church as fit as you can for the claims it has to meet, but do value the past a little more than has been the custom. The most dangerous person of all is he who loves uniformity of style, and in his fabric would reduce all styles to one. That man

sacrifices the historical story of his church to a very foolish caprice. Generally speaking, church restorers have far too much latitude and freedom of action allowed to them. Now will you permit me, in conclusion, to make two or three practical suggestions.

1.—Let every bishop have the advice of an architectural expert, or experts, before any structural changes are made in any church. The wanton mischief that has been done in the absence of such a rule as this is lamentably great. I could give many instances. Take two. Twice have I known the rebuilding of particular parts of churches urged and adopted on the plea that they were tumbling down. In each case, instead of tumbling down, they obstinately refused to fall or be moved. Were they allowed to stand, as they were perfectly able to do? No; in each case the architect vindicated the correctness of his ecclesiastical diagnosis by blowing the part up with gunpowder!

2.—Whenever the fabric of a church is touched, let careful drawings and exact plans of the parts altered be first officially made and deposited in the Diocesan registry.

3.—Let greater attention be paid to monuments and inscriptions. They are being destroyed now-a-days by hundreds and by thousands. I would simply remark that the legal value of these inscriptions is second only to that of a parish register, nay, in many instances they are far more useful—and that it is illegal to destroy them.

To me it is most objectionable to see the monuments on a chancel floor sacrificed to an array of encaustic tiles, which in tone, colour, and comfort are infinitely inferior to the old gray or blue stones. Time was when such tiles were rarely seen out of a church, now you find them better laid and better cleaned in the passage of every second-rate hotel. Surely it makes the church itself more solemn to see that under your feet are lying the dead of former generations. Are their memorials to follow in the wake of far too many memorials in this shifting age, and perish with them? It is impossible, of course, I know that, to avoid the moving of such monuments occasionally, and if you spare them, time will not. I earnestly recommend that in all possible cases a full copy of the inscrip-

tions in a church and churchyard be taken by the minister, and that the copy be deposited in the parish chest. If such a record be made, decay is obviated, and removal is robbed of much of its mischief. I am glad to say that this suggestion of mine has been already adopted in some cases, and I cannot see why it should not be very advantageously carried out in many more.

NOTICES OF THE LATEST DISCOVERIES MADE IN UNCOVERING THE ROMAN BATHS AT BATH, AND THOSE AT HERBORD, NEAR TO POITIERS.<sup>1</sup>

By REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH, M.A.

My last report was made to the Archaeological Institute at the Carlisle meeting in 1882. Since then further discoveries have been made at the Roman baths, and a description published by Major Davis, the city engineer, in the Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society, which gives an account of the discoveries down to the autumn of 1883.<sup>2</sup> The paper contains three plans:— Plate V. being a fac-simile of Dr. Sutherland's map, published in 1763; Plate VI. being a fac-simile of Dr. Spry's plan published in 1822, shewing discoveries to that date; and Plate VII. being a plan of the Roman baths as far as discovered to the date of April 19th, 1884. Further examinations are being carried on, and if sufficient money can be raised, the entire arrangement will be made out and planned to scale.

These three plans show the gradual progress of discovery. In my paper read at Carlisle I detailed the progress of these discoveries, referring to the sources of information, and the same has been done more fully by Major Davis in his paper above alluded to, read in Bath to the Gloucestershire Society.

A very correct and ingenious model of the large Roman bath, and the general plan of the Roman baths, as far as ascertained, was exhibited in the recent Health Exhibition. This no doubt was seen and examined by many members of the Institute. No pains or cost has been spared on this model, but there are extensive portions of the Roman buildings still hidden from sight, and a plan with an explanation will give a more perfect apprehension of the whole.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, November 6, 1884.

<sup>2</sup> (See vol. viii, p. 89).

<sup>3</sup> It is hoped that such a plan may be

completed in time to accompany this notice, or be added in a subsequent number of the Journal.

In my previous paper, I mentioned the use which had been made of the old Roman drain in conveying away the waste water from the spring, and also the discovery of the large Roman reservoir which has been cleaned out and utilized. This is immediately below the King's bath, at the back of the modern Pump Room.

This is also utilized, and now forms the reservoir for the waters of the mineral spring, and the baths and fountains are supplied from it with the hot water as it rises pure from the source. Thus both the Roman drain and the Roman reservoir are, after a lapse of fifteen centuries or more, restored to their ancient purposes.

The dimensions of this reservoir are 50 feet by 40 feet, and the form, as before stated, an irregular octagon. The masonry is formed of stones 6 feet 7 inches long, by 3 feet thick, and the lead which covered the tank or cistern is 30 lb. to the square foot.

The hot mineral spring yields 167 gallons per minute, at a temperature of 116° Fahrenheit.

The great central bath seems to have stood in a large hall, 111 feet 4 inches in length, by 68 feet 6 inches in width. The depth of the bath is about 6 feet 8 inches. The bottom of the bath measures 73 feet 2 inches by 29 feet 6 inches. The whole was lined with sheets of lead 10 feet by 5 feet, not soldered, but turned up at the edges and burned. Major Davis observes that "This well-secured bottom or floor appears to have been placed in position, rather to keep the hot waters from ascending into the bath from the springs beneath, than to make the bath watertight."

Six steps all round the bath lead into the water, and around the bath is a platform, on the sides of which are recesses for seats. These were for the bathers who were waiting, or for hanging up their dresses when in the bath. The steps into the bath are not covered with lead, and, according to Major Davis, it is doubtful if they ever were so.

At the bottom step in the N.W. corner was a bronze sluice. This is now preserved in the Pump Room at Bath. The weight is above 1 cwt. 2 qrs. An overflow was provided above the hatchway by a grating, 15 inches wide, which was probably also of bronze, but had been removed.

Many of the stones forming the steps leading into the bath are 10 feet long.

The large bath is supplied with water from the tank by means of a pipe which brings the water to the N.W. angle, from whence it has been made to spread out and form a small cascade, thus promoting the cooling of the water.

The length of the pipe which brought the water from the reservoir or tank was about 38 feet, but a large portion of the pipe had been removed. The pipe was laid in a channel formed in the floor of the space around the bath. The original Roman work had been cut through in later times, at the point where the pipe was connected with the tank.

In addition to the supply of mineral water, a supply of cold water was also provided for the bath, and conveyed in a leaden tubular pipe  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter; a length of 24 feet 6 inches has been exposed. The pipe is made with a roll along the top, and burnt so as to cause the ends of the metal to adhere,—there are two soldered joints at intervals of 9 feet. This pipe, which apparently brought the cold water, is made to pass through the body of a recumbent figure, now much mutilated, into a large trough, the position of which is indicated by the stonework being cut away to receive it.

For minute particulars I must refer to Mr. Davis' published account, who has bestowed much care in describing every thing concerning the structure and the direction of these pipes for conveying the supply of water. A portion of this large bath still remains covered by a building, which now forms the offices of the Poor Law Board. If this could be purchased and removed, as has been done with another house, which was the property of the Bath Corporation, the whole area of the large bath would be uncovered. The city architect has traced the walls of the south platform underneath this building, and they correspond to the portions laid open on the north side. On each side of the ambulatory, or platform surrounding the bath, are three recesses (*exedrae*), two semi-circular and one rectangular. The rectangular one measures 17 feet in width by 7 feet in depth, but variations exist in the semi-circular recesses,—the width of one being 17 feet long by 7 feet deep, another being 14 feet 3 inches long by 6 feet 9

inches in depth. Six piers, which supported the roof of the bath ambulatory, are still remaining in situ on each side, dividing each length into seven bays. They are built of solid freestone, but, according to the opinion of Major Davis, have undergone alteration. None of the piers or pilasters now standing are higher than six or seven feet. Some fragments of the capitals of the smaller pilasters have been found, but none as yet of the larger capitals,—only a few fragments of the cornices, and but one portion of the frieze, 2 feet 4 inches long by 1 foot 6 inches deep, on which are cut the letters S I L, six and a quarter inches long.

The platforms are supposed to have been arched, and the large bath spanned also by an arch.

The side arcades were constructed of brick-boxes, open at the ends, and formed in the shape of a wedge, 1 foot long, and nearly 5 inches thick,—the wedge being nearly 8 inches at the wider end. They were set in concrete. Large fragments of this roofing were found lying on the deposit which had partially filled the bath before the fall of the roof took place. It is impossible to say at what period the roofing was destroyed.

Although the ground plan of the large bath, and that of the smaller adjoining baths, has been clearly ascertained, together with the chambers adjoining the baths, yet the restoration of the original buildings is not an easy matter.

They are given conjecturally by Major Davis, who has been careful to seek for authority for his statements, in the portions of the buildings remaining, and the fragments of decoration discovered in the course of excavation, but before the buildings can be restored with certainty, much more remains to be discovered. The work has wonderfully progressed under his care, and much more may be expected, if funds can be raised for the purpose of still further examination below the streets and houses of the city.

From eighteen to twenty feet below the present surface lie a vast amount of Roman remains still undiscovered,—as for instance, two portions of a fine tessellated floor have lately been laid open in enlarging the airing ground of the Mineral Water Hospital. Some years since other pavements were found in the same locality, and a fine pavement is still preserved under the new wing of the Royal or Casualty

Hospital. These are all within the Roman city walls, and serve to shew the style of houses which must have stood within the Roman area.

Contemporaneously with the discovery and opening of the ancient Roman baths at Bath, a similar discovery and a complete exposure of an entire system of Roman baths, along with other Roman edifices, has taken place at Herbord, within a mile of the small town of Sanxay, eighteen miles from Poitiers. These have been carefully opened and planned and fully described by the French savan who made the discovery some years ago, and who has lately published a detailed account with a series of maps.<sup>1</sup>

Having myself visited these interesting remains two years ago, I can judge of the importance of the discovery and the light thrown by them upon the arrangement of Roman thermal and other baths.

The extent of ground covered by the buildings, their courts, and garden enclosures, is very large, amounting to many acres ( $7\frac{1}{2}$ ), and the buildings, also contiguous to the baths, which are supposed to be hotels or lodgings for the accommodation of visitors, are also very extensive. These have been carefully planned, so that within a bend of the little river Vonne, you have the plan of an ancient Roman provincial watering place, with its temples, baths, hotels, and theatre, all of which have been exposed to view.

The construction of the baths is not so large and imposing as those discovered at Bath, nor is there a thermal spring, such as rises below the great tank and flows into the great swimming baths at Aquæ Solis, but the water is brought by an aqueduct which serves for the supply of the temple as well as the baths.

Although the plan and arrangement of the baths at Herbord is different to those at Bath, yet there is a general correspondence, and by studying their arrangement you get an idea of how much remains yet to reward the explorations which are now being conducted under the modern city of Bath.

At Herbord you find :—

<sup>1</sup> See *Mémoire Archéologique sur les découvertes d'Herbord dites de Sanxay par*

*le père Camille de la Croix, S.J. (Niort Clouzot, 22, Rue des Halles).*



1. A large open space for a garden, having a passage or promenade round it, with a colonnade.
2. Then waiting rooms for slaves or attendants.
3. Then a large swimming bath, but inferior in size to that at Bath.
4. There are halls for receptions, and for various purposes connected with bathing.
5. There are several hypocausts or heating chambers, and passages with seats for convenience of bathers.
6. There are the remains of a fine portico, and also a subterranean passage leading from the central portions of the bath-building.

These arrangements are on the ground level, but the remains of a stair have been found leading to the upper portion of the building, where the arrangements seem to have been much the same.

The baths, with their adjuncts, appear to have undergone alteration at a late period, as is evident from a careful examination of the work. The waste water was carried off by a drain into the river, which still remains perfect.

The great hall appears to have been handsomely proportioned and highly ornamented, portions of architectural decorations having been found. The length was about seventy-five feet by forty-nine in width. This hall has semicircular recesses, about sixteen or seventeen feet in diameter, and a rectangular recess between them, as may be noted in the arrangement of the open passage round the great bath at Bath. They contained seats for rest or for conversation, and seem to have had circular vaultings, the ceilings being constructed of wood. The superficial area of the swimming bath was about or above 6,000 feet, that of the great bath at Bath about 7,500.

These discoveries have been already noticed in the *Archæological Journal*,<sup>1</sup> but have only recently been published by their original discoverer, the *Père de la Croix*, together with plans executed by himself. Up to the time of my visit, two years ago, only three Englishmen had visited the spot, but any who will make the journey will find an ample recompence for the little time and labour required, though some portions that had been excavated have of necessity been covered in.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. xi, p. 52.

## SWAN MARKS.<sup>1</sup>

By EDWARD PEACOCK, F.S.A.

Since my paper on Swan Marks was printed, I have had the good fortune to discover two documents relating to the practice of marking swans, which will not be uninteresting to some members of the Royal Archaeological Institute. They have been preserved among some Court Rolls accounts and other papers relating to the manor of Little Carlton, Lincolnshire, which have been kindly lent to me by E. W. C. Amcotts, Esq., of Hackthorn Hall.

The first document is a letter from which a line or two at the end and the signature has been severed. It is, of course, impossible to identify the writer; the hand is of the latter part of the sixteenth century, and as it is attached by a pin to the drawing on parchment which the writer refers to there is not much doubt that it was written in 1594. I copy it at length, premising that the family of Cooke were for several generations lords of the manor of Little Carlton. Though they do not seem to have entered their pedigree in the Heralds' Visitation books they certainly ranked among the lesser gentry of the shire.

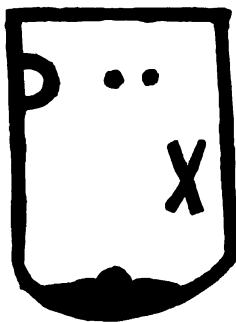
"Mr. Cooke, according to my fformer letter I haue of Sunday last Agreed w<sup>th</sup> the Quenes Swannerd and haue entered your name in his bookes vppon bothe yo<sup>r</sup> markes and paid him his fee for yo<sup>r</sup> entering vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> and Hyred you a deputy to Loke to yo<sup>r</sup> Swannes yearely, and you must pay him at michaelmesse next iij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> for his fee and for the time past he is contēdit at my Request to Take nothing for your Swañes marking. You haue this yeare but iiij yonge Swañes, ij at Tointon, ij at ffrisckney the  $\bar{\Lambda}$  and no birds of the crose, wch is matched wth M<sup>r</sup>. Wray at Peny stonnes house in Northe Somercots, very near you, in y<sup>e</sup> marshe, w<sup>ch</sup> is not amisse, if you gett a deputy there

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, Nov. 6, 1884.

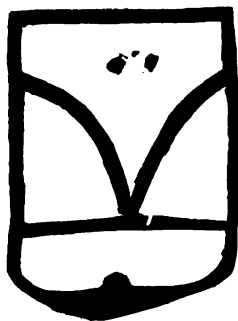
the better for y<sup>r</sup> Proffite. I send you yo<sup>r</sup> markes drawen in partchement to Remaine w<sup>th</sup> you for the iiij Swannes. they are. to be brought to me this weeke whearof John vncke saith he must haue ij the one for him self and the other for M<sup>r</sup>. Baconn, and the other ij I will ffede for you against Christenmesse. I haue said nothing to M<sup>r</sup> ffayrffax, let him tarry to an other time. serue yo<sup>r</sup> first promises. your Swannerd must haue for taking vpp your iiij Swannes. and bringing to my house ij<sup>s</sup>. I pray you comend me to your mother to whome. as you knowe I haue bene A Long."

This letter shews that in a district ruled by a single royal swanherd one man might possess two marks, if his swans were in different pools or rivers. The passage "the  $\bar{\lambda}$  and no birds of the crose" is obscure. As to the correctness of the reading there can be no question. I think it relates to swans of different kinds or ages.

The accompanying cuts are copied from an accurate tracing of the "markes drawen in partchement" which is pinned to the foregoing letter. I have seen many rolls of Swan-marks, but have never heard of the existence of any certificate of such marks except the one before me.



"Charles Cooke gent. his marke in the easte fenn this year 1594. Four yonge Swannes.



Charles Cooke gent. his marke in ye northe marshe at peñystones house in northe somercots."

The following memorandum is written at the bottom of the strip of parchment, it seems to refer to the second mark only—

“I haue entred this marke in my booke Jan. 30. 1651, and haue received my fee which is 0l. 6s. 8d.

Geo. Hill

Swannerd to ye Comonwealth.”

It may not be out of place to mention that a modernized copy of the orders relating to the Swans on the river Witham was printed by the late Mr. Pishey Thompson in his *History of Boston*, 1856, p. 676. That industrious compiler does not, as far as I can see, inform his readers where the original which he rendered into modern English was to be found.

My friend the Rev. A. R. Maddison, who is working among the wills at Lincoln, tells me that in the will of John Copledike of Harrington, co. Lincoln, dated 23 June 1582, we have a bequest of all his household goods “seelings and glass plate armour swan marks and swans” to his brother Francis Copledike.

It is very interesting to find a swan mark left by will.

He also leaves his cousin Edward Billesby his hawk called “Clouds.”

# ON THE MINING OPERATIONS OF THE ANCIENT ROMANS, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BLAST FURNACES.<sup>1</sup>

By the REV. JOSEPH HIRST.

As the Romans gradually extended their conquest over the world, they became more and more aware of the immense increase to their wealth that might be derived from skilfully conducted mining operations. Indeed the desire to obtain possession of such countries as yielded most abundantly the various metals that were required for objects of use or luxury seems to have led them to push their conquests in certain specified directions rather than in others.<sup>2</sup>

Spain, a country of gold and silver mines, has been called the Indies of the Old World. As, then, Tyre and Carthage had sent Phœnician colonists to establish their factories all along the coast of Africa as far as the Atlantic, who, having crossed over into Europe, settled along the far-stretching shores of Spain, and according to an ancient tradition, pushed their trading outposts as far as the British Isles ; so the Romans poured into Spain and reaped there the benefit of their discoveries, and of the labours of those who had been before them in the field.<sup>3</sup> Tunnelings of a Phœnician origin may still be seen in that country, and there the Romans found mines of gold, silver, lead, copper, tin, mercury, iron, sulphur, and salt.

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Meeting of the Institute at Newcastle, August 6, 1884.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus, in his *Germania*, notes the absence of metals amongst the rude inhabitants of the north, but in the *Restitution of Decayed intelligence by the studie and travel of R. Verstegan*, that ingenious author was able to say of his beloved Germania, "The mynes whereof Tacitus seemed doubtfull, do deliver gold,

silver, copper, and other metallis ; yea the rivers do yeeld gold in the sand on their shore sides." (London 1628, p. 5.)

<sup>3</sup> Camden thought the Iberi, so-called, according to the Hebrew derivation, because they were miners. (Brit. xxxvi.) In earlier times Semiramis had employed prisoners of war to work in subterranean mines.

During the Republic, the State did not occupy itself much with the management of mines, upon which it looked with some disfavour, but left them chiefly to the care of private enterprise. Very little is known about the principles which, at that time, guided the policy of the Romans in this regard. To one who reads the thirty-third book of the Natural History of Pliny, it might appear that indifference to wealth and compassion for their fellow creatures were at the bottom of this disfavour, shown by the Romans in their early history for the work of mines. Various proofs in support of this theory are collected by Barba in his *Métallurgie* (Tome I, p. 430). Certain it is that after the conquests of foreign lands, it was altogether forbidden to work mines in Italy, the mother country. Yet it is remarkable that Pliny should consider Italy the richest country in the world for mineral wealth. *Metallorum omnium fertilitate nullis cedit terris. Sed interdictum id vetere consulto patrum, Italiae parci jubentium.* (H.N. l. iii., c. 24.) *Italiae parci vetere interdicto patrum, diximus alioqui nulla fecundior metallorum quoque erat tellus. Extat lex censoria Ictimulorum aurifodinae, Vercellensi agro, qua cavebatur, ne plus quinque millibus hominum in opere publicani haberent.* (Ib. l. xxxiii, c. 21.)

However much frugality, sobriety, simplicity of manners and disregard for luxury may have been virtues practised by the Romans in the early days of the Republic, they but too often yielded in later times to sentiments of a different order. It has been surmised that the restriction limiting the number of men to be employed in the mines of Vercellæ to five thousand, so that no more should be employed in the works at one time by the public contractors, was to prevent the latter from exhausting these mines under the terms, and by the force of one agreement. Similar restrictions may have been suggested for similar reasons. Thus it was forbidden by a decree of the Theodosian code (*lib. x, tit. 19, leg. 6, Si qua navis*) to export silver from the rich mines of Sardinia on to the mainland.

In course of time, however, the greed of gold, so much inveighed against by the Roman moralists, became universal throughout the empire. Mines and public works of all sorts were seized upon, monopolized and administered

by the State through the agency of public farmers, called technically *Publicani*. In the days of the Republic, however, only the more important mineral products, whether in Italy or in the provinces, were claimed as belonging to the State. Amongst the works, at that time in the hands of the Government, were, says Marquardt,<sup>1</sup> the gold mines near Vercellæ, in northern Italy, employing, as already stated, five thousand hands; the silver mines near Nova Carthago in Spain, where ten thousand men were employed, and where the daily output was reckoned at a value of twenty-five thousand denarii, the gold and silver mines in Macedonia, and the tin and lead mines near Sisapon, in Baetica, the modern Almaden in Andalusia. The same fate fell to the lot of a great many other mines, which, when let out by the revenue officers,<sup>2</sup> to those who thus came to farm them, were deemed capable of yielding a goodly income.

The greater portion, however, of the mines throughout the Roman dominion were still left in the hands of private speculators. In fact, the heavy rent paid by private works was more profitable to the State than the lesser and more precarious sums paid by the *Publicani* or public farmers. *Pacata provincia vectigalia magna instituit ex ferrariis argentariisque; quibus tum institutis, locupletior in dies provincia fuit*, says Livy, speaking of Spain at the time of Cato, B.C. 195 (l. xxxiv, c. 21).

Livy makes the express statement concerning the iron and copper mines in Macedonia, that they were to be left in the hands of the provincials; while of the gold and silver mines, he says, that on the formation of that country into a Roman province, they were altogether closed, though it is related that some ten years afterwards they were re-opened and let out in the ordinary way through the *Censores* to several *Publicani*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Römische Staatsverwaltung, ii<sup>ter</sup> Band, s. 245.

<sup>2</sup> These were the *Censores* who sat in Rome and put up the mines to auction and gave them to the highest bidder, who thus became a *Publicanus* or public farmer. Dion Cassius reckons on the goodly income to be derived from minerals: *δρακτε μεταλλας . . . . . δόραται πρὸς τὸν λαόν* (Lii., 52, 28).

<sup>3</sup> In the year 158 before Christ, in the decree of the Roman Senate, we read:

*Metalli quoque Macedonici, quod ingens vectigal erat, locationesque prædiorum rusticorum tolli placebat. Nam neque sine publicano exerceri posse; et ubi publicanus est, ibi aut jus publicum vanum aut libertatem sociis nullam esse; Ne ipsos quidem Macedonas idem exercere posse.* (Livy Hist. lib. xlv., c. 18.) Aemilius Paullos in his oration, says: *Metalla quoque auri atque argenti non exerceri; ferri et aeris permitti.* (ib. c. 29).

Plutarch tells us that there were in his time throughout Spain and elsewhere, gold and silver mines still left in the hands of private individuals, which had made those who possessed them as rich as Crassus had become by his famous silver mines

However, the mines of all kinds which, in the time of the Republic, were left in the hands of private enterprise, were by the more powerful Emperors seized, in part to swell the public revenue, and in part to replenish the imperial purse (*ratio patrimonii*).<sup>1</sup> Hence Suetonius says in his life of Tiberius: *Plurimis etiam civitatibus et privatis veteres immunitates et jus metallorum ac vectigalium adempta* (ch. xlix.); and Tacitus in the sixth book of his Annals, ch. xix., speaks of the gold mines of S. Marius, the richest man in Spain, as thus appropriated by the Emperor; *aurarias ejus, quamquam publicarentur, sibi met Tiberius seposuit*. Thus as time went on, almost all the rich and large mines fell into the hands of the head of the Roman State.<sup>2</sup> Amongst the Imperial possessions must, therefore, be numbered the gold mines in Dalmatia, the silver mines in Pannonia and in Dalmatia, the gold mines in Dacia, as well as the tin and lead, not to speak of the gold and silver mines in Britain.<sup>3</sup> To these may be added the iron mines in Noricum, in Pannonia, and in Gallia Lugdunensis, and the famous copper mines in Cyprus and those of Baetica in Spain.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Notitia* for the Eastern Empire (ch. xii.) we read of a *Comes Metallorum per Illyricum*. From the Theodosian Code (x, 19, 5), it would appear that the *Comes Metallorum* was the official who, on the part of the Prince, exacted the proper proportion of gold found in the mines. The decree is of Valentinian and Valens, and is dated A.D. 365. According to Mommsen and Hübner, the *Procurator Metallorum*, as the representative of his Imperial master, was the supreme magistrate of the *vicus* or *pagus*, in which was the mine over which he presided. Thus in the Berlin Corpus (v. ii, n. 1179, 956), we read in inscriptions of a Procurator of the copper mines of Sierra Morena, and another at the gold mines near the present Rio Tinto, which were worked by him for the exclusive profit of the Emperor.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in the Digest (48, 19, 38) we read of *Metallum principis* and (48, 13, 6, §2) of *Metalla Cæsariæ*.

<sup>3</sup> *Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victoriae* (Tacitus Agricola, ch. xii). Many of the Roman mines in Britain were open quarry-like workings, such as the great open trenches to be seen, one after another, furrowing the sides of the Shropshire hills. Pliny tells us there was a law in his time prohibiting more than a limited production of lead in Britain, so easily and so abundantly was it found in that island. *Nigro plumbo ad fistulas laminasque utimur, laboriosius in Hispania eruto, totasque per Gallias; sed in Britannia summo terræ corio aden large, ut lex ulro dicatur, ne plus certo modo fiat* (N.H. xxxiv. 49). Caesar, who had time to make but a very imperfect observation of the products of the country, says of Britain, *Nascitur ibi plumbum album in mediterraneis regionibus, in maritimis ferrum, sed ejus exigua est copia* (B.G. v., 12).



There is a curious account given us by Diodorus Siculus<sup>1</sup> of the way in which mining operations were conducted nearly two thousand years ago. I will quote from a translation made by Booth in 1700. "The manner of working in these mines, and ordering the metal among the Iberians is thus : There being extraordinary rich mines in this country of gold, as well as of silver and brass, the labourers in the brass take a fourth part of the pure brass dug up to their own use, and the common labourers in silver have an Euboick talent for their labour in three days' time ; for the whole soil is full of shining and solid ore, so that both the nature of the ground and the industry of the workmen is admirable. But after that Iberia came into the hands of the Romans, they brought a great number of slaves and delivered them to the task-masters and overseers of the mines. These slaves opened the mouths of the mines in many places, where, digging deep into the ground, are found many clods of earth, full of gold and silver ; and in sinking both in length and depth, they carry on their works in undermining the earth many furlongs' distance, the workmen every way here and there making galleries underground and bringing up all the massy pieces of ore (whence the profits and gains to be had) ; even out of the deepest bowels of the earth."

"There is a great difference between these mines and those of Attica ; for besides the labour, they that search there are at great cost and charge, and besides are often frustrated of their hopes ; and sometimes lose what they had found, so that they seem to be unfortunate to a proverb. But those in Iberia, that deal in mines, according to their expectations, are greatly enriched by their labours ; for they succeed at their very first sinking, and afterwards by reason of the extraordinary richness of the soil, they find more and more resplendent veins of ore, full of gold and silver ; for the whole soil round about is interlaced on every hand with the metals ; sometimes at a great depth they meet with rivers underground, but by art give a check to the violence of their current ; for by cutting of trenches underground, and being sure to gain what they aim at, when they have begun, they never leave till they have finished it ; and to admiration they pump out their

<sup>1</sup> Bk. iii., § 12-14.

floods of water with those instruments called Aegyptian pumps, invented by Archimedes the Syracusan, when he was in Egypt. By these, with constant pumping by turns, they throw up the water to the mouth of the pit, and by this means drain the mine dry, and make the place fit for their work. For this engine is so ingeniously contrived that a vast quantity of water is strangely, with little labour cast up, and the whole is thrown up from the very bottom to the surface of the earth " (p. 191-2).

It is a strange coincidence that there may be now seen standing in one of those ancient mines described by Diodorus Siculus, a Roman water-wheel, with little tags of rope still hanging to its outer ridge, showing where the slaves stood day and night keeping that wheel in motion by the labour of their brawny arms. In the *Archæologia Aeliana*<sup>1</sup> will be found an illustration given by Mr. Stevenson, of the Roman water-wheel he found in the ancient mines of Tharsis, situated about thirty miles from the town of Huelva, in Spain. The sight of this wheel, dating from the age of Nero, carries us back to that harrowing picture of the sufferings of those thousands of slaves, who, under the kings of Egypt, were forced by cruel taskmasters to work unceasingly in the Egyptian gold mines until they dropped down dead through sheer exhaustion.<sup>2</sup> The workmen's tools still found in ancient Roman mines—the miner's pick, the pick-axe, the hammer and wedges—carry back the mind to primitive, but laborious toil, when the long galleries, many stadia in length, resounded to the monotonous tramp of men, women, and children carrying the heavy ore upon their heads or shoulders to the furnace.

In two places of his Gallic War, Cæsar mentions the trouble given his soldiers by the fact that his barbarian antagonists had recourse to mining operations in order to defeat his advances. The expertness of the Aquitanians in the art of mining he attributes to their familiarity with

<sup>1</sup> Vol. vii, p. 280.

<sup>2</sup> We are here reminded of the thousands of Christians who, in the ages of persecution, were condemned to work in the Roman mines. In Ruinart's *Acts of the Martyrs* and in Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* we read of many facts that recall the description of Diodorus Siculus.

An official named therein is *Praepositus Metallorum*, probably an overseer or taskmaster. In the Roman Digest, under Justinian, we read : *Proxima morti pana metalli coercitio* (xlviii, 19, 28). See De Rossi, *Bullettino di Arch. crist.* for 1868, p. 17, &c.

their native copper mines, while the Gauls, he said, were rendered excellent miners by their large iron works.<sup>1</sup>

The British chieftain Galgacus, haranguing his countrymen before the battle of the Grampians, puts well before them the hard service they would have to undergo in their native mines, if victory did not favour their cause: *ibi tributa et metalla et ceterae servientium pœnae; quas in aeternum perferre, aut statim ulcisci, in hoc campo est* (Tac. Agric. c. xxxii). He had said before what they had lost: *neque enim arva nobis, aut metalla, aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur* (ib. xxxi).

In the ancient copper mines of Asturias have been found bronze axes (*dolabra*), stone and iron hammers (*mallei*), 'gads' or wedges (*cunei*), pincers (*forcipes*), lamps in baked earth, and bronze hearths or braziers.

Owing to the great quantity of fuel required for smelting purposes, the Roman mining operations could be conducted only in the neighbourhood of great forests, whence they could be abundantly supplied. The vast heaps of scoriae still to be found in the forests of Dean and Sussex, in which Roman coins of the period are found, are evidence of this fact. Owing to the imperfect smelting of those times, great quantities of ore had to be used. Hence to save transport, the furnaces were placed as near the mouth of the mine as possible. So rich in ore are the remains around the ancient mines, that it has often invited the enterprise of modern speculators to put them through the process of re-smelting by the more searching methods of the present day.<sup>2</sup>

In many instances it would seem that furnaces were

<sup>1</sup> *Illi alias eruptione tentata, alias cuniculis ad aggerem vineasque actis, cujus rei sunt longe peritissimi Aquitani, propterea quod multis locis apud eos aerariae structurae sunt* (lib. iii., c. 21). Speaking of the arts used by the Gauls in the defence of Bourges, he says, *Aggerem cuniculis subtrahebant, eo scientius quod apud eos magnae sunt ferrariae, atque omne genus cuniculorum notum atque unitatum est* (lib. vii., c. 22). The use of ventilation shafts in mines was known to both the Greeks and Romans. Pliny says of the Aquitanians: That those who are employed in the work of pumping up water out of the mines, are on their feet day and night. *Aquitani stantes diebus noctibusque egerunt aquas lucernarum*

*mensura, omnemque faciunt* (H.N. xxxiii., 31).

<sup>2</sup> Where fuel was scarce, Pliny relates how the copper-workers of his day used to add eight parts of lead to a hundred of copper ore, and how the Gauls used to melt the mineral ore between red-hot stones. It is supposed, from discoveries made, that the ancient Britons had a process of boiling water, by throwing into it stones made red-hot in fires kindled outside their huts. *Octonas plumbi libras addunt, et bene recoquant propter inopiam ligni. Quantum ea res differentiae afferat, in Gallia maxime sentitur, ubi inter lapides candefactos funditur* (H.N. xxxiv., 20).

placed on lofty hills, in order that the wind might fan the flame, a contrivance practised by the Peruvians when first visited by the Spaniards. In his *Roman Wall*,<sup>1</sup> Dr. Collingwood Bruce gives a very interesting description of a draught sought from nature for some furnaces near Lanchester: "Two tunnels were formed in the side of the hill; they were wide at one extremity, but tapered off to a narrow bore at the other, where they met in a point. The mouths of the channels opened towards the west, from which quarter a prevalent wind blows in this valley, and sometimes with great violence. The blast received by them would, when the wind was high, be poured with considerable force and effect upon the smelting furnaces at the extremity of the tunnels."

That the art of smelting was still very imperfect at the time of Strabo, or at the close of the first century before Christ, may be judged from the fact that no profit was to be gained by extracting silver ore from lead, in which it was present in small proportions. It is in speaking of the Spanish mines that this author makes the observation<sup>2</sup> that in furnaces for smelting silver the chimney is generally higher than that for gold, in order, he says, that the deleterious vapours may be carried away without hurting the workmen.

In his learned disquisition on the silver mines of Laurium, which played so important a part in the fortunes of Athens, Boeckh says: "that the Athenians made use of the bellows and of charcoal is not improbable."<sup>3</sup> Now it has been observed that when at a later period furnaces were set in valleys, (they were generally placed near some stream to carry off the product), and bellows were then used, by means of which a higher and more equable temperature was brought to bear upon the fire, the scoriæ of this epoch are poor and more like those of modern times.<sup>4</sup>

On the walls of the Catacombs of Thebes very valuable

<sup>1</sup> P. 432, ed. 1852.

<sup>2</sup> Bk. iii., ch. ii., sec. 8 *in fine*.

<sup>3</sup> Public Economy of Athens, vol. ii., p. 433.

<sup>4</sup> Leger, *Travaux publics des Romains*, p. 725. It has been supposed from the position of certain ancient tanks, dis-

covered near Roman smelting furnaces in the forests of Dean and of Sussex, that when mere 'air-bloomeries' gave place to 'blast-bloomeries,' the bellows in these latter were moved by water-power, either natural as of streams, or artificial as of reservoirs.

drawings have been discovered, representing the ancient Egyptian mode of metal working. We see there frequently reproduced under the same type furnaces of very high temperature for melting glass, and for baking objects of the ceramic art. As figured in a modern French work, we see a cylinder or stove-like erection about the height of a man raised over a hearth, on which the fire is fanned through apertures in the tube or stove, the flame darting up the chimney and appearing at the top.<sup>1</sup> The splendid passage of Homer, where Hephaestos, the Grecian Vulcan, gathers together the materials for Achilles' shield, represents him placing them in a furnace, upon which straightway the bellows begin to blow from twenty mouths.<sup>2</sup>

In the excavations made by Hon. W. O. Stanley in Anglesey, an object was discovered which was, on examination, pronounced by Professor Ramsay to be the vitrified nozzle of a bellows used for smelting purposes by the ancient Britains on that very spot where remains of smelting-hearths and mining instruments are still discovered.<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps a description of the method of smelting in use throughout the whole of India in very early times, may throw some light on the contrivances used by our forefathers on many a site where they can be proved to have worked the metals to be found in our rich and fertile island. "The furnace or bloomery in which the ore is smelted is from four to five feet high; it is somewhat pear-shaped, being about five feet wide at bottom and one foot at top. It is built entirely of clay. There is an opening in front about a foot or more in height, which is built up with clay at the commencement and broken down at the end of each smelting operation. The bellows are usually made of a goat's skin. The bamboo nozzles of the bellows are inserted into tubes of clay, which pass into the

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* Plate viii, fig. 26

<sup>2</sup> How common the use of the bellows was in the time of Augustus, appears from the following quotations:—

Virgil, *Georg.* iv., 170-2,

*Ac veluti lentis Cyclopes fulmina massis*

*Quum properant, alii taurinis follibus*

*auras*

*Adciunt redduntque,*

And *Aeneid*, viii., 449-450,

*Alii ventosis follibus auras*

*Adciunt redduntque.*

Horace, *Sat.* i, 4, v. 19-20,

*At tu conclusas hircinis follibus auras*

*Usque laborantes, dum ferrum molliat*

*ignis.* Cf. Persius, *Sat.* v., v. 10-11, and Juvenal, *Sat.* vii., v. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Vide figures on Plate iv. of the article, *Arch. Jour.*, xxvii., or p. 6 and 11 of the reprint.

furnace. The furnace is filled with charcoal, and a lighted coal being introduced before the nozzle, the fire in the interior is soon kindled. As soon as this is accomplished, a small portion of the ore, previously moistened with water to prevent it from running through the charcoal, but without any flux whatever, is laid on the top of the coals and covered with charcoal to fill up the furnace. In this manner ore and fuel are supplied, and the bellows are urged for three or four hours. When the process is stopped, and the temporary wall in front broken down, the bloom is removed with a pair of tongs from the bottom of the furnace."<sup>1</sup>

In his *Cramia Britannica*<sup>2</sup> Dr. Thurnam, speaking of the way in which the ancient Britons smelted tin, says : "The ore, separated by washing, must have been mixed with fuel, and burnt on an open hearth or in a simple furnace, constructed of a few stones sunk a little in the ground,—a primitive bloomery,—differing little from such as until a late period were the only furnaces for the lead and iron furnaces of Derbyshire. As tin melts at 446°, no great draught of air, natural or by some primitive form of bellows, would be required to reduce it to the metallic state ; in which form the merchants purchased it and carried it into Gaul."

Roman smelting furnaces have been found all over the empire, in Britain, near Almeria in Granada, which was the *Portus Magnus* of the Romans for their traffic with Italy and the East, in Italy and in Greece. Their type was very simple and very small, and those found in Attica, Spain, England, and Tuscany, whether for the extraction of lead, copper, iron, or tin, differ from those of modern times in little save size. De la Sauvagère gives sketches of a series of brick ovens of Roman origin found in some excavations near Marsal. They were for smelting copper, and present perhaps the first application of reverberatory ovens, in which the hearth and the laboratory are still un-separated.<sup>3</sup>

How far coal was used by the ancients for the purpose of smelting cannot be very well determined. Dr. Bruce says : "There is no doubt that the Romans made use of

<sup>1</sup> Ure's Dictionary of Arts and Manufactures, art. *Steel*.

<sup>2</sup> P. 101.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide Leger*, Plate viii, N. 23-5.

the mineral coal where beds of it were found in their vicinity."<sup>1</sup> Coals have been found in the Roman station of Housesteads, and a cart-load of unburnt coals was unearthed amongst the Roman remains at Risingham, while coal ashes were found at Walton House station and at Carvoran.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, "in nearly all the stations of the line," says Dr. Bruce, "the ashes of mineral fuel have been found, and in some a store of unconsumed coal." Some twenty bronze celts, which had apparently been attached to straight wooden handles, have been found in a Roman coal-mine in Andalusia,<sup>3</sup> and the Romans undoubtedly came across coal in France, when cutting for their aqueducts near Rive-de-Gier and Fréjus. The most extensive Roman coal-mine in Britain mentioned by Dr. Bruce was near Sewingshields, at Grindon Lough. That the ancient Greeks were acquainted with stone coal is evident from the words of Theophrastus, an author who lived three hundred years before Christ (*de Lapidibus*, N. 16): οὗς δὲ καλοῦσιν εὐθὺς ἀνθρακας τῶν ὀρυττομένων διὰ τὴν χρεῖαν εἰς γέωδεις, ἐκκαίονται δὲ καὶ πυροῦνται καθάπερ οἱ ἀνθρακες . . . οἷς καὶ οἱ χαλκεῖς χρῶνται. "The coal commonly so-called, which is dug out of the earth for man's use, is of an earthy (or stoney) nature; it is kindled and burnt like coal (charcoal). Of this (stone) coal, workers in iron make use." Solinus has also been quoted for the use of stone-coal amongst the Greeks, and if the red-hot stones which, according to Pliny, were used by the Gauls for smelting copper, were nothing more than stone-coal, their efficacy would perhaps be rendered more intelligible to modern men of science.

In May 1876 there was discovered in some copper mines, which seem to date from pre-Roman times, at the village of Aljustrel, situated in Southern Portugal, between Ourique and Messejamen, a long Latin inscription, which seems to bring all at once the everyday work of a Roman mine before our eyes.<sup>4</sup> The text is engraved on both

<sup>1</sup> *Roman Wall*, p. 118. Mr. Wright says coal has been abundantly found among the fire-places of the hypocausts of the Roman Uriconium, at Wroxeter, in Shropshire (*Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 290).

<sup>2</sup> *ib.* pp. 188, 335.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Yates in *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Arch. Soc.*, vol. viii, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> This inscription, which is on a bronze tablet, eight to thirteen millimetres thick, seventy-two centimetres high, and forty-three broad, has been engraved and illustrated by Senhor Augusto Soromenho Pereira, in *Le Table de bronze*, Lisbon, 1876, from which I take this description. It was

sides of a bronze tablet, some three feet long by two in width. The two inscriptions are not, however, different, but one and the same, (excepting some slight variations,) which is engraved on each side of the tablet. Though, however, the bronze has suffered some mutilation, by which several letters are wanting in every line of the right hand side of the obverse, and on the left of the reverse, and it is furthermore broken at one end, still owing to the happy circumstance that the lines on one side contain more words than those on the other, so that there are several more lines on the reverse than there are on the opposite side; the lines never begin on one side with the same words as on the other. Thus, in spite of mutilation, this accidental circumstance has preserved a pretty full copy of the whole inscription, though not of the whole law.

To judge from the style, and from the character of the letters, this inscription must belong to the first century, and may be set down to the time between Vespasian and Domitian. On the left of the front of the tablet under the word *CONDUCTORI* may be seen the numeral III, from which we may conclude that the law styled *locationis conductionis*, or the regulations to be observed within the territory belonging to the mines of this district, was engraved on various tablets, of which this is the third. The district of a mine comprised all the population thereabouts, for whatever purpose there settled. The *territorium Carthagenæ* in Spain, an instance in point, was twelve leagues in circumference.

The *metalla* here described as situated in the *vicus* or *villa Vipascensis*, under the *conventus juridicus Pacensis*, were fiscal, that is to say, belonging to the state, and yielded silver, copper, slate, sand or perhaps clay. All living in the neighbourhood were under the jurisdiction of the *Procurator metallorum*. The products of such mines as he was himself unable to attend to, he was empowered to let out to others, whether individuals, towns or companies. The chief stipulation or basis of concession was, that in the regulation of the mines the authority of the Procurator was henceforth to be replaced (barring some

discovered by the Company de min-  
eration transagante which had under-

taken to work anew these ancient cop-  
per mines.



exceptions) by that of the contractor (*conductor*). The inscription which has thus come to light is one of the subordinate regulations. It is a *locatio-conductio vectigalium, rerum operarum et operis*. The *conductor* on the one hand received the *centesima auctionum*, the *capitularium* on the sale of cattle and slaves, the *scriptura* of those who worked the *σκωρία* (*scaurarii*), and of the potters (*testarii*), and the fines for contraventions. On the other hand he had the management of the public bath, and received the payment made by the bathers; but it was enjoined him under severe penalties to have the bath always in readiness, and to provide all requisites at his own expense. At the expiry of his office (*conductione peracta*) he was bound to leave the building in the same state as he received it, save as regards the damage caused in course of time by the effects of the weather.

In the instance of these mines the farming of the state revenues was made over to a company, for the *conductor* had a *socius* and an *actor*, *sive syndacus per quem, quod cum minutis agi fierique oporteat, agatur, fiat*. As we learn from Pliny, other mines in Spain, as the tin mines of Sisapo, the *metallum Santarense* and the *Antonianum*, both in Andalusia, were in his day all worked by commercial companies, which rented them at fixed sums levied by the revenue officers. These *conductores* or private contractors who held mines under an Imperial Procurator must not be confounded with the *Publicani* who farmed mines under the *Censores*. The *Publicani* (properly so called) were only collectors of revenue; the *conductores* were agents who themselves administered and worked the mines. Thus the contract for the Vipascan mine comprised the letting of the bath, of the mines, of trades, of purveying the necessaries of life, with the power of sub-letting, as the tablet distinctly says.

It may give some idea of the variety of things provided for the government of this mining district by this regulation, emanating from the Emperor, to whom the supreme dominion of the mine belonged, if I set down the divisions of the law which have remained to us. They are arranged in the following order:—

1. *Centesima argentariæ stipulationis*—one per cent. levied on all sales.

2. *Scripturae praeconii*—the one or two per cent. or poll tax paid to the public crier at all sales by auction.
3. *Balinei fruendi*—on the use of the public baths.
4. *Sutriti*, of shoemakers—no one can mend shoes except by renting the trade from the contractor.
5. *Tonstrini*, of barbers—no one can shave another, except servants their masters, except by renting the office from the contractor.
6. *Tabernarum fulloniarum*—fullers' booths—no one can clean garments except by paying a rent to the contractor.
7. *Scripturae scaurariorum et testariorum*—on the sums to be paid by those who wish to break, sort, or wash silver and copper ore within the district.
8. *Ludi magistri*, or schoolmasters—they are freed from all taxes.
9. *Usurpationis puteorum sive pittaciarum*—those who by means of a notice affixed thereto appropriated pits of mineral had to pay so much for each man employed in the work.

The rubric concerning the public schoolmaster has given De Vit' a clue to the farther settlement of the date of this inscription. It is here provided that a schoolmaster for the children of this mining population shall be paid a salary from the public treasury. Now we know from Suetonius,<sup>2</sup> that the Emperor Vespasian was the first to establish a public stipend for the Latin and Greek teachers of rhetoric, while before that time there were none but private masters. This decree was issued, it is supposed, A.D. 74. But, as S. Jerome testifies in his chronicle, Quintilian was the first to receive a state salary for teaching, A.D. 88. This rhetorician, however, had been brought to Rome by Galba, A.D. 68. As in the provinces, therefore, this law will have been carried out some time after it was put in force in the capital of the Empire, the regulations under consideration may with great

<sup>1</sup> *Opere varie*, vol. vi., p. 418.

<sup>2</sup> *Ingenia et artes maxime fovit : primus e fisco latinis graecisque rhetoribus annua centena constituit : praestantes poetas, nec*

*non et artifices, Coae Veneris, item Colossi refectorem, insigni Congiario magnaue mercede donavit* (Suet. *Vita Vespasiani*, c. 18).

probability be attributed to Domitian, about the end of the first century.

Not the least interesting fact connected with the accidental discovery in modern times of this record of by-gone days, is the bringing to our knowledge of some Latin terms hitherto unknown to us, which have now, therefore, to be inserted in our dictionaries. Such words are *lausicæ*, *pittaciarium*, *recisamen*, *rutramen*, *scaurarius*, *testarius*, *ubertumbus* and *ostilis*. All these words have been more or less diffusely discussed and interpreted,<sup>1</sup> with the exception of *ubertumbus* and *ostilis*. The former of these two words has not as yet been properly deciphered; the latter has been the occasion of much conjecture, and as it is connected with the matter of fuel supplied to a Roman furnace, may form a fitting conclusion to the present disquisition.

The word *ostilis* occurs under the rubric *Balinei fruendi*, in the twenty-ninth line on the front of the tablet, and in the twentieth line of the back, and can be very clearly read on both sides. The passage in which it occurs, is as follows:—

CONDUCTORI VENDERE LIGNA<sup>2</sup> NISI EX RECISAMINIBUS  
RAMORUM QUAE OSTILI IDONEA NON ERUNT NE LICETO.

In these two lines we have two words hitherto unknown, *recisamen* and *ostilis*. The learned editor of the new Italian edition of Forcellini's Latin Dictionary, Professor De Vit, suggests the following as the only plausible reading: "The contractor is forbidden to sell wood, except such pieces of the branches of trees which shall not be suitable for making spears at some future time."

It must be borne in mind that the contractor is bound to have at all times a store of wood for the heating of the public bath, sufficient to last for a given number of days, probably thirty. If he sells any wood fit for the military purpose mentioned above, or any wood except small fuel, the contractor will be liable to a heavy fine, *viz.*, for every cart-load thus taken away, 100 sesterces.

We must observe that *ostilis* is here considered equiva-

<sup>1</sup> See the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vol. iii, fasc. 3, Rome, 1877.

<sup>2</sup> The words in italics are defaced in the

original, but are admitted on all hands as the most evident reading.

lent to *astilis* or *hastilis*.<sup>1</sup> The absence of the aspirate creates no difficulty, and Varro himself says *asta* is so called *quod astans ferri solet*.<sup>2</sup> As for the *o* instead of an *a* there are many instances given by De Vit, as where *vocatio* stands for *vacatio*, *vocua* for *vacua*, *vocivae* for *vacivae*, *voleo* for *valeo*, etc., etc.

That special provision should be made to keep the vast and scattered Roman army well provided with wood for spears and javelins, is not extraordinary. The spears used by the different divisions of the Imperial forces varied greatly in form, but their number must have been very considerable. The Caesarian javelin or *pilum* was nearly seven feet in length, the iron head and the wooden shaft being each four and a half feet or three cubits long, the former extending half-way down the shaft. But besides the javelin carried by the Roman *hastati* and *principes*, we find in vase-painting that there were other spears from only two to three feet long, made not for thrusting with, but for throwing. In these latter the iron part is equal to one third of the entire length.

Polybius says, that each soldier of the three great divisions of a Roman legion carried two long javelins, which gave the name *pilani* to the division of the Roman army by which they were used. The first line of the Roman legion, called the *Hastati*, consisting of youths in the first bloom of manhood, had for their offensive weapons, a sword and a heavy javelin; but one-third of their number were more lightly armed with a spear (*hasta*), and a light javelin (*gaesa*).

This first line of *Hastati*, and the second line of *Principes* (men in the full vigour of life), amounting together in each legion to thirty maniples, each composed of sixty privates, formed what were called the *Antepilani*.<sup>3</sup> Next came the *Triarii*, or veterans, who, in their triple ranks, equal altogether at one time to each of the two former

<sup>1</sup> Hübner thinks *ostilis* stands for *ustilis*, and may be derived from *urere*, to burn (Ephem. Epigraph., l. c. p. 176, and *C.I.L.*, vol. iii, p. 168—186.) Herr Flach derives the word from *ostilum*, a mediæval Latin term, whence is derived the modern French *outil*, a tool or instrument.

<sup>2</sup> 5, *L.L.*, 64 § 115, Cf. Isidore, 18 Orig.

vii, 1, Nomen autem *hasta* ab *astu* sumptum, unde et *astutia*, cf. other instances of the absence of the *h* in Orelli, n. 3452, and in Henzen's Supp. *ib.* n. 76747.

<sup>3</sup> Vide Smith's *Dict. of Antiquities*, and Guhl and Koner's *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, p. 241-2.

divisions of the Roman legion, were armed also with the javelin, and were hence called simply *Pilani*.

Of the *Peltastai* in Xenophon's army we read that they carried five shorter and one longer javelin. So the rest of the Roman legion, besides bows, slings and swords, carried each seven javelins<sup>1</sup> or spears with slender points, like arrows, so that when thrown they bent and could not be easily returned by the enemy.

As for the auxiliary forces of the Roman empire they were, it is supposed, armed in the same way as the regular troops. That the Roman cavalry made use of the javelin, appears from the book written by Pliny *De Jaculatione Equestri*.<sup>2</sup>

The necessity for such enormous numbers of javelins and spears would naturally call for forethought on the part of governors scattered throughout the Provinces, and for measures that would provide a sufficient supply for regular armaments and for every emergency. Hence it is not surprising to read in the work of Vegetius on Military Affairs, that besides quantities of bitumen, sulphur, liquid pitch and incendiary oils, a sufficient quantity of wood must be laid up amongst the military stores, which the Roman soldiers, no doubt, during the long winter hours of forced inactivity, would have time to fashion into shape before the next campaign began. "The magazines," he says, "must be stored with iron, steel and coals, to make arms, *together with wood proper for spears*."<sup>3</sup>

The injunction then that the bath-keeper in a Portuguese mining district, during the reign of Domitian, should, in sorting his wood, have an eye to such pieces of timber as were of the proper length, strength and shape, to serve as shafts for spears in the never ceasing wars of that period, seems in itself far from improbable, though chance alone has, as in many other instances, but recently brought this particularity of a distant provincial's work-a-day life to our knowledge. If any confirmation were needed, it might be sought for in the Geography of Strabo, who tells us that in the region inhabited by the Salassi in

<sup>1</sup> Ennius says of these latter *Rorarii*, if not of the *Hastati* proper  
*Hastati spargunt hastas, fit ferreus imber.*

<sup>2</sup> *Sed et nos diximus in libro de jaculatione equestri condito.* (N.H., l. viii. c. 65, §3)

<sup>3</sup> Bk. iv. ch. 8.

northern Italy, there were some gold mines, which had from ancient times been worked by themselves for their own profit. They too had fuel to provide for the smelting furnaces, and had spears to make for their warfaring days out of the wood thus brought to their doors. When, then, the Roman general Valerius Messala came to pass the winter amongst them, it is recorded that he bought from these hardy and turbulent mountaineers not only wood for firing, but also wood to serve for spears, and for the gymnastic exercises of his soldiers.

Μεσάλας δὲ πλησίον αὐτῶν (Σαλασσῶν) χειμαδεύων τιμὴν ξύλων κατέβαλε τῶν τε καυσίμων καὶ τῶν πελείων ἀκοντισμάτων καὶ τῶν γυμναστικῶν (l. iv., c. vi, §7).<sup>1</sup>

The gold mines in the hands of the Salassi were seized by the Consul Appius Claudius Pulcher in the year of Rome, 615. It may have been on this occasion that the Senate made a decree against these mines, as is mentioned by Pliny.

It may be useful, in conclusion, to gather into a few sentences a summary of what has been said on the subject of ancient mines, upon which we possess no treatise by any ancient author, nor any article or book in the English language with which I am acquainted, in which the subject is treated in a consecutive manner, with the one exception of Boeckh's Dissertation on the Silver Mines of Laurium.

There are two distinct ways in which State mines were worked by the ancient Romans. Either they were let by the Roman revenue-officers to the Publicani, or they were kept in the hands of the State, and were handed over to a Procurator. In the first case the Publicani themselves undertook to pay the revenue a fixed sum for the mines they farmed, while they themselves exacted such taxes from the owners or workers of those mines as to leave themselves a margin of profit for their trouble. In the second case, the Imperial Procurators either worked the mines themselves at the risk and profit of their masters, or they let them out to companies or individuals, who

<sup>1</sup> *Ita si quoque Valerio Messalae, dum vicinis locis agebat, non nisi pretio accepto, ligna ad focum, et ad exercitationes ulmea*

*hastilia praeberunt.* (Freinshemii supplementa in locum, Lib. cxxxi, Liviani).

paid them a certain rent fixed in proportion to the number of men employed in them.

The Procurator, if he worked the mine himself, had under him : (1) a slave who acted as director of the work—*servus proactor procuratoris*; (2) a foreman whose office it was to test and pass the work done (the formula was *probante N. N.*); (3) an engineer who had charge of the mechanical contrivances (*machinator*). If the Procurator let the work of the mine out to others, it was either to a single contractor, or to a company, who before the law had the status of Publicani, and were often given that name. The Publicani, however, properly so-called, were mere tax-collectors; the former were real administrators of the mines.

In either case, however, that is, whether the Procurator himself worked, or whether he let out the mine, he had all the accounts of the commercial enterprise to keep in an office established for that purpose. In it the Procurator had under him a clerk or register-keeper (*commentariensis*), a steward or disbursar (*dispensator*), a collector or caster of accounts (*tabularius*), and a treasurer (*arcarius*).

Officers and soldiers were stationed to guard the mine and keep order amongst the workmen. For this purpose, either a tribune, a centurion, or a decurio was detached from his regular corps, and stationed in the mining district, either in a position of independence, or under the command of the Procurator.

The workmen were either common slaves, hired free-men, soldiers, or convicts and prisoners. During the age of persecution, Christians were sent in thousands to the copper mines of Palestine, and to the various mineral or stone mines in Cilicia, the Thebaid and Cyprus, as after the taking of Jerusalem the captive Jews were in part condemned to work in the mines and quarries of Egypt. These poor prisoners, the confessors of the Faith, were all, like ordinary criminals, on being condemned to the mines, first beaten with rods. While at work, their feet were kept in irons, they had to sleep on the bare ground, they were pinched in food, deprived of the use of the bath, and were almost naked. In the subterranean mines each workman bore a little lamp, fixed to his forehead, to guide his footsteps, and serve as a signal to others, while the

air and stench in these ill-ventilated caverns was so great that the ill-treated labourers often swooned away. Pliny says how in his day these poor creatures were kept hard at work day and night, many of them spending whole months underground without ever seeing the daylight, for the burdens they carried on their backs they handed over to others, so that the last only of the file came near the mouth of the pit.<sup>1</sup>

It may not be uninteresting to conclude with an eloquent passage from one of the letters written by S. Cyprian, the great African Bishop of the third century, in which many of these particulars are set forth. It is inscribed to Nemesianus, Felix, and other seven of his fellow-Bishops, likewise to his fellow-Presbyters and Deacons, and the rest of the brethren in the mines.<sup>2</sup>

“But that, being first grievously beaten and stricken down with clubs, ye, by sufferings of that kind, entered upon the glorious beginnings of your confession, is a thing no wise to be abhorred by us. For a Christian body shrinks not at clubs, whose whole hope is in THE WOOD... ..And what wonder, that, being vessels of gold and silver, ye have been consigned to the mines, that is, the home of gold and silver, except that now the nature of mines is changed, and places which before were wont to yield gold and silver, have begun to receive them. They have also put fetters on your feet, and have bound with shameful bonds the blessed members and the temples of God; as though the spirit also were bound with the body, or your gold could be tainted by the contact of iron... ..O feet, with fetters and cross-bars impeded for a while, but quickly in a glorious course to speed to Christ! Let envious or malignant cruelty hold you here as long as it will, with its bonds and fetters; soon will ye from earth and from these sufferings come to the Kingdom of Heaven. In mines the body is not cherished by couch and pillows; but cherished it is by the refreshment and consolation of Christ. On the ground lieth the toil-worn frame, but no punishment it is to lie down with Christ. Squalid, unbathed, are the limbs disfigured with filth and foulness; but that is spiritually cleansed within, which without is in

<sup>1</sup> N. H. xxxiii. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Epistle lxxvi, Oxford Translation, p. 305.



the flesh defiled. Scanty is bread there; yet *not by bread alone doth man live, but by the word of God*. Shivering, ye have no clothing; but whoso is *clad with Christ* is abundantly clothed and adorned. Rough is the hair of your half-shorn heads [whereby they were marked as slaves]; but since *the head of the man is Christ*, any thing must needs become that head, which is illustrious for the Name of Christ. All this deformity, detestable and foul in the eyes of the Gentiles, with what splendour will it be recompensed! This brief suffering in time, for what a reward will it be exchanged of bright and eternal glory, when according to the saying of the blessed Apostle, *the Lord shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto His glorious body!*"

## THE NORTHUMBRIAN BORDER.<sup>1</sup>

By Rev. CANON CREIGHTON.

There attaches to all things which excite our human interest a distinct character, and it is the object of criticism to detach this distinct character from overlying details. I wish to bring into prominence the broad features of historical interest belonging to this district, and to mark out as clearly as may be its individual character. A district may be studied and examined in much the same way as a great writer. It has its peculiar charms, its special lessons, a style and mode of expression distinctively its own. It has its epochs and its transitions, through which it passes without losing its individuality.

In some cases these distinguishing features of local history are hard to disentangle and express with clearness. But there is no great difficulty in the case of Northumberland. It possesses distinctive features which give it a special character, stamped alike on all the monumental records of the past, on all the lingering survivals of old customs and institutions, on all that is racy in the life and character of its people. It is above all things a "Border Land."

I must own to a desire for a fuller recognition of the fact that English history is at the bottom a provincial history. This truth is chiefly left to be exhibited by novelists and poets. The historian and the archæologist investigate with care the separate origins of the early kingdoms, the steps by which they came under the overlordship of the West Saxon kings, and their incorporation into a consolidated kingdom under the Norman successors

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute at Newcastle, August 5, 1884, at the opening of the Historical Section. The text of this paper

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of the West Saxon line. But at this point they generally cease their inquiries. The history of the central kingdom, the progress of the central administration, become so important and so full of interest that they absorb all else. It is true that curious customs are noted by the archæologist, and that particular institutions force themselves into notice. But the vigorous undercurrent of a strong provincial life in different parts of England is seldom seriously considered by historians. Yet the moment that English life is approached from the imaginative side, it is the strong provincial life that attracts attention. Our great novels are not English but provincial. Our best known types of character are developed within distinct areas, and owe their expressiveness to local circumstances. Squire Western, Job Barton, Mrs. Poyser, Andrew Fair-service, Tennyson's Northern Farmer, all live amid definite surroundings, and all are racy of the soil which bore them. I am sure that there is no better service to be rendered by your society to historical study than an attempt to bring the characteristic features of different parts of England into due prominence. Archæology has done much for history in the past. It has gathered evidence oftentimes when written records are silent. It has pieced together fragments of the life of days of old when the human voice was still inaudible. It has settled disputed points by appeals to the eye on which there could be no doubt. In archæology, as in all other sciences, there are those who say that almost all has been done that can be done. The records of stones have been ransacked, explored, classified, and interpreted. Even if this were so, which is scarcely the case, there remain innumerable traces of the past, still unrecognised and unsuspected. Local character, habits, institutions, modes of thought and observation, are all the result of a long process, differing in different parts of England. They are only to be seen and understood by a sympathetic searcher and observer who looks upon each part of England in the light of its past, who sees that past, not only in ancient buildings, here and there, but on the whole face of the land, and in the hearts and lives of its inhabitants. I admit that this is no easy task. I admit that the results of such inquiry must at first be very hypothetical, and its conclusion

tentative. But I think that the inquiry is well worth pursuing, and it must be pursued speedily, if at all. The present century has seen an enormous change pass over the whole of England. Local customs, local peculiarities, even local dialects are rapidly passing away. Men no longer live on contentedly in the houses where their fathers lived before them. I said that English history had been provincial. It is rapidly ceasing to be so. Railways work every year unnoticed migrations of peoples multitudinous beyond the host of Ida the Flame-bearer. School inspectors demand from the children throughout the land uniform knowledge, uniform ideas, as much as may be, uniform pronunciation. Our old provincial character is doomed to destruction. Unless its remnants are carefully gathered, the key will be lost to much that will be of growing interest to the antiquarian.

Of this provincial history, no part of England possesses clearer traces than does Northumberland. It has always held the same position in English history from its very beginning. It has always been a Borderland. It is true that the Border has varied in extent; but whether it were great or small Northumberland has always been within it, and has generally formed its chiefest part. But we are met at the outset of our inquiry by the question, How came there to be a Borderland at all? The answer to this question brings into prominence a part of English history which it is too much the fashion to neglect. The northern Borderland was the creation of the Romans, who mapped it out with accuracy and defined its limits. If I were asked, What permanent results were left of the Roman occupation of Britain? I should answer that they marked out the territory between the Solway and the Clyde on the west, and the Tyne and the Forth on the east, to be a land of contention and debate, and that it remained with the character they impressed upon it down to the middle of last century.

If we were so careful of our early history as are some folk, we would erect upon the wilds of Redeswire a statue of C. Julius Agricola as the founder of our Border State, the originator of the elaborate constitution contained in the *Leges Marchiarum* and other such like documents. It was Agricola who consolidated the Roman province in

Britain, and first faced the difficulties of determining its limits. We know how in his first campaign he conquered the Ordovices and reduced the Isle of Mona. In his second campaign he brought into subjection the tribes of the western coast between the Dee and the Solway. He was careful to make good every step of his way, and keep open his communications. The trees fell before the axe of the legionary, and a rude but sufficient road was opened. Every night the Roman camp was occupied in some secure position, every day chronicled a steady advance of the invader. Permanent forts were raised in advantageous spots, and Agricola united to the fire of a general the sagacity of an explorer. From the Solway his forts most probably ran along the Eden and the Irthing to the Tyne. He found a narrow neck of land which he could occupy with ease, and by holding it secure his retreat. Then in his third campaign he advanced against "new peoples," tribes who as yet had not felt the arms of Rome. He penetrated, it would seem, to the Tay, and then again paused to secure the territory which he had acquired. Again he occupied a narrow neck of land between the Clyde and the Forth. This was commanded by forts "so that the foe," says Tacitus, "were driven almost into another island." I need not follow Agricola's course of conquest to the Grampian hills, nor his voyage of circumnavigation, nor his projected reduction of Ireland. Agricola's career came to an end, and with it came to an end any plan for extending Rome's sway over the whole of the British Isles. The only question which was considered by his successors was the boundary of the Roman province. Should they hold the northern or the southern line of forts by which Agricola had secured his conquests for the time? Rome's statesmanship and Rome's generalship never again contemplated the execution of Agricola's design of a complete conquest. For a time opinions wavered which boundary to choose. At length the line of forts along the Tyne and the Irthing was selected to mark the region south of which the "peace of Rome" was to be carefully maintained. The mighty rampart, which Dr. Bruce has taught us to call the wall of Hadrian, was erected as a majestic symbol of the permanence of Roman sway, as a dividing line between

civilisation and barbarism. But this was done without prejudice to the future extension of the Roman occupation to Agricola's farther line of forts. The Roman province was to stretch in full security as far as the Tyne and the Solway. Rome's influence was to be felt as far as the Clyde and the Forth. Two great Roman roads, each with several branches, passed northwards through the wall. Watling Street, with its supporting stations of Habitancum and Bremenium, traversed this county. The whole of Northumberland and the Scottish Lowlands are covered with traces of Roman and British camps, which tell clearly enough the tale of Border warfare in the earliest days of our history. They tell of a long period of constant struggle, of troops advancing and retreating, of a territory held with difficulty, of perpetual alternations of fortune. In the days of the Roman occupation the Border wears its distinctive features. Its future history is a changing repetition of the same details.

But though we may generally gather that this was the history of the Roman Border many puzzling questions remain. Why did the Romans fix their boundary where they did? The military reason of obtaining a narrow tract of land to fortify is no doubt a strong one. But the Romans were a practical people and wished to make their province of Britain a profitable possession. It may be that the valley of the Tyne was the most northern point where they saw a prospect of making agriculture immediately remunerative.<sup>1</sup> By the Tyne valley they established their boundary, and only kept such a hold of the country to the north as might help to secure the Tyne valley from invasion. It proved to be a difficult and in the end an impossible task. The sturdy tribes of the north learned to value at its true worth the intolerable boon of Roman

<sup>1</sup> I incline to think that the possession of the Tyne valley was more important to the Romans than is generally recognised. At the time of the Roman invasion the valley of the Tyne was probably the only corn-producing land of any extent between York and the Tweed. In early times a great part of this district would be covered by trees and scrub, with narrow strips of fertile land in the deep river valleys. Even where stretches of alluvial land broadened out, much of it was marsh, in which the beaver found a

home. North of York the traces of Roman remains are all of a military character; and signs of permanent civil occupation are only found in the immediate neighbourhood of the Wall. The importance of the land by the Tyne is shown in the grants made to the great barons of the Norman times. The Umfravilles who guarded Redesdale had the barony of Prudhoe to give a revenue. The Merlays, whose land ran up to Elsdon and Rothbury, had Heddou on the wall, Benton, Killingworth and Shields.

civilization, the colonist, the tribute and the tithe corn. In their moorland forts they resisted to the utmost. Constant warfare increased their discipline and power of combination. The growing wealth of the province offered a richer prize to their rapacity. Ever watchful for an opportunity they broke through the line of the wall and swept like a storm-cloud over the southern fields. Much, very much, has been done in explaining the Roman wall as illustrative of the life of the Romans. Something remains to be done in studying it as illustrating those whom it was built to repel. I could conceive it possible that an archæologist who was skilled in military science, and had the power of reproducing in his mind the local features of a bygone time—that one so gifted might make a military survey of the country round the Wall which might be full of suggestiveness for a picture of British life. I must own that the Wall is to me more interesting for the impression which it gives of the power of the Britons than of the mightiness of Rome. We know Rome's greatness from many other memorials. We know the bravery of the Britons only by the reluctant testimony of their enemies.

As we muse upon the ruins of Borcovicus another question arises before us. How came it that the men who so stubbornly resisted the massive legionaries of Rome marching against them in their thousands, gave way before the onslaughts of the Angles who came in small bands in their boats? It would seem that the need of resistance to Rome had called into being a premature organisation, a reckless patriotism, which produced a rapid reaction and degeneracy. The very greatness of Rome's power warned the Britons of their danger. Rome's advance was steady and threatened to spread northwards over the land. The Angles who settled along the east coast and passed up the river valleys did not awaken the same dread, or call out the same feeling of national danger. But the insidious progress of the colonists was more deadly than the warlike advance of the invader. Little by little the Britons were thrust into the hill country of the west. The line of the coast and the river valleys were gradually occupied by the clearings of the Angles. The land was still a Border land, but the line of the Border no longer

ran from north to south, but from east to west. When Ida, whom the fearful Britons called the Flamebearer, combined into a kingdom the scattered settlements of a common folk it was in the Roman Border land that those settlements began. They reached from the Tweed valley northwards and southwards, till Ida occupied the rock of Bamburgh as a central point, and thence extended his domain to the Tees.

The question of the Border between Briton and Angle, between east and west, was long contended and with varying results. The Britons on their part again united into the kingdom of Strathclyde, north of which was the Scottish kingdom of Dalriada. I will not impose upon your time and patience by tracing the variations of this western boundary. It will be enough to recall a few points of interest in the struggle. In 603 the combined army of Britons and Scots advanced to attack Æthelfrith's Northumbrian kingdom. They entered the vale of the Liddell, whence one pass leads into the valley of the Teviot and the Tweed, while another leads into the North Tyne. Here at a spot which Bede calls Dægsastan, a name still preserved in Dawstaneburn and Dawstanerig, was fought a battle which determined for many years the security of the Northumbrian Border. "From that time," says Bede, triumphantly, "no Scot king dared to come into Britain to war with the English to this day." The Angles recognised on this spot the weakness of their boundary, and copied the example of Rome. The remains of a huge earthen rampart, known as the Catrail, may still be traced along the wild moorland, hard by the spot where Dægsastan had run with blood.

I recall this event because it is a definite mark of an important point in our provincial history. The boundary from east to west led to the severance of Cumbria from Northumbria. The English desired only to secure, not to extend, their dominion westward. They weakened the kingdom of Strathclyde by driving a wedge of settlers into the tableland which lay in its midst. They penetrated along the valley of the Irthing, along the Maiden Way, into the central plain, which gained from them the name of Inglewood; but they left the mountainous district to the Britons.



I need not recall the great days of the Northumbrian kingdom, the heroic times of early Christianity, when the lamp of civilisation burnt brightly in the Columbite monastery of Lindisfarne, and was reflected from the royal house of Bamburgh. This period of greatness, though of immense importance to English history, is unfortunately only an episode in the history of this district as a whole. Yet there is no spot in England more fitted to awaken a deep sense of gratitude to the past than is the land which lies rolled beneath the Castle of Bamburgh. No works of man have effaced the traces of the past. The rocks remain amid the surging of the waves, as when Cuthbert heard amongst them the wails of men's souls in the eternal conflict between good and evil. The village clusters for protection at the foot of the royal castle, much as it did when it was fired by Penda's host. The sloping uplands are dotted by scattered farms, which still continue to mark the progressive clearings of the English settlers. The ruins of the monastery of Lindisfarne still hide themselves behind the sheltering promontory of rock that they may escape the eye of the heathen pirate who swept the northern seas. There is no place which tells so clearly the story of the making of England.

I pass by the days of the Northumbrian supremacy which ended with Egfrith's defeat at Nechtansmere, where the Pictish king avenged the slaughter of *Dœgsastan*. "From this time," says Bede, "the hopes and strength of the kingdom of the English began to ebb." The Northumbrian kingdom still pursued its career of literary and ecclesiastical activity at Jarrow, Wearmouth, and Streoneshalh. It did not pass away till it had produced an historian of its greatness. But its boundaries north and west were ill-secured. Its premature progress gave way to social and political disorganisation. The long black ships of the Danish pirates spread ruin amidst the numerous monastic houses that had grown up along the eastern coast. The Scots of Dalriada had established their supremacy over the Picts, and a strong Scottish power ravaged the district between the Forth and Tweed. But Scots and English alike soon fell before the arms of the Danes who came as invaders, and conquered and settled as they would. Churches and monasteries were

especially hateful to the heathen Danes. Their buildings were burnt, their treasures were scattered, their libraries were destroyed. The work of Benedict Biscop, of Wilfrid and Bede, was all undone. The civilisation of Northumbria was well-nigh swept away. Only round the relics of the saintly Cuthbert a little band of trembling monks still held together, and wandered from place to place, kept steadfast by their faith that Cuthbert would not forsake them. It was the West Saxon Ælfred who checked the career of Danish conquest; it was his wisdom that prepared a way whereby the Danes ceased to be formidable and became a new but not alien element of English life.

The Danish settlement had little effect on the northern part of the Northumbrian kingdom. The Danes chose Deira, not Bernicia; their traces are found in Yorkshire, not in Northumberland. Their incorporation into English civilisation, and the limits of their settlement in Northumbria, are alike illustrated by the story of Guthred. To escape a civil war amongst themselves the Danish host listened to the counsels of Ælfred, aided by Eadred, the prior of the wandering monks of Lindisfarne. Eadred counselled them to choose as their king Guthred, a young man of the royal blood, who had been sold as a slave to a widow woman at Whittingham. Guthred, grateful for St. Cuthbert's aid, settled his brethren at Cuncachester, now Chester-le-Street, and gave as the patrimony of St. Cuthbert the land between the Tyne and the Tees, with privilege of sanctuary. This was the beginning of another step in our provincial history. It was the origin of what was known till very recent times as the Bishopric. It was the foundation of the authority of the Prince-Bishops of Durham. It marks the cause which severed the county of Durham from the county of Northumberland.

The Danish kingdom in Deira ran its course, and in due time submitted to the Lords of the West Saxon king. In Bernicia, meanwhile, members of the old royal house were allowed to rule over their devastated lands, for which they paid tribute to their Danish lords. When the Danes made submission to Eadward the Elder the men of Bernicia submitted likewise. But the men of the north were unruly subjects, and were hard to reduce into harmony with the men of the South. Edmund and Eadred

both strove to make a peaceful settlement of their northern frontier. Edmund gave Cumberland to Malcolm, King of the Scots, on condition that he should be his "fellow-worker by land and sea." He wished to show that there need be no collision of interest between England and Scotland. It was a question for decision on grounds of expediency how order could best be kept in the doubtful portions of Northumbria and Strathclyde. Edmund handed over this responsibility, as far as Cumberland was concerned, to the Scottish king, and the plan succeeded. In later days William Rufus reclaimed the district south of the Solway, and so fixed the definite boundaries of the English kingdom on the western side. Eadred had still to face the difficulty of dealing with Northumbrian independence, which had degenerated into anarchy and disorder. The last king was driven out, and an earl was set to rule in his stead; but so strong was local feeling that the earl was chosen from the old house of the lords of Bamburgh. Eadred's successor Edgar ventured a step farther, and divided this great earldom into two. Moreover he followed Edmund's example of friendly dealings with the Scottish king. The land north of the Tweed was of little value to the English. Lothian was ceded to the Scottish king, most probably by Edgar, though it was afterwards recovered, but finally ceded in 1016.

The hopes of Edgar that Northumberland would settle into peace and order were destroyed by the renewed invasion of the Northmen. Again all was in confusion. Again the terrified monks bore off St. Cuthbert's body that they might save it from sacrilege. Their wanderings were miraculously stayed, so goes the legend, upon a hill-top amid the waving woods that clad a bold promontory round which flowed the waters of the Wear. This hill-top of Dunholm was chosen as the site on which rose the mighty minster that holds St. Cuthbert's shrine. The saint had left the bleaker regions further north which he had loved so well. The outward signs of devotion for his memory were not to gather round the scenes of his labours. The chief centre of ecclesiastical civilisation was henceforth fixed far away from Bamburgh, on a spot which had no associations of the old days of Northumbria's greatness. This northern district was abandoned by its

patron saint, as though a destined theatre for acts of lawlessness and deeds of blood.

The lawlessness and barbarism of Northumberland in these days we know from the history of its earls. Uhtred, who sprang from the old line of the lords of Bamburgh, covenanted, as a condition of his marriage with a citizen's daughter, to espouse the blood feud of his father-in-law and slay for him his enemy. Though the marriage was broken off and the covenant was unfulfilled, the enemy who had been threatened bided his time, and slew Uhtred in the presence of King Cnut. The feud was carried on by Uhtred's son, who slew his father's slayer, and was himself pursued in turn. The two foes grew weary of their lives, spent in perpetual dread; they were reconciled, and undertook together a pilgrimage to Rome. But the sea was tempestuous, and they shrank before the voyage. They agreed to dispense with the solemn religious vow and to return home in peace. But on the way home the old savage passion for revenge revived, and one slew his unsuspecting fellow as they rode through the forest of Risewood. We see the growth of the wild spirit which supplied the material for the Border feuds of later days.

Still, lawless as Northumberland might be, it could not forget the days of its former greatness. Though it could no longer hope for supremacy, it struggled at least for independence. Its resistance to the family of Godwine, its rejection of Tostig for its earl, caused dissension within the house which seemed to hold England's future in its hands. The refusal of Northumberland to help King Harold was one great cause, we cannot say how great, of the victory of the Norman William by the "hoar apple tree" on the hill of Senlac. Perhaps the Northumbrians hoped under William's rule to establish their independence. But William was not the man to allow the formation of a middle kingdom. He soon learned the lawlessness of the Northumbrian temper. His first earl, though of English blood, was attacked at Newburn, and the church in which he sought shelter was burned to the ground. His second earl was driven away by a revolt. His third earl, a Norman, was massacred in Durham with all his men. William saw the gathering danger threatened by this northern love for independence. His answer to the

northern revolt was swift and decided. He let men feel his starkness by his remorseless harrying of the north. The lands between the Humber and the Tees, and then the lands of the Bishopric, were reduced to a waste. The population fell by the sword or died of hunger. Northumberland was left powerless for any further revolt of a serious kind. The southern portion of the old kingdom of Deira lost all outward sign of its former position. Its old independence needed no further recognition, and no earl was appointed for south Northumberland. Hence the old name was transferred entirely to the northern part, which being a border land against the Scots still needed some responsible governor. That northern part, which is far north of the Humber, alone retained the name which can recall the memories of the greatness of the Northumbrian kingdom.

But though the independence of the north had been thoroughly broken by systematic devastation, still William paid some heed to its local feeling by giving it an earl sprung from the old Northumbrian line. Though he did so, he regarded Earl Waltheof with a jealous eye, and demanded from him a loyalty which he did not find in his Norman barons. Slight cause for suspicion brought upon Waltheof condign punishment. William knew no mercy for the last English earl, whose tomb at Crowland men visited as of a martyr and a saint. William then conferred the earldom of Northumberland on the Lotharingian, Walcher, Bishop of Durham. Again the lawless spirit of the Northumbrians broke out, and they took prompt revenge on the bishop for a misdeed which he did not punish to their liking. At a moot held by a little chapel at Gateshead the men of the Tyne and Rede gathered in numbers. As the talk went on, a cry was raised, "Short rede, good rede, slay ye the bishop!" and Walcher was slaughtered at the chapel door. Again Northumberland was harried, and Robert, the king's son, on his way from Scotland, laid the foundation of a castle opposite the spot where Bishop Walcher had been slain. Its walls rose as a solid and abiding warning to a turbulent folk. Near it were the remains of a Roman bridge across the Tyne—Pons Ælii, the bridge that the Emperor Ælius Hadrianus had built. Hard by was the little township of Pandon

and some remains of a camp, which may have afforded shelter to the monks, and so gained the name of **Monkchester**. In distinction to the ruins of this old camp, the rising fortress was called the new castle. Soon a population gathered round it which extended to Pandon and Monkchester alike, and these old names were absorbed into that of Newcastle.

Nor was the fortress of Newcastle the only sign of the presence of the conquering Normans. The three great baronies of Redesdale, Mitford, and Morpeth, held by the Umfravilles, the Bertrams, and the Merlais, extended in a belt across the district. North of them the Vesci lords of Alnwick built their castle on the banks of the Aln, and laid the foundation of the second Northumbrian town. The land was again committed to the care of a Norman earl; but it would seem that the lawlessness of the Northumbrians was contagious. Earl Mowbray plotted against William Rufus, who took the castle of Tynemouth, but was foiled by the strength of the rock of Bamburgh, which could not be taken till Mowbray's imprudence made him the victim of a stratagem. After this we hear no more of official earls. Northumberland depended directly on the crown, and went its own way for a short time in peace. But the weakness of Stephen had well nigh allowed Northumberland to go the way of Lothian, and become attached as an appanage to the Scottish crown. David I. had married the daughter of Earl Waltheof, and Stephen recognised this claim to the earldom of Northumberland. If Stephen had had a less statesmanlike successor than Henry II. the English Border might have been fixed along the old frontier of the Roman Wall. But Henry II. regarded it as his first duty to undo the mischief of Stephen's reign. He demanded the restoration of the northern counties, and from this time the limits of the English Border were definitely settled. It is true that there was a small piece of land on the Cumbrian Border about the possession of which England and Scotland could not agree. This Debateable Land was occupied as common pasture by the inhabitants of both countries from sun rising to sun setting, on the understanding that anything left there over night should be fair booty to the finder. On the Northumbrian Border

also the fortress of Berwick was an object of contention and often changed hands, till the luckless town of Berwick-upon-Tweed received the doubtful privilege of ranking as a neutral state, and its "liberties" were exposed to the indiscriminate ravages of English and Scots alike. Nor should it be unnoticed that the castle of Roxburgh was generally in the hands of the English king, as a protection of the strip of low-lying land south of the Tweed, where the barrier of the Cheviots merged into the river valley.

I have now traced the historical steps in the formation of the English Border, and the causes which gave the modern county of Northumberland a separate existence and a distinct character. The rest of its history is written on the county itself, and tells its own story in the various interesting remains of antiquity which cover the land. I will briefly draw attention to the chief periods which they mark.

1. From the beginning of the twelfth to the beginning of the fourteenth centuries baronial and monastic civilisation did much to bring back order and prosperity. The details of the management of a Northumbrian farm have been preserved in the compotus of the sheriff of Northumberland who held for six months the lands of the Knights Templars at Temple Thornton, which were seized by Edward II. in 1308. The sheriff's account is compiled with business-like precision, and enables us to judge with accuracy of the details of Northumbrian farming at the time. They show a system of farming quite as advanced as that which existed at the end of the last century, and among the expenditure is an entry for ointment for the sheep.<sup>1</sup> The total receipts were 94*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.*, the total expenses were 33*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.*, leaving a balance of 60*l.* 12*s.*, a proportion to his expenditure which any modern farmer would be glad to obtain.<sup>2</sup>

2. This period of prosperity was already passing away when the sheriff penned his accounts. He had to sell some oats and barley in a hurry, *propter metum Scotorum superveniencium*—through dread of a raid of the Scots. The Scottish war of Edward I. led to the ruin of the English border. The *nova taxatio* of the goods of the

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix No. I.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix No. I.

clergy, made in 1318, estimates the ecclesiastical revenues in the Archdeaconry of Northumberland at 28*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for the benefices of Newcastle, Tynemouth, Newburn, Benton, Ovingham, and Woodhorn. Then follows an entry that all the other benefices are *vasta et destructa et in eisdem nulla bona sunt inventa*—are barren and waste, and no goods are found in them. For the northern part of the county there is an enumeration of the benefices with the remark that they are *vastata et penitus destructa*—wasted and wholly destroyed.<sup>1</sup> It was this state of things which led to the organisation of border defences. The office of Lord Warden of the Marches, established under Edward I, became a post of serious responsibility. Castles, which had been built to overawe a turbulent population, or to increase the power of their owners against the crown, became necessary means of protection to the country. The land was dotted with pele towers—small square rooms of massive stones, strong enough to give temporary refuge to fugitives till the marauding troop had passed by on its plundering raid. Elsewhere were earthen or wooden huts which contained nothing that could attract cupidity. An Italian traveller, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, has left a picture of a journey through Northumberland in 1435. The folk fed on poultry but had neither bread nor wine; white bread was unknown among them. At nightfall all the men retired to a pele tower in the neighbourhood, through fear of the Scots, but left the women behind, saying they would not be harmed. Æneas sat in terror by the watch-fire amongst a hundred women, till sleep overcame him, and he lay down on a couch of straw in one of the huts. His slumbers were disturbed by the cows and goats who shared the room with the family and nibbled at his bed. At midnight there was an alarm that the Scots were coming, and the women fled to hide themselves. The alarm, however, was groundless, and next day Æneas continued his journey safely. When he reached Newcastle he seemed to himself again to be in a world which he knew. “For Northumberland” he says, “was uninhabitable, horrible, uncultivated.”

3. The more pacific attitude towards Scotland adopted

<sup>1</sup> Hodgson's History of Northumberland, vol. I, part 3, p. 355.



by Henry VII. brought a little peace ; but the battle of Flodden Field and the events that followed mark a determination on the part of the English government to use Border raids as a means for punishing Scotland, and gradually wearing out its strength. The lords wardens are urged on to the work of devastation by the Privy Lords of the King's Council, and send in hideous accounts of their zeal in this barbarous work. Thomas, Lord Dacre writes with pride that the land, which was tilled by 550 ploughs, owing to his praiseworthy activity "lies all waste now and noo corne saune upon none of the said grounds."<sup>1</sup> Again he tells Wolsey how the lieutenant of the middle marches entered Scotland with 1,000 men and "did very well, brought away 800 nowte, and many horses. My son and brother made at the same time an inroad into the west marches, and got nigh 1,000 nowte. Little left upon the frontiers except old houses, whereof the thatch and coverings are taken away so that they cannot be burnt." The records of Border warfare throw light upon the cold blooded and deliberate savagery which characterised the beginning of the sixteenth century. We recognise it clearly enough in other countries : we tend to pass it over leniently at home.

4. Under Elizabeth at last came peace between England and Scotland, and things grew better on the Borders. Deeds of violence were still common and disputes were rife. But Elizabeth's ministers were anxious that these disputes should be decided by lawful means, and that disorders should be as much as possible repressed. An elaborate system of international relationships was established. Every treaty and agreement about the government of the Borders was hunted up and its provisions put in force. The wardenship of the English Marshes was no longer committed to Percies, Greys, or Dacres, but to new men chosen for official capacity. There was no longer need of Border chiefs to summon their men for a foray and work wild vengeance for wrongs inflicted. Aspiring statesmen like Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir Robert Carey were entrusted with the task of organising a system of defence. Scotland was overawed not so much by armed force as by red-tape. The

<sup>1</sup> Raine's History of North Durham, p. vii.

Scottish Council was long employed in answering pleas and counterpleas wherewith the technical ingenuity of the English wardens constantly plied them. The amount of ink shed over the raid of Reedswire is a forecast of the best methods of modern diplomacy. Scotland was pestered by official ingenuity into a serious consideration of Border affairs. The English Borders were elaborately organised for defence. The county was mapped out into watches, and the obligation was laid upon the townships to set and keep the watches day and night.<sup>1</sup> When the fray was raised every man was bound to follow under penalty of fine and imprisonment. Castles and pele towers were converted into a system extending across the Border, with signal communication from one to another. A brief quotation from some articles made at Alnwick in 1570 may serve to illustrate the thoroughness of the system: "That every man that hath a castelle or a tower of stone shall upon every foray raised in the night give warning to the contrey by fier in the toppe of the castelle or tower in such sorte as he shall be directed from his warninge castelle, upon paine of iij*s*. iiij*d*."<sup>2</sup>

The system in itself was admirable. Its only defect was that in proportion as it led to momentary success it tended to decay. Sir John Forster writes from Berwick in 1575: "Thanks be to God we have had so longe peace that the inhabitants here fall to tillage of groundes so that theye have not delight to be in horse and armors as they have when the worlde ys troblesome. And that which theye were wont to bestowe in horse they nowe bestowe in cattell otherwayes, yet notwithstandinge whensoever the worlde graveth anye thinge troblesome or unquiet theye will bestowe all they have rather than theye will want horses." We see how statesmen were learning political philosophy in Elizabeth's reign. They contemplated in peace the possibilities of disaster; they recognised

<sup>1</sup> In Bishop Nicholson's *Leyes Marchiarum*, p. 215, &c., is printed "The Order of the Watche upon the West Marches, made by my Lord Wharton in the vith year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King Edmund the grate." This "Order of Watche" gives the number of armed men in each township fit to keep watch every night. A comparison of the popu-

lation of the townships then and at the present day shows at once how much more populous Northumberland was in the 16th century. It was then occupied by small freeholders, ready to fight for their own homes. The feudal lords were mainly their military leaders rather than their landlords.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix II.

the law of the alternations of human affairs. However quiet things might be, there would come a time, for which they must be prepared, when "the worlde would be troblesome." It is worth while noticing Sir John Forster's remedy for the carelessness which peace engendered. He advises that "a generall comaundement should come from her majestie to the noblemen and gentlemen here to favor their tennants as their auncestors have doon before tyme for defence of the frontiers."<sup>1</sup>

"To favor their tennants as their auncestors have doon before tyme." I believe that in these words we have the key to much of the social history of the English Border. You will see in your rambles through Northumberland much that will tell you of the former greatness of the feudal lords. You will not so readily distinguish the sites of the townships, which once largely consisted of freeholders, who armed themselves and fought for house and home. Northumberland at the present day is regarded as a great feudal county, with feudal antiquities and feudal memories visible at every turn. I believe, on the contrary, that in no part of England did the manorial system sit so lightly, or work such little change. Traces of primitive institutions and primitive tenures are found in abundance whenever we penetrate beneath the surface. First of all there is a noticeable feature which especially marks the district comprised within the limits of the old Northumbrian kingdom; the survival to the present day of a very large number of townships, which are still recognised as poor-law parishes and elect their own waywardens, overseers, and guardians of the poor. Even at the present day there are only thirty ecclesiastical parishes in this county which are conterminous with a single township. The remaining 132 parishes contain among them 513 townships. There are as many as thirty townships contained in a single parish, and the general number is four or five. This can easily be accounted for from the facts of local history; but it shows the need which was felt for the maintenance of small separate districts with some powers of self-government. Again, the ecclesiastical vestries of the ancient parishes of Northumberland consist, almost universally, of a body of four-and-twenty, who are

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix III.

appointed by co-optation. The term "vestry" does not occur in the church books, which uniformly speak of a "meeting of the four-and-twenty." This seems to point to an original delegation of power into the hands of representatives from the different townships comprising the parish. These townships were village communities holding land in common. I will not attempt to co-ordinate my evidence about them with any general theory of land tenure, but will simply tell you a few facts relating to them. The township in which I live, Embleton, lies within the barony granted to John Vesconte by Henry I. A deed, dated 1730, at which time the Earl of Tankerville was lord of the manor, contains the award of arbitrators appointed by the consent of all parties to have the lands of the townships divided. It recites that the Earl of Tankerville and eight others are "severally seized of the farms, cottages, and parts of farms in the township fields," Lord Tankerville of  $16\frac{1}{2}$  farms, the others of quantities varying from 3 farms,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  of a farm, to  $\frac{1}{4}$ th part of a farm. It then proceeds: "The premises above mentioned lie promiscuous in common fields undivided." The only holder in severalty was the vicar, whose "parcel of ground known as the East Field" affords the only known landmark from which the division can begin. The general result of the arbitrators' award is that the vicar receives an average of fifty-six acres for each of his three farms, Lord Tankerville gets an average of sixty-four acres for each of his  $16\frac{1}{2}$  farms, and the other holders average seventy-six acres for each of their eight farms. The varying quantity seems to depend on the quality of the land allotted in each case.

I will not trouble you with evidence on this point, but will quote a statement made by a man who was in the employment of a solicitor in Morpeth, and who represented a legal memory extending back as far as 1780. He says: "I believe that in former times the word *farm* was used in many parts of this county to express an aliquot part in value of a township, being one of several portions of land of which a township consisted, each one of such portions having originally been of equal value." He supports this by reference to cases of allotments in which he was himself concerned.

This use of the word *farm* to signify an original unit of land-tenure is peculiar to Northumberland, and probably has led to much interesting evidence being overlooked, as the ancient use of the word for a fixed interest in undivided land is easily confounded with its modern signification of a fixed amount of land. But many traces can still be found by one who searches for them. The records of vestry books show that contributions to parochial purposes were assessed upon each township in proportion to the number of ancient farms which it contained. In many cases this continued long after the division of the lands of the township, and long after the old meaning of the word *farm* had been forgotten.

Church rates were paid on farms; so were customary payments to the parish clerk and sexton. At Warkworth the vestry in 1826 resolved to rebuild the church wall, each farm being responsible for two yards of walling. It is curious to observe how long it was possible for an ancient institution to exist side by side with a new one. In the township of North Seaton the assessment of church rates on farms ceased in 1746, but the assessment of poor rate remained on the ancient basis down to 1831. Still more noticeable is the case of the township of Burradon. I have no record when the enclosure of the greater part of the township took place; but two parcels of land were left unenclosed. One was divided in 1723, the other in 1773. Upon both divisions each freeholder had appointed to him a part of the common in proportion to the number of ancient farms of which his enclosed lands were reputed to have consisted. Even after this final division the old system did not entirely disappear. Up to the year 1827 poor rates and highway rates were assessed at so much per farm, not so much per pound.

The evidence which I have at present, proves the ancient division into farms of forty-eight townships. A calculation of the areas of these farms, after they were divided, shows a great variety. They range from 1,083 acres to 50. No doubt this can easily be accounted for. In the less fertile parts of the county there were large tracts of waste which ultimately were absorbed by the townships scattered at a considerable distance from one

another. But there are eight townships where the average farm is below 100 acres, nine other townships where the average is between 100 and 120 acres, and nine where it is between 120 and 150 acres. This great variety renders it difficult to account for the Northumbrian farms by any of the modes of reckoning which have hitherto been proposed as of universal application. The Northumbrian unit seems to point solely to the actual facts of the needs of each township at the time of its original settlement:

The relations of these townships to the feudal lords varied, I believe, as much as did their unit of land tenure, though on this point it would be necessary to search the manor rolls in the case of each one separately. A few facts, however, may be stated on this subject. The manor of Tynemouth consist of eleven townships. Three of them are of freehold tenure. The remaining eight were in 1847 held partly in copyhold, partly in freehold. Each copyhold farm made a payment for "boon days," and also paid a corn rent. This rent varied in each township, but payment was in every case made according to the number of ancient reputed farms or parts of a farm of which the land consisted. We have no difficulty here in tracing a case in which the lord's demesne was scattered in eight out of the eleven townships contained in his manor. Three townships belonged entirely to freeholders, and freeholders were settled in the other townships also.

I pass to another instance, the township of North Middleton. The rolls of the court baron of the barony of Morpeth, which is held by the Earl of Carlisle, show that transfers of land in that township were accomplished by the admission of the new owner on the rolls of the manor. The township of North Middleton consisted in 1759 of fourteen farms, of which ten were held by the Duke of Portland, one by the Earl of Carlisle, and three were divided among six other freeholders. The condition of the township in 1797 is described as follows:—"The cesses and taxes of the township are paid by the occupiers in proportion to the number of farms or parts of farms by them occupied. These farms are not divided or set out, the whole township lying in common and undivided, except that the Duke of Portland has a distinct property in the mill and about

ten acres of land adjoining, and that each proprietor has a distinct property in particular houses, cottages, and crofts in the village of North Middleton. The general rule of cultivating and managing the lands within the township has been for the proprietors or their tenants to meet together and determine how much or what particular parts of the land shall be in tillage, how much and what parts in meadow, and how much and what parts in pasture; and they then divide and set out the tillage and meadow lands amongst themselves in proportion to the number of farms or parts of farms which they are respectively entitled to. And the pasture lands are stinted in proportion of twenty stints to each farm."

In this case we have the three-field system, with separate homesteads. The lord has a small share in the common lands, but has no separate demesne. The freeholders have mostly parted with their interests to a wealthy landholder; those who still remain hold small portions varying from seven-eighths to three-eighths of an original farm.

Take another instance. The township of Newbiggin-by-the Sea was in a manor which ultimately passed into the hands of the Widdringtons. In 1720 Lord Widdrington's lands were forfeited and were sold to a London company, who claimed manorial rights which the freeholders of Newbiggin would not allow. The proceedings of a long Chancery suit, in which the freeholders were left with their privileges unimpaired, show us a community completely self-governed, with no interference from a lord and little from the crown. They had a grant of market and fair, and tolls on ships coming into their little harbour, and paid to the crown a fee-farm rent of £10 6s. In 1730, to which date the freeholders' books survived, we find the arable land already divided, but the pasture land still in common. The freeholders meet and make bye-laws for the pasturage. They appoint constables, ale tasters, and bread weighers. They levy tolls on boats and ships, and receive payments for carts loading sea-weed from the shore, for lobster tanks in the rocks, for stones quarried on the foreshore. The money received from these rents of the rocks is divided among the freeholders in proportion to the ancient freeledges, or farms.

These three instances may serve to show the exceeding

variety of social life in Northumberland, and the comparatively slight effects of the imposition of the Norman manorial system upon the ancient townships. No doubt this great variety was due to the exceptional character of the county. The lords were bound to "favour their tenants for the defence of the frontiers." They meddled little with the freeholders of the townships, who formed a stalwart body of soldiers ready to follow the fray.<sup>1</sup>

But this same habit of following the fray had its disadvantages. It created a wild and lawless habit of life among the borderers. It brought all those evils which attach to any society which is haunted by a sense of insecurity. Though war ceased between England and Scotland, feuds and robberies by no means ceased between the borderers on each side. "The number is wonderful," write the English commissioners in 1596, "of horrible murders and maymes, besides insupportable losses by burglaryes and robberies, able to make any Christian eares to tingle and all true English hartes to bleede."<sup>2</sup> They estimate the murders at 1,000 and the thefts to the value of £100,000 in the last nine years. The union of the crowns of England and Scotland under one sovereign swept away all pretence for hostility on the Borders, and left the problem of reducing a lawless people to order. This work was begun by the strong sense and capacity of Lord William Howard of Naworth. A student and a man of business at once, he lived on the Borders, doing his own duty and demanding that every one else should do likewise. His object, in his own words, was "to reduce these partes into civilitie;" his motive was "dutie to his majestie and care of the well doinge of the countrie I live in." His real success was due to the fact that during a long life he steadily pursued his course, and raised an hitherto unknown standard of public duty amongst the chief men on the English Border. He exposed abuses in the public service; he rebuked negligence; he insisted on a rigid application of the laws, and on firmness in their administration. From his days onwards order began to be maintained and civilization to advance.

It would be an interesting and profitable study to trace exactly the disappearance of savage ways and riotous

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix IV.

<sup>2</sup> Raine's North Durham, p. xlv.



temper. The work has, at all events, been done in a thorough and satisfactory manner. In no part of England can there be found a more orderly, peaceable, law-abiding folk than are the Northumbrian peasantry. In no part of England is greater friendliness and hospitality shown to the wayfarer than in the valleys of the Cheviot Hills, which were once the haunts of moss-troopers. I never wander over the lovely moorland, and look upon the smiling, peaceful fields below, without feeling comfort amid the perplexities of the present by the thoughts of the triumph of the past. The frowning castles of the feudal lords now stand embowered in trees, and tell of nothing save acts of friendliness to those who dwell around. The peel towers in their ruins defend the flocks and herds from nothing save the inclemency of the heavens. Goodly farm-houses and substantial cottages for the peasants betoken prosperity and comfort. The sturdy good sense of English heads, the enduring strength of English institutions, has solved a problem in this Border land at least as difficult as those which trouble us in the present and cast a shadow over the future.

## APPENDIX I.

*Northumbrian Farming in 1309.*

I append the *comptus* of Guychard Charon, Sheriff of Northumberland, who renders an account of the receipts and expenditure of the lands of the Knights Templars at Temple Thornton, in the township of Thornton, in the parish of Hartburn, about six miles west of Morpeth. On the dissolution of the Order their lands were seized by the Crown, and Guychard Charon, as sheriff, managed the farm from November 1308, to March 1309. I give a summary of the chief items of receipts and expenditure, so far as they illustrate the system of farming and the price of produce.

		<i>Receipts.</i>			£	s.	d.
580 eggs	...	...	...	...	2	5	
Farm of the dovecot <sup>1</sup>	...	...	...	...	3	0	
Peat ...	...	...	...	...	3	0	
71 hens <sup>2</sup>	...	...	...	...	5	11	

<sup>1</sup> The right of having a pigeon-house was confined to the lord of the manor, and the destruction of pigeons was punished by severe penalties. The average price of pigeons was 8d. per dozen.

<sup>2</sup> The number of eggs and poultry sold

show that the habits of the people must have resembled those prevalent in France at the present day. So *Aeneas Sylvius* says "*Gallinæ et anseres afferebantur in esum, sed neque vini neque panis quicquam aderat.*"

24 quarters of wheat, 6 quarters of rye and maslin,				
14 quarters of barley, 8 quarters of barley and				
oats mixed, 86 quarters of oats	...	...	24	15 0
2 stock oxen <sup>1</sup>	...	...	...	12 0
3 cows, 3 calves and 6 barren cows	...	...	3	16 8
3 steers	...	...	1	7 0
3 heifers	...	...	...	15 0
2 bull calves	...	...	...	6 8
3 year-old stirks and 3 calves	...	...	...	13 6
1 bull	...	...	...	10 0
107 ewes, 108 muttons, 17 hogs	...	...	11	13 0
88 lambs	...	...	1	6 8
8 kids	...	...	...	6 8
21 hogs (swine) <sup>2</sup>	...	...	1	8 0
6 geese	...	...	...	1 6
4 skins of oxen who died of murrain <sup>3</sup>	...	...	8	0
2 ditto	...	...	1	2
69 fleeces of sheep who died of murrain	...	...	2	9 8
184 fleeces weighing 17 stone 1 lb. <sup>4</sup>	...	...	4	5 5
3 bushels of corn	...	...	...	2 6
Total of Receipts	...	...	£94	2 7

*Expenditure.*

£ s. d.

9 quarters 2 bushels of wheat at 6s. 8d. per quarter,				
50 quarters 6 bushels of oats at 2s. 6d. per quarter				
for seed <sup>5</sup>	...	...	9	8 6½

<sup>1</sup> Stock oxen for the plough. Walter de Henley, (quoted by Roger, History of Prices, i, 329) writing in the 14th century, says that ploughing by oxen is cheaper than ploughing by horses, and is equally speedy. He reckons that a team of oxen beginning at daybreak, and leaving off at 3 p.m., will plough 3½ roods, or an acre of the second or third ploughing. This is about the same as is done at this day. The cost of a horse, Henley says, during 25 weeks between St. Luke's Day, Oct. 18, and Holy Cross, May 3, is 12s. 5½d., without forage or chaff. This sum is made up by ¼ bushels of oats daily, valued at 1s. 2d., 1d. for herbage in summer, and 1d. a week for shoeing. An ox can be kept for the same time on 1s. worth of herbage and ¾ bundles of oats in the ear every week—the total expense being 8s. 7d. Besides, he says, when an ox gets old you may fatten and eat him, and get something considerable for the skin, whereas there is no such economy in a horse, whose flesh is worthless and the hide of little value.

<sup>2</sup> Pigs were an important article of food. In the spring they were let loose, ringed, to search for roots; after harvest they were driven into the fields and woods to search for acorns and mast. They were

under the care of a swineherd, whose wage was ½d. a week.

<sup>3</sup> Murrain was a generic name for disease, by which the loss of stock was enormous in mediæval times. Walter de Henley (Roger's History of Prices, i, 334) says:—If a sheep die put the flesh at once into water, and keep it there from daybreak till three o'clock, then hang it up to drain, salt and dry it, and it will, at least, do for your labourers.

<sup>4</sup> According to this, the price of wool was 4½d. per lb., and each fleece weighed, on an average, 1 lb. 5 oz. The sheep were small haired, and of a fine delicate breed, probably like the Welsh or mountain sheep. Their fleeces seldom weighed 2 lbs. and the wool was coarse with hairs, as is seen in cloth of the period. At the present day fleeces average 7 lb.

<sup>5</sup> As the amount of land under corn was 37 acres, we see that the quantity of seed per acre was two bushels, almost the same as at present. But the produce at that time was rarely more than 9 or 10 bushels per acre. Walter de Henley (in Roger's History of Prices, i, 270 n.) says: If wheat does not return more than three times the seed, a loss is incurred, except in dear years, i.e., when the price is above 4s. a quarter. He reckons thus:—the

22½ quarters of rye, 13 quarters 2½ bushels of maslin at 6s. 8d. per quarter, for the use of servants	11	12	1
4 quarters of oats for servants porridge <sup>1</sup> ...	10	0	
6½ quarters of oats, bought in sheaves for oxen and cows ... ..	16	3	
5 quarters of oats for provender of oxen ...	12	6	
Mending ploughs and harrows ... ..	12	0	
Turf dug to burn in winter ... ..	3	0	
Ointment for the sheep ... ..	3	0	
Wages of a man for keeping 88 lambs, ½d. a day for 90 days ... ..	3	9	
Milk for the lambs, and washing and shearing 192 sheep... ..	3	11½	
Weeding 37 acres of corn and 101½ acres of oats at ½ per acre ... ..	5	9	
Cutting, spreading and carrying 21 acres of hay... ..	13	1	
Mowing, collecting and binding 37 acres of corn and 101½ acres of oats at 7d. per acre of corn and 6d. per acre of oats ... ..	3	1	10½
Wages of an extra man for 30 days at 2d. per day	5	0	
Wages of six carters, one cowherd, one shepherd and one man for keeping house and making porridge for the year ... ..	2	0	0
Wages of a swine herd for 16 weeks ... ..	1	0	
Wages of two men harrowing for 31 days in winter and lent ... ..	5	2	
2 bushels of salt for porridge ... ..	0	10	

land is ploughed three times, each ploughing costs 6d. an acre, hoeing 1d., two bushels of seed 1s., second hoeing 1s. 2d., reaping 5d., carrying 1d., the straw pays for the threshing. If six bushels only are reaped to the acre, they will bring 3s., and have cost 3s. 1½d. Here no rent is paid.

<sup>1</sup> The food of the servants was oatmeal, maslin and rye, much of it made in the form of porridge, sometimes with "braxy," or the salted meat of animals that had died of murrain. The farm servants were paid wages and lived round the farm, receiving also their food. This system still prevails in Northumberland to some degree. The farm labourers are called "hinds," and each hind is supposed to supply two "bondagers" or assistant workers, generally women. The hind is engaged for the year, and receives his wage, even if prevented by illness from working. He has a house assigned him near the homestead, and has potatoes grown for his use on one of the farm fields. Fifty years ago the money wage was very small, and the hind was paid in farm produce—and kept a cow of his own. This is the same system as is shown in the Sheriff's accounts. Most probably the

labourers at that time were housed in rude beehive huts, and it is very possible that some remains which are assigned to pre-historic times may really be explained as clusters of peasant houses. At the beginning of this century the houses of the Northumbrian hinds were little superior to the beehive huts. They were built as follows:—the couples of heavy oak, with legs resting on the ground, about five feet high, were first placed; then undressed stones were heaped beneath and plastered with mud to make the walls; a small hole was left for a window, and another for a chimney; a thatched roof was put on the top. The floor was simply the earth beaten down, and in some cases mixed with lime. Each occupier brought with his furniture a fire place and a window. The chief article of furniture was a "box-bed," which made a partition in the dwelling. The cow stood in one end, and the family lived in the other. Many old people, now alive, remember this as the state of things in their young days. Their food was porridge and milk, with flat cakes of barley and pease meal mixed. They never ate fresh meat, but kept a pig, and had bacon as a treat.

Repairing walls of grange ... ..	3	0
Threshing and winnowing 21 quarters of corn, 8 quarters of barley and 44 quarters of oats ...	8	6
Wages of one servant for keeping the manor at 1½ d. day ... ..	1	19 4½
Total Expenses ... ..	£33	10 7½

The following is preserved among the Templars' Rolls, Ed. II:—

Compotus Guychardi Charon, nuper Vicecomitis Northumbrie, de exitibus terrarum et tenementorum Magistri et Fratrum Milicie Templi in Anglia, in eodem Comitatu, a die dominica proxima post festum Sancti Martini, videlicet, xvj. die Novembris, anno regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi secundo, usque festum Sancti Michaelis proximo sequens, et ab eodem festo Sancti Michaelis usque diem dominicum proximum ante festum Sancti Cuthberti proximo sequens anno tercio, quo die liberavit terras et tenementa predicta Ricardo de Horsleye<sup>1</sup> tunc Vicecomiti Northumbrie custodiendum quamdiu Regi placuerit, ad respondendum Regi de exitibus inde provenientibus per breve Regis et indenturam inter eos factam.

THORNTONE CUM MEMBRIS.—Idem reddit compotum de lxiij s. iiij d. de redditu assise diversorum tenencium diversa tenementa de predictis Magistro et fratribus de Manerio de Thornetone et diversis villis adjacentibus ad idem Manerium, videlicet Wotton, Mitford, Morpathe, Neubigging, Werkesworthe, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis, sicut continetur in Rotulo de particulis quem liberavit in thesaurario, et in extenta de predicto manerio facta per Adam de Eglesfield, et ad Scaccarium retornata; et de xj li. xiiij s. x d. ob. de redditu assise libere tenencium et custumariorum in villis de Heylee, Corbrigge, Trepwode, Novi castri super Tynam, Fennum, Ryntone, Jesemuthe, et Redewode ad eosdem terminos, sicut continetur ibidem; Et lx s. j d. ob. de consimili redditu assise diversorum tenencium in villis de Mildrom, Shottone, Heddon, Parkeston, Kyllum, Langetone, Lilleburn, Welloure, Alnewyke, et Baumburghie ad eosdem terminos sicut continetur ibidem; Et de x li. xvij s. iij d. de redditu assise diversorum tenencium diversa tenementa in Foxdene, Bisshepeston, Coone, villa Castri Bernardi, Somerhous, et Peltone in Episcopatu Dunelmensi ad eosdem terminos sicut continentur in Rotulo et extenta predictis; Et de x s. de v quarteriis avene de redditu assise in villa de Foxdene ad eosdem terminos, sicut continetur ibidem; Et de xl s. de quibusdam terris dominicis dicti manerii dimissis ad firmam hoc anno ad firmam (*sic*) in Fennum cum quibusdam operibus ad certum positis ibidem, ad eosdem terminos sicut continetur ibidem; Et de c s. de firma molendini de Thornetone ad eosdem terminos sic dimissi ad firmam per annum sicut continetur ibidem; Et de xvij s. de firma molendini de Heylee per idem tempus sicut continetur ibidem; Et de x s. de redditu Bracinarum in villis de Thornetone et Heylee ad festum sancti Michaelis, sicut continetur ibidem; Et de ij s. v d. de Diiij<sup>ss</sup> ovis de redditu assise in Thornetone, Heylee, et Fennum ad festum Pasche venditis sicut continetur ibidem; Et de v s. xj d. de lxvij operibus estivalibus et

<sup>1</sup> In Fuller's list of the Sheriffs of Northumberland "Guid. Charroum" occurs, 2 Edward II. Richard de Horsleye

does not appear until 37 Edw. III., and again 43 to 46 Edw. III.

autumnalibus venditis<sup>1</sup> sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de iij s. de firma Columbarie apud Thornitone a festo pasche usque festum Sancti Michaelis per dimidium annum sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de iij s. de turbariis venditis per idem tempus sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de v s. viij d xj d. (sic) de lxxj gallinis de redditu assise in villis de Thornitone, Fennum, et Heylee ad festum Nativitatis Domini sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xxiiij li. xv s. de xxiiij quarteriis frumenti, vj quarteriis siliginis et mixtilionis, xiiij quarteriis ordeï, viij quarteriis ordeï et avene mixte, et iij<sup>xxvj</sup> quarteriis avene, receptis de Roberto de Fandone per indenturam, et sic statum venditis propter metum Scotorum superveniencium, sicut continetur ibidem : Et de xij s. de ij bobus de instauro venditis sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de lxxvj s. viij d. de tribus vaccis et tribus vitulis de exitu earundem, et vj vaccis sterilibus, venditis circa gulam Augusti per mandatum domini Regis ; Et de xxvij s. de tribus boviculis ejusdem instauri, et per idem mandatum sic venditis, sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xv s. de iij juvenis ejusdem instauri per idem mandatum venditis sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de vj s de ij bovettis ejusdem instauri per idem mandatum venditis sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xij s. vj d. de iij stirkettis superannatis, et iij vitulis ejusdem instauri, per idem mandatum venditis, sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de x s. de uno tauro ejusdem instauri per idem mandatum vendito sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xj li. xij s. de cvij ovibus matricibus, cvij multonibus, xvij hogastris, de remanentibus compoti precedentis receptis per indenturam, sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xxxvj s. viij d. de iij<sup>xxvij</sup> agnis de exitu venditis sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de vj s. viij d. de viij capris venditis ante Natale Domini sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xxviii s. de xxj porcis venditis sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xvij d. de vj aucis venditis sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de viij s. de iij coreis bovinis debilibus mortuorum de morina sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xiiij d. de coreis ij affrorum mortuorum in morina sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xlj s. viij d. de vij<sup>xxix</sup> pellibus ovium matricum, multonum, et hogastrorum lanutis mortuorum in morina venditis sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de iij li. v s. v d. de x<sup>iiiij</sup> velleribus ponderantibus xvij petras j libram lane venditis sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de ij s. vj d. receptis de iij bussellis frumenti venditis super computum sicut continetur ibidem.

Summa totalis Recepte iij<sup>xx</sup>xiiij li. ij s. vij d.

EXPENSE.—Idem computat in ix quarteriis ij bussellis frumenti, E quarteriis vj bussellis avene, emptis ad seminandum, ix li. viij s. vj d. ob., videlicet, pro quolibet quarterio frumenti vj s. viij d., et pro quolibet quarterii avene ij s. vj d., sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in xxij quarteriis dimidio siliginis, xiiij quarteriis ij bussellis dimidio mixtilionis, emptis ad liberationes famulorum xj li. xij s. j d., precium quarterii vj s. viij d. ; Et in iij quarteriis avene emptis pro farina ad potagium famulorum x s. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in vj quarteriis dimidio avene emptis per estimacionem in garbis ad sustentacionem bovium et vaccarum xvj s. iij d. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in v quarteriis avene emptis ad prebendam affrorum, et expenditis in prebenda eorundem tempore seminacionis, xij s. vj d. ; Et respondet ex altera parte Rotuli ; Et in carucis et herciis emendis pervices xij s. sicut continetur ibidem ;

<sup>1</sup> This was a composition for "boon his tenants to plough his lands. days," days when the lord might require

Et in turbis fodiendis ad conburendum in yeme iij s. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in uncto empto pro bidentibus ungendis per vices iij s. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in stipendio unius hominis custodientis iij<sup>xxv</sup> agnos de exitu a festo purificationis beate Marie usque festum invencionis sancte crucis proximo sequens per iij<sup>xx</sup> dies capientis per diem ob., iij s. ix d. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in lacte pro sustentacione dictorum agnorum, et pro ix<sup>xxij</sup> multonibus lavandis et tondendis iij s. xj d. q<sup>a</sup> sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in xxxvij acris frumenti, cj acris dimidio avene sarclandis, precium acre ob., v s. ix d. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in xxj acris feni falcandis, spargendis, et levandis, tam infra clausum Curie quam in campis, xij s. j d. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in xxxvij acris frumenti, cj acris dimidio avene metendis, colligendis, et ligandis lxj a. x d. ob., videlicet, pro qualibet acra frumenti vij d. et pro qualibet acra avene vj d., sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in vadiis unius hominis existentis ultra messoros per tempus autumpni, videlicet, per xxx dies, cap. per diem ij d., v s. ; Et in stipendiis vj caruciarum, j vaccarii, j bercarii, et unius hominis custodientis manerium et facientis potagium famulorum, per totum annum integrum, xl s. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in stipendis unius porcarii per xvj septimanas, xij d. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in stipendiis ij hominum euncium ad herciam tempore seminacionis per xxxj dies, tam tempore seminacionis hyemalis quam quadragesimalis, v s. ij d. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in ij bussellis salis emptis pro potagio famulorum x d. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in parietibus grangie emendandis iij s. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in xxj quarteriis frumenti, siliginis, et mixtilionis, viij quarteriis ordeï, et xliij quarteriis avena tritrandis et ventandis viij s. vj d. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in vadiis j servientis custodientis Manerum per tempus compoti ut supra xxxix s. iij d. ob., cap. per diem j d. ob., sicut continetur ibidem.

**EXPENSE TEMPLARIORUM.**—Et in expensis fratris Michaelis de Soureby, fratris Walteri de Gaddesby, fratris Galfridi de Wittone, et fratris Roberti de Cammulle de ordine Milicie Templi, existentium in custodia dicti Guychardi in castro Novi Castri super Tynam a die dominica proxima post festum Sancti Martini anno regni Regis Edwardi secundo usque festum Sancti Michaelis proximo sequens anno regni Regis Edwardi tercio, videlicet, per cccxv dies, cuilibet capiendū per diem iij d., xxj li. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et in expensis dictorum iij fratrum, viij hominum equitum, x hominum peditum missorum cum dictis fratribus inter Novum Castrum super Tynam et Eboracum pro eisdem salvo et secure ducendis ibidem per tres dies, per breve Regis et per speciale mandatum ejusdem, et morando ibidem antequam liberabantur Vicecomiti Eboraci et Constabulario Castri ibidem, xl s. sicut continetur ibidem.

Summa Expensarum lvj li. x s. vij d. ob. q<sup>a</sup>.

Et debet xxxvij lixj d. q<sup>a</sup>. Et respondet infra.

**FRUMENTUM.**—Idem reddit compotum de ix quarteriis ij bussellis frumenti de emptis ut supra ; Et totum compotum in semine super xxxvij acras, videlicet, super acram ij bussellos.

**AVENE.**—Idem reddit compotum de liij quarteriis vj bussellis avene de emptis ut supra ad semen et potagium famulorum sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de v quarteriis avene receptis de emptis pro prebenda equorum tempore seminacionis sicut continetur ibidem ; Summa lix quarteria vj busselli ; De quibus in semine super cj acras dimidiam l quarteria vj

busselli; et in prebenda equorum tempore seminacionis ut supra v quarteria; Et in potagio famulorum iiij quarteria; Et equat.

**MIXTURA AD LIBERACIONES FAMULORUM.**—Idem reddit compotum de xxij quarteriis demidio siliginis, xij quarteriis ij bussellis dimidio mixtilionis, emptis ad liberaciones famulorum, Summa xxxv quarteria vj busselli dimidiis; De quibus in liberacionibus v carucariorum per xlv septimanas, videlicet, per totum tempus compoti xxij quarteria dimidium, Et in liberacionibus unius bercarii et unius vaccarii a die dominica proxima post festum Sancti Martini usque diem Sabbati in crastino Sancti Petri ad vincula proximum per xxxvj septimanas et v dies, cap. quarterium pro xij septimanas, v quarteria ij busselli dimidium sicut continetur ibidem, Et in liberacione unius porcarii custodientis porcos per xvj septimanas infra tempus predictum j quarterium, et in liberacium unius hominis custodientis curiam et facientis potagium famulorum per xlv septimanas ij quarteria vj busselli, et in liberacione unius carectarii euntis ad carectandum cum equis de manerio et cum equis dicti Guychardi post mortem equorum de manerio, a predicto die dominica proxima post festum Sancti Martini usque diem Lune proximam post festum Sancti Michaelis proximo sequens, per xlv septimanas, cap. quarterium per xij septimanas, ij quarteria vj busselli; Summa xxxv quarteria ij busselli dimidiis; Et in venditis super compotum ut patet superius ij busselli; Et equat.

**AFFRIL.** Idem reddit compotum de ij affris receptis de Roberto de Famdore per Indenturam; de quibus—in morine ij: Et remanet j.

**BOVES.** Idem reddit compotum de xxv bobus receptis de eodem per eandem Indenturam; De quibus in morina iiij; In venditis ij; —Et remanent xix.

**VACCÆ.**—Idem reddit compotum de ix vaccis receptis de eodem per eandem Indenturam; Et vendite ut supra; et equat.

**BOVICULL.**—Idem reddit compotum de v boviculis, ij stirkettis, receptis de eodem per eandem Indenturam; et vendite omnes ut supra; Et equat.

**JUVENCÆ.**—Idem reddit compotum de ij juvenis receptis de eodem per eandem Indenturam; Et vendite omnes ut supra; Et equat.

**VITULL.**—Idem reddit compotum de ij vitulis de exitu hujus anni; Et vendite ut supra; Et equat.

**TAURUS.**—Idem reddit compotum de j tauro recepto de eodem per eandem Indenturam; Et venditus ut supra; Et equat.

**OVES.**—Idem reddit compotum de ix<sup>xx</sup> ovibus matricibus receptis de eodem per eandem Indenturam; Et vendite ut [supra]; De quibus in morina lxxij, et in venditis cvij oves; Et equat.

**MULTONES.**—Idem reddit compotum de vij<sup>xx</sup>vij. multonibus receptis de eodem per eandem Indenturam; De quibus in morina xxiiij, et in venditis cvij; Et equat.

**HOGASTRI.**—Idem reddit compotum de lxx hogastris receptis de eodem per eandem Indenturam; De quibus in morina lij, et in venditis xvij; Et equat.

**AGNI.**—Idem reddit compotum de iiij<sup>xx</sup>vij. agnis de exitu hujus anni; Et venditi ut supra; Et equat.

**CAPRÆ.**—Idem reddit compotum de viij capris receptis de eodem, per indenturam, et vendite ut supra; Et equat.

**PORCI.**—Idem reddit compotum de xxiiij porcis receptis de eodem per Indenturam; De quibus in morina ij; et in venditis xxj; Et equat.

**AUCE.**—Idem reddit compotum de vj aucis receptis de eodem per Indenturam ; Et vendite ut supra ; Et equat.

**PELLES.**—Idem reddit compotum de xvij petris de cxlix pellibus bidentium de morina ante tonsuram ; Et vendite ut supra ; Et equat.

**LANA.**—Idem reddit compotum de xvij petris et j libra lane provenientis de ciij<sup>ss</sup> velleribus ; Et vendite ut supra ; Et equat.

**COREA.**—Idem reddit compotum de ij coreis affrorum de morina Et iiij coreis bovinis de morina ; Et venditi ut supra ; Et equat.

**GALLI, GALLINE, ET OVA.**—Idem reddit compotum de lxxj gallia, gallinis, Diiij<sup>ss</sup> ovis de redditu ; Et vendita ut supra ; Et equat.

**MORTUUM STAURUM.**—Idem respondet de tribus carucis cum toto apparatu, receptis de eodem per Indenturam, precium cujuslibet xvij d. ; ij plaustris precium iij s. ; ij plumbis precium j marca ; j cuva magna cum ij barellis precium v s. ; j lotorio cum parva olla enea ; feno ad sustentacionem averiorum dicti manerii ; j carecta ferrata precium xiiij s. ; iiij cistis ; ij minoribus barellis ; cum omnibus cartis, scriptis, et monumentis, sub sigillo fratris Michaelis, quondam custodis ejusdem manerii.

**ORNAMENTA CAPELLE.**—Memorandum de uno calice, uno vestimento integro, uno missali, uno gradali, et una legenda inventis in manerio de Thornetone predicto, et remanentibus penes Robertum de Fandone, qui ea adhuc retinet, et liberare dicto Guichardo recusavit.

**COMPOTUS** ejusdem Guychardi de eisdem terris a festo Sancti Michaelis anno tercio usque diem dominicum proximum ante festum Sancti Cuthberti proximo sequens, quo die liberavit predictas terras et tenementa Ricardo de Horeley, nunc Custodi earundem per breve Regis et indenturam inter eos inde factam.

Idem reddit compotum de v s. xj d. de lxxj gallinis de redditu termino Natalis Domini sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de iiij s. vij d. de coreis, ij bovium, et coreo j affri mortuorum in morina venditis sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xxx s. v d. de iiij quarteriis dimidio j bussello frumenti venditis, precium quarterii vj s. viij d. sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xv s. iij d. ob. de vj quarteriis j bussello avene venditis super compotum sicut continetur ibidem ; Et de xiiij s. de j carecta ferrata vendita super compotum sicut continetur ibidem.

Summa Recepte lxx s. ij d. ob.

**EXPENSE.**—Idem computat in vadiis unius servientis custodientis manerium predictum a die dominica in festo Sancti Michaelis anno supra dicto usque diem dominicum proximum ante festum Sancti Cuthberti proximo sequens, per clxv dies, cap. per diem j d. ob., xx s. vij d. ob. ; Et in stipendiis ij hominum euntium ad herciam tempore seminacionis, tam hyemalis quam quadragesimalis, per xxxj dies, ij s. vij d., cap. per diem j d. ; Et in x quarteriis frumenti, xxx quarteriis avene tritrandis et ventandis iij s. ij d., videlicet, per quarterium frumenti ij d., et per quarterium avene j d. ; Et in stipendio unius fabri emendantis ferramenta carucarum per tempus istius compoti, ex certa convencionem secum facta pro medietate anni, v s.

Summa Expensarum xxxij s. iiij d. ob. ;

Et debet xxxvijs. xd. ; Et debet de remanentibus compotis precedentis xxxvij li. xj s. xj d. q<sup>a</sup> Summa conjunta que debetur xxxix. li. ix s. ix d. q<sup>a</sup>. ; Sed respondet in Rotulo sexto in Northumbria.



## GRANGIA.

FRUMENTUM.—Idem reddit compotum de xvij quarteriis j bussello frumenti, De quibus in semine super xxij acras terre v quarteria dimidium, et in venditis ij quarteria ut supra, et in liberacione facta Ricardo de Horsleye vij quarteria, et in venditis ut supra iiij quarteria v busselli: Summa xvij quarteria j bussellus.

AVENA.—Idem reddit compotum de iiij<sup>ty</sup>, quarteriis avene de exitibus grangie; De quibus in semine super xxij acras xj quarteria dimidium, videlicet, super acram dimidium quarterium, et in liberacionibus iiij carucariorum a festo sancti Michaelis usque diem dominicum proximum post festum Sancti Cuthberti proximo sequens, per xxiiij septimanas, cap. quarterium per xvj septimanas, xvj quarteria, et in liberacione unius ancille custodientis curiam et facientis potagium famulorum, per dictum tempus ij quarteria, cap. quarterium per viij septimanas, et in sustentacione ix bovium per estimacionem in garbis vj quarteria, et in farina facta pro potagio famulorum per tempus compoti j quarterium, et in liberacione facta Ricardo de Horsleye per indenturam xij quarteria ii busselli: Summa lxxviij quarteria vij busselli; Et in venditis super compotum ut patet superius vj quarteria j bussellus.

## INSTAURUM.

AFFRI.—Idem reddit compotum de j affro de remanentibus ultimi compoti; Et mortua (*sic*) est in morina hoc anno; Et nichil remanet.

BOVES.—Idem respondet de xix bobus de remanentibus; De quibus in morina ij, et in liberacione facta Ricardo de Horselay, habenti custodium terrarum et tenementorum per breve Regis et indenturam inter ipsum [et] Guychardum inde confectam, xvij boves; Et equat.

MORTUUM STAURUM.—Idem respondet de tribus carucis cum toto apparatu, de remanentibus ultimi compoti, precium cujuslibet xvij d.; ij plaustris precium ij s.; ij plumbis precium j marca; j cuva magna cum ij barellis precium v s.; uno lotorio cum parva olla enea; feno ad sustentacionem averiorum dicti Manerii; iiij cistis; ij minoribus barellis cum omnibus cartis, scriptis, et monumentis, sub sigillo fratris Michaelis quondam custodis ejusdem Manerii, et liberatis predicto Ricardo de Horselay per indenturam inter ipsum et prefatum Guychardum inde confectam.

Et memorandum quod dictis Guychardus liberavit predicto Ricardo de Horseley x plaustra feni per indenturam, unde habet respondere super compoto suo.

## APPENDIX II.

(Foreign, Eliz. Record Office. Vol: 115. No. 924.)

At Alnewick,  
xij<sup>mo</sup> N<sup>o</sup> 1570.

Articles accorded by the Right Honorable Thomas Earle of Sussex vizcount Fitzwalter, Lorde Egremont and Burnell, knight of the moste honorable Order of the Garter, Cap<sup>ea</sup> of the Gentlemen pencioners and Gentlemen at Armes, Chefe Justice and Justice in Oyer of all the Q: Ma<sup>ty</sup> forests pks Chaces and Warens by Sowthe Trente, L. President of her Ma<sup>ty</sup> Councell established in the Northe, and her highnes Lieutenant Generall of the said Northe pts: the Wardens of the east and middle Marches: And the principall gentlemen of the Com: of Northumberlande, Whose names be under written. At Alnewick xij<sup>mo</sup> Novemb. 1570.

That the night watches for townes and fourds shalbe kepte punctually in the townes and at fourds fitt to be watched, and the other fourds dampned. And that day watches shalbe also kepte in places accustomed. And the setters searchers and ov'seers appointed as they were in former watches. And if any be deawle : others to supply by the appointem<sup>nt</sup> of the wardens and gentlemen and that diligent search be made by the Watches for apprehending of such as passe into Scotland, or owt of S<sup>ad</sup> w<sup>th</sup> fies or messages.

That ev'y mane apon the fraye raised by night or by day shall follow the fraye upon payne of ymp'som<sup>nt</sup> for vij dayes and losse of iij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>.

That the p'sons that shall faile in answering and following of the fraye shall answer the Valew of the goods lost (if any be lost) and the p'sons reskewing the goods shall apon a manifest desert by adventure have for ther travell in peace tyme (if it be w<sup>th</sup>in english grownde) after the rate of xij<sup>d</sup> in the pounce. And if it be w<sup>th</sup>in S<sup>ad</sup> grownde after the rate of ij<sup>s</sup> in the pounce of the goods reskewed. And the owner to have his goods presently. And the Reskewer to have his porc'on of the owner, and if the owner refuse to deliv' it the Warlen to compell him.

That if any scottishman shall come into England and shall take and carry away by stealth or otherwise unlawfully any goods belonging to any englishman and the said S<sup>h</sup> man shall ether going to the facts or retorning from the fact be received by any Englishman or S<sup>h</sup> man dwelling in englande: the p'tie so receiving shall answer the goods loste and be compelled therto by the Warden of the Marches where the goods were lost. And if the p'tie that lost the goods and the receiver dwell in sev'all Wardenries then bothe the Wardens shall joyne to see dew exequon of this Article.

That ev'y man that hath a castell or a tower of stone: shall upon ev'y fray raised on the night give warning to the Contrey, by fier in the toppe of the castell or tower in such sorte as he shalbe directed from his Warninge Castell: apon paine of iij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>.

That some two or iij or more speciall places may be appointed in ev'y Wardenry as warninge places Where Watch shalbe nightly kepte, to th ende that apon fier descried to be gevin in the other castells: ther may be also fier gevin there to Warne th oole Contrey. And that the places be knowne to the people that they may knowe the cawse of the fyryng of those places to be onely upon the raising of the fraye, And not for such other cawses as other beakons be comonly fyered, And that the Contrey be devidid into pts. Wherby the castells of evy pte shall knowe howe to receive the Warning.

That evy pson that shall have any goods stollen or takin shall w<sup>th</sup>in tene dayes after the losse therof deliver to the Warden or his Deputy of the Mche where the goods were lost a bill of the goods lost, and (if he can) of the names of the psons that tooke it, to th ende the Warden may at evy monethes ende make upp his booke of the hurts done in his office that moneth, And by Whome (if it may be knowne) Whereby he shall understand the state of his Office evy moneth and kepe a pfite boke therof, W<sup>ch</sup> for many respects is very necessary.

That all gentlemen and freeholders shall kepe horse Armo<sup>r</sup> and weapon for them selfs And ther families, And cawse ther ten<sup>ants</sup> to kepe horse

Armo<sup>r</sup> And weapen According to the Ancient use and custome of the borders.

That ev'y landlorde shall appoint sufficient grownde to ev'y of his ten<sup>n</sup>ts, Wher upon he may finde horse and armo<sup>r</sup> according to the custome of the borders.

That no landlorde shalbe p<sup>m</sup>itted to suffer any pte of his lande (that is fitt to be manured) to lye waste w<sup>th</sup>out a ten<sup>n</sup>t or occupier longer then of necessity he shalbe forced.

That the landlords ap<sup>o</sup>n the borders shall consider what they and ther ten<sup>n</sup>ts shalbe hable to dooe to inclose ther townes ap<sup>o</sup>n the borders. And the Whole Contrey shall joyne in Ayde to helpe them w<sup>th</sup> that they can of them selfs doo so as they may inclose this yeare certain townes upon the Fringe of the borders w<sup>th</sup> diche and quicksett, And others the next yeare, And so yearly untill all be inclosed neare to the Fringe, Wherby the Uttermost p<sup>t</sup>s being streingthened: the people of england w<sup>th</sup> ther goods may lye in suerty. And the Scotts entering englande come in pill, and when the borde<sup>r</sup> towns be inclosed: the borderers shall ayde the inlande men to inclose ther townes.

That no mane receive any Scottishman to be his ten<sup>n</sup>te w<sup>th</sup>out lycense of the Warden of the Marche under his hande writinge, And that ev'y mane w<sup>th</sup>in One moneth make certificate to the Warden of the names of all such Scottishmen as be his ten<sup>n</sup>ts at this present, And w<sup>ch</sup> of them be denisons and w<sup>ch</sup> be not, And that ev'y man that hath any Scottishman to to his S<sup>r</sup>v<sup>n</sup>te shall deliver his name to the Warden w<sup>th</sup>in One monethe, And evy ma<sup>n</sup>e that hereafter shall take any Scot to his S<sup>r</sup>v<sup>n</sup>t: shall before he receive him to his service give his name to the Warden, and that evy man that hath or hereafter shall have any Scot to his seru<sup>n</sup>t: shall bring forth his servant to Answer or shall Answer for him during his abode w<sup>th</sup> him, And that no man shall putt away any such Scot from his service before he first bring him to the Warden, to offer him to Answer to all matters wherw<sup>th</sup> he shalbe charged: to th ende ev'y Warden may make a p<sup>r</sup>ite boke therof and therby have knowlege of all the Scotts w<sup>th</sup>in his charge from tyme to tyme.

That good order be given to apprehend all such p<sup>r</sup>sons as shall reporte any sediciowse, lewde or slanderowse tales or rumo<sup>r</sup>s, towching ether the Q: Ma<sup>ty</sup>, or any of Her Highnes Prev<sup>y</sup> Councell, or any of the Nobility or principall officers of the Realme, or that shalbe derogative directly or indirectly to the goode peace and quiet of the Realme.

The Earle of Sussex Lieuten<sup>n</sup>t gefall of the Northe.

S<sup>r</sup> John Forster knight Warden of the middle M<sup>r</sup>ches.

S<sup>r</sup> Willm Drury knight Marshall of Barwick, having the charge of Barwick and the easte Marches by the Quene's Ma<sup>ty</sup> Order in the absens of the lorde of Hunsdon.

S<sup>r</sup> Valentine Brown knight Treasurer of Barwick.

S<sup>r</sup> George Hearon knight deputy Warden of the Middle Marches and kep of Tyndale and Riddesdale.

John Selbye Deputy Warden of the east M<sup>r</sup>ches.

The L. Ogle

S<sup>r</sup> John Witherington

S<sup>r</sup> George Radclif

S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Graye

S<sup>r</sup> Cutbert Collingwodd

Willm. Hearon Bailif of Hexam

Clement Ogle

Edwarde Witherington

Robt. Middleton

Robt. Rames

Thomas Ogle	Anthony Radclif
Roger Cutbert Carnaby	John Shaftoo
Thomas Forster	Gawain Rotherforde
Nicholas Riddley	Mighell Fenwik
Thomas Swinborne	Roger Fenwik
Thomas Ilderton	Alexander Hearon
George Mustiens	Gerarde Hearon
Robte. Witherington	John Witherington
Robte. Clavinging	James Ogle
Thomas Clavinging	Lewes Ogle
Lancelot Thrillway	John Hearon
Mighell Helborn	Oswolde Midforde
Robte Horsley	Oswold Witherington
John Horsley	Laurence Thorneton
John Car of Hetton	Stephen Fenwik
Edmond Crayster	Richarde Fenwik
John Car of Fourde	Thomas Selby
Luke Ogle	Robte Clennell
Thomas Ogle	Roger Proctor
George Ogle	John Fenwik
Richard Fallowfelde Constable of	Martin Fenwik
Morpet	Gilbert Park
John Musgrave	Cutbert Midforde
Gilbert Erington	Marmaduke Fenwick.
Edwarde Bydnell	

## APPENDIX III.

(Record Office. Foreign, Eliz : Vol. 134. No. 153.)

Endorsed 1575, 6 Junii. From Sir John Forster to my lords of the Vituller of Berwick, of the decay of Horses on the Borders.

Pleaseth yt yo<sup>r</sup> hon<sup>rs</sup> to be advertised that Edwarde Merye Victualler of Barwyck under S<sup>r</sup> Valentyne Browne hath beine w<sup>t</sup> me and geven me warninge that upon comaundemente geven unto him by fre frome his M<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Valentyne he will execute the victuallinge of the said towne of Barwyck no longer than Mydsomer next. Wherof I thought I could doo no les but advertise yo<sup>r</sup>. ho : that some farther order maye be taken therin as yo<sup>r</sup>. Ll : shall thinke convenient.

Wheras I receyved yo<sup>r</sup> ho : fre beringe date IX<sup>th</sup> of Maye to have conferance w<sup>th</sup> such gentlemen of my Wardenrye as are inclined to good orders and of best Judgement and Secrecye, I have doon accordinge to yo<sup>r</sup> Ll : comaundement therin And the opinion ys that there are sondrye causes whye that the borders are not so well furnished w<sup>th</sup> horsemen as theye have beine before tymes.

The fyrst is that thanks be to God we have had so longe Peace longe peace that the Inhabitants here fall to tillage of gronde so that they have not delight to be in horse and armore as theye have when the wordle y<sup>r</sup> troublesome. And that w<sup>ch</sup> they were wont to bestowe in horse they nowe bestowe in cattell other-

wayes yet notw<sup>th</sup> standing whensoever the wordle graveth ..anye thinge troublesome or unquiet theye will bestowe all theye have rather then they will want horses.

An other cawse y<sup>e</sup> that the most parte of all the good horses of theis partes of Englande that are bowght at Mawten fayre  
 The conveyeng and Ryppon fayre are brought into the west Marches  
 of horses into and there open sale made of them into Scoteland I  
 Scoteland. remember I spake to my L. Treasurer therin a longe  
 tyme since and his ho: wrote down fres to the Justices  
 of peace w<sup>th</sup>in Yorkshire to take the markes of the horses bowght there  
 And the byers name And to advertise the wardens thereof to th entent  
 they should not pas their m<sup>ch</sup>es w<sup>th</sup>owte knowledge w<sup>ch</sup> notw<sup>th</sup>standing  
 ys used dayly contrarye wise.

The thyrd cawse y<sup>e</sup> that otherwise then hath beine accustomed in the frontors, ther is leases taken daylye So that the Tennant oftentimes takes y<sup>t</sup> at the Seconde or thyrd hand. And  
 The excessive fynes. wheras the fyrst taker payeth two or three yeres fyne  
 the Tennant payeth ix or x yeres w<sup>ch</sup> is ther utter  
 undoinge. This matter doth not consist onlye in the Queynes Ma<sup>ties</sup>  
 Tennants here but also in the Tennants of noblemen and gentlemen for  
 they take suche gersom'es and enhauncements of rents that the pore  
 Tennants are not able to kepe hors and armore as they have doon before  
 tyme.

The fowrth y<sup>e</sup> that when any Inhabitant here hath gotten anye Interest in a Tefit beinge scant sufficient for the menteignance  
 The devision of of one pson yf he chaunce to dye having two sonnes he  
 y<sup>e</sup> tenements. devydeh the said Tefit betwixt them bothe and thus  
 the taverninge of the Queynes land ys hinderance for  
 kepinge of hors and armor.

Wheres men are so geven to troble and often tymes those of the porer sorte that yf theye cannot get that w<sup>ch</sup> they desyre  
 Contention by and are satesfyed withall at Yorke, they will forthw<sup>th</sup>  
 lawe. repaire to London for trefling matters w<sup>ch</sup> ys a great  
 Impoverishinge of the Contrie w<sup>ch</sup> in o<sup>r</sup> Opinions were  
 a cheritable deade that there were some reformacon therin.

So that in o<sup>r</sup> opinions considering that the Queynes Ma<sup>tie</sup> doth not charge the Contrie here w<sup>th</sup> taxes or subsidies as other Contries are a  
 The Remedy: her highnes privie Counsell both to the noble men and  
 gentlemen here to favo<sup>r</sup> their tennants as their Auncetors  
 have doon before tyme for defence of the fronters, and to geve in certifi-  
 cate to the Wardens what number of horsemen they are able to make  
 shall put them in more terror then ordinarie comaundements that comes  
 frome the Wardens, And so I humbly take my leave At barwyck this  
 vj<sup>th</sup> of June, 1575.

Yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> humbly to comaunde,

JOHN FOSTER.

## APPENDIX IV.

*Northumbrian Village Communities.*

The opinion expressed in the text is that the townships of Northumberland were original units of land tenure and represent ancient communities holding land in common. In proof of this it is necessary to show how the land was held by the township and how it passed into separate ownership. The partition deed of the township of Embleton may serve as an example. I give it in full :—

“To all people to whom these presents shall come Thomas Wood of flalodon in the County of Northumberland Esq<sup>r</sup> Major Algood of Brandon in the said County Gent<sup>l</sup>. John Doubleday of Alnwick Abbey in the said County Gent<sup>l</sup>. William Cook of Brainshaugh in the said County Gent. and Edward Haggston of Ellingham in the said County Esq<sup>r</sup> send Greeting, Whereas the R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>bl</sup>. Charles Earl of Tankerville Richard Witton of Lupsett in the County of York Esq<sup>r</sup> George Darling of Embleton in the said County of Northumberland yeoman Ralph Christon of the same yeom Robert Christon of the same yeoman Thomas Wood and John Wood both of Embleton aforesaid yeoman and Joan Darling of Embleton aforesaid Widdow are severally seized of the severall Farms Cottages and part of Farms in the Township fields precincts and territories of Embleton aforesaid hereafter particularly mentioned (that is to say) the said Charles Earl of Tankerville of sixteen Farms and one half of a Farm and eight Cottages or Coatlands the said Richard Witton of two farms the said Grace Darling of one Farm and Eleaven Twelve parts of another Farm the said Ralph Christon of one Farm and Eleaven Twelve parts of another Farm the said Robert Christon of one Sixth part of a Farm the said Thomas Wood and John Wood of one Farm the said Jean Darling of one Farm, And whereas the Premises above mentioned lye promiscus in Com'on Fields undevided And whereas Dr. Blossiers Tovey Viccar of Embleton aforesaid is seized in right of the Church of Embleton aforesaid of and in three Farms in Embleton aforesaid and as Trustee to a Charity School thereof a sixth part of a Farm And whereas there's a large Moor or Com'on belonging to the Townshipp of Embleton aforesaid, And whereas the said Charles Earl of Tankerville Richard Witton George Darling Ralph Christon Robert Christon Thomas Wood John Wood Joan Darling and Dr. Blossiers Tovey have by Common Consent agreed to have all the said Farms parts of Farms and Coatland in Embleton aforesaid of which they are soe seized as aforesaid divided (except a parcell of ground called or known by the name of the East Field and which is part of the Lands belonging to the Vicarage of Embleton aforesaid which is to continue and be unto the said Dr. Blossiers Tovey and his successors as it's now) as it is now enjoyed by him so as a just and equal division and allotment should be had and made according to there respective Interests therein And also to have the said Moor or Com'on divided according to the respective Interests of the said parties therein And for that end by their Indenture Trepartite under their severall hands and seals and by them duely executed bearing date the twenty eight day of October last past have by mutual Consent and agreement Indifferently elected nominated appointed and Chosen the said Thomas Wood Major Algood John

Doubleday Edward Haggerston Com<sup>rs</sup> or arbitrators to divide allott and set out in severally to the said owners of the said primisses according to their respective Interests therein their several & respective shares proportions of & in the said primisses so always as the said award order & determination of the said arbitrators of for and concerning the premisses mentioned in the said Indenture be duly executed on or before the fifteenth day of february next ensuing the date of the same Indenture as in and by the same Indenture amongst divers other matters and things therein contained whereunto relation being had more fully and at large it may and doth appear

Now know ye that the said Thomas Wood Major Algood John Doubleday William Cook and Edward Haggerston haveing pursueant to the said Election taken upon them the said division doe first allott and set out unto the said Dr. Blossiers Tovey in right of his Vicarage lands (over & besides the said East field) twenty acres two Roods and ten perches situate in Embleton Town fields as dowelled or marked out and bounding on Dunston<sup>1</sup> grounds on or towards the south on the said East Field on or toward the East and on Embleton Innfield grounds on or towards the north and west and also to him (in trust for the said Charity School in Embleton aforesaid) five acres scituate also in Embleton town fields and lying next and adjoining to the school house in Embleton aforesaid.

Item the said Thomas Wood Major Algood John Doubleday William Cook and Edward Haggerston Do allott and set out unto the said Charles Earl of Tankerville for his said Cottages or Coastlands three Acres and three roods in Embleton Town Fields next and adjoining to and on the north side of the said Schoolhouse and lands above allotted.

Item the said Thomas Wood Major Algood John Doubleday William Cook and Edward Haggerston do allott and set out unto the said Dr. Blossiers Tovey in right of his said Vicarage Lands sixty eight acres of the said Moor or Common bounding on Brunton<sup>1</sup> grounds on or towards the North on that part of Embleton Moor now called or distinguished by the Middle part on or towards the West on Embleton Inn field grounds on or towards the South and that part of Embleton Moor hereafter mentioned to be allotted to the said Earl of Tankerville for his cottages on or towards the East.

Item the said Thomas Wood Major Algood John Doubleday and William Cook and Edward Haggerston do allott and set out the remainder of the Infield grounds of Embleton aforesaid and of the said Moor (not yet allotted or set out) except the said Eastfield into three equal parts or divisions and now called and distinguished by the several names of the west part the middle part and the east part as they are now severally marked out or dowelled out the west part containing five hundred and thirty two acres and bounding on Dunston and Stamford<sup>1</sup> grounds on or towards the south and south east on Rock<sup>1</sup> grounds on or towards the west and on the middle part on or towards the north and north east. The middle part containing six hundred and one acres bounding on the said west part on or towards the south and south west on falloden grounds on or towards the north and north west on that part of the said

<sup>1</sup> The adjacent townships are Dunstan, Stamford, Rock, Newton and Fallodon, whose boundaries are necessary for the allotment.

above allotted to the said Dr. Blossiers Tovey and to the said Earl of Tankerville for his said Cottages or Coatlands on or towards the north and on Embleton Innfield grounds and part of the said moor on or towards the east the east part containing five hundred and thirty-three acres bounding on the middle part on or towards the west on Newton grounds and that part of the said Moor allotted to the said Cottages or Coatlands on the north and north-west on a part of ground called the Newbiggin and also on the sea on or towards the east and on Dunston Steed grounds and the said Eastfield belonging to the said Viccarage on or towards the south . . . . We do allot and set out unto the said Charles Earl of Tankerville the said west and east parts and unto the said Richard Witton George Darling Ralph Christon Robert Christon Thomas Wood John Wood & Joan Darling the said middle part and whereas the number of Farms and parts of Farms of the said Richard Witton George Darling Ralph Christon Robert Christon Thomas Wood John Wood & Joan Darling before this Division consisted of twelve acres more than the like number of Farms and parts of farms which the said Earl of Tankerville . . . . as good in quality We therefore do allot & set out unto the said Richard Witton George Darling Ralph Christon Robert Christon Thomas Wood John Wood and Joan Darling the said twelve acres out of that part of the said east part . . . . allotted and set out unto the said Earl of Tankerville as lyes next and adjoining upon the said middle part so allotted and set out unto the said Richard Witton Grace Darling Ralph Christon Robert Christon Thomas Wood John Wood and Joan Darling.

Item the said Thomas Wood Major Algood John Doubleday William Cook and Edward Haggerston do order and award that the said Charles Earl of Tankerville shall erect and build or cause to be erected and built and for ever after maintained and kept in good repair one moiety or half part of a Dike or Hedge to separate and divide his said allotments of the premisses from the said Richard Witton George Darling Ralph Christon Robert Christon Thomas Wood John Wood and Joan Darling their said allotment of the premisses and also from the said Dr. Blossiers Toveys allotment and that the said Richard Witton George Darling Ralph Christon Robert Christon Thomas Wood and Joan Darling shall erect and build or cause to be erected and built and for ever after maintained and kept in good repair a moiety of the Dike or Hedge to separate and divide their said allotment of the premisses from the said Charles Earl of Tankerville and also from the said Dr. Blossiers Tovey and that the said Dr. Blossiers shall erect and build or cause to be erected and built and for ever after maintained and kept in good repair a moiety of the Dike or Hedge to separate and divide his said allotment of the Premises from the said Richard Witton George Darling Ralph Christon Robert Christon, Thomas Wood John Wood and Joan Darling their said allotment and also from the said Charles Earl of Tankerville.

In Witness whereof we have hereunto said our hands and seals the Thirteenth Day of february in the fourth year of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Britain &c anno Dom. 1730.

Thomas Wood. Major Allgood. John Doubleday.

William Cook. Edward Haggerston.



*Endorsement.*

We whose names are underwritten being the within mentioned Commissioners do Certify that tho' the Lands within mentioned and given by the said written award to Dr. Tovey only, without any notice being taken of his successors and tho' no mention be made y<sup>t</sup> he y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Dr. Tovey is likewise to enjoy to him and his successors two small butts of Land belonging to the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Earl of Tankerville and which is bounded on the east west and north sides of the Viccarage East Field and on the south by Dunster land ; and tho' no part of the moor whatever by this written award allotted to him y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Dr. Tovey in trust for the Charity School of Embleton It was our intention and agreement nevertheless at the day and time within mentioned that the said Dr. Tovey should enjoy the said Lands to him and his successors, and also the said two Butts of Lands, as also three acres and a half of the said moor lying at the foot of the Cadger Ways and bounded by Fallodon in the west George Darling on the east Thomas Wood on the south and Joan Darling on the north in trust for the said School and that such omissions proceeded only from the Clerk who reduced our award to writing. We do likewise further order and award that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the within mentioned Earl of Tankerville and Joan Darling their heirs and assigns to pass and repass with their Corn and Hay to and from their present stack garths by the most usuall and convenient ways ; any alterations that may have been made in them by the Division notwithstanding.

Major Allgood.  
Thomas Wood.  
John Doubleday.  
William Cook.  
Edward Haggerston.

An extract from the Terrier of the parish Church of Edlingham, dated 1681, shows how in earlier times the rights of the freeholders were invaded by great landowners :

"One full fifth part of the South Demesne of Edlingham aforesaid did of right belong to the said Vicaridge, but the late S<sup>r</sup> John Swinburn refusing to allow thereof, the said late Vicar Ralph Carr continued a suite and recovered the same in or about the years 1663 or 1664, and after it was recovered the said late Vicar and the late Sir John Swinburn did agree to refer the matter then in difference to Ralphe Clavering late of Collowle in the s<sup>d</sup> county esq<sup>r</sup> & Thomas Burrell late of Broompark in the s<sup>d</sup> county gent<sup>l</sup> now both dece<sup>d</sup>.

"As also the eighth stint throughout the whole North Demesne which did belong to the said Vicar in lieu of the said Sir John Swinburn and Vicar did agree that the s<sup>d</sup> two arbitraters should sett of a piece of ground for the said Vicar in lieu of the said eighth stint. And s<sup>d</sup> arbitraters did sett of a piece in lieu thereof which goes by the name of the Hutt, and the late Vicar Ralph Carr enjoyed the same in lieu of the s<sup>d</sup> eighth stint through the s<sup>d</sup> North Demesne.

"And the s<sup>d</sup> Arbitraters alsoe ordered the s<sup>d</sup> late Sir John Swinburn should pay or cause to be paid unto the said late Vicar and his successors yearly and every year Three Pounds Six Shillings and Eight Pence in lieu of the s<sup>d</sup> fifth part of s<sup>d</sup> South Demesne, the same to be paid half-yearly at Whitsuntide and Martinmas which said s<sup>ums</sup> of three Pounds six-

shillings and eight-pence was after received by the said late Vicar during his Life and since his decease by the present Vicar Carr and his Tennants, as the same became half yearly due. But there was noe award made by the said Arbitraters in Writing nor confirmed by the Bishop."

The rights which the Vicar alienated for the yearly payment of £3 6s. 8d. are described in a terrier of 1663: "every fifth Ridge in a field called the South Domayne of Edlingham, but wrongfully and forcibly detain'd from the Church ever since the late Troubles began in England." It would seem that Sir John Swinburn took the opportunity afforded by the Great Rebellion to deny the rights of the Vicar, who only recovered them after a suit. In his old age, when weary of the contest, he was persuaded to submit the question to arbitration. The arbitrators were two neighbouring landowners who did all they could for Sir John Swinburn, and were so ashamed of themselves that they never even reduced their decision to writing. The old Vicar was left to the mercy of Sir John Swinburn. His claims had probably not brought him much income for some time past, and he was satisfied with a money payment, which was probably soon discontinued; at all events there is no trace of it at present. If a freeholder so important as the Vicar was thus dealt with by the great landowners what must have been the treatment of the smaller freeholders?

The great source of information respecting the land tenure of the Northumbrian townships is the evidence collected in a Chancery Suit, Attorney General *v.* Trevelyan, which was tried in the years 1846-48. The voluminous evidence in this suit has been put in my hands, and I make a few selections which may be of general interest. The history of the suit is as follows—

On the dissolution of the Monasteries the lands of the great Abbey of Newminster passed into the hands of the Crown. Part of them were granted by Edward VI for the foundation and maintenance of a Grammar School at Morpeth. The lands so granted were the lands belonging to a Chantry of S. Giles which lay in the township of Netherwitton. In the Particular for Grants, 5 Edward VI they are thus described.

Nuper Cantaria Sancti Egidii fundata in Capella de Wytton in parochia de Hartborne in comitatu Northumbria.

Terræ et tenementa cum pertinentibus dictæ nuper Cantariæ  
Sancti Egidii.

Firma unius tenementi cum pertinentibus in Nether-	
weton in tenura Johannis Smythe	per annum xiiij <sup>s</sup>
Firma unius tenementi cum pertinentibus in Nether-	
weton prædicta in tenura Thomæ Potts	per annum xiiij <sup>s</sup>
Firma unius tenementi cum pertinentibus in Nether-	
weton in tenura Alexandri Ansone	per annum xiiij <sup>s</sup>
Firma unius tenementi ibidem cum pertinentibus in	
tenura Johannis Rogerson	per annum xij <sup>s</sup>
Firma unius vastæ ibidem cum pertinentibus in tenura	
Richardi Snawdone	per annum x <sup>s</sup>

These lands were granted to the Bailiff and burgesses of Morpeth and their successors to the use of a School. They were leased by the burgesses of Morpeth to the Thorntons, who were lords of the Manor of Netherwitton. These leases generally ran for periods of twenty-one years, till in 1685 a lease was granted to Nicholas Thornton for a period of five hundred years

at a yearly rent of forty-five pounds. In 1710 the Master of the School at Morpeth was discontented with this arrangement, and instituted a Chancery suit to have it set aside or amended. The difficulty lay in discovering what part of the lands of the township of Netherwitton belonged to the Grammar School of Morpeth. At the time of the original grant the lands in the township lay promiscuous and undivided. Since then the Thorntons had acquired all the lands which belonged to the ancient freeholders and had leased the lands which belonged to the Grammar School. There were no boundary marks or divisions of any kind; there was no means of determining the extent of the possessions of the School. Luckily, however, a clue had been accidentally preserved. Nicholas Thornton was a Roman Catholic, and his lands, owing to his recusancy, were subject to double taxes. This fact led to a separate taxation of the lands of the Morpeth School, according to the principles stated by his farm steward in an affidavit sworn in the case, *Attorney General v. Radcliffe*, 1710 :—

“The township lands of Netherwitton during all the time of this Deponents being the said Nicholas Thornton's servant and living under him were computed and reckoned to consist of nineteen farmes and one half farme, and saith that five farmes and one halfe farme thereof were then usually assessed and taxed in the Land Taxes at the single rate or tax as belonging to the said Grammar School in Morpeth, when as at the same time the other lands there belonging to the said Nicholas Thornton Esq<sup>r</sup> were assessed and taxed at the double rate or tax for his being a Romish Recusant.”

Much evidence was given of the same kind, and the result was that the rent of the School lands in the township of Netherwitton was raised from £45 to £100. This sum continued to be paid without further question till the records of this suit came accidentally to light in 1844, and a new suit was instituted for the purpose of securing for the School lands a rent more in proportion to the increased value of land since the decision of 1710. This suit was brought forward just in time to save from oblivion a mass of evidence about the ancient meaning of the word *furn* as denoting a unit of tenure of undivided lands in a township. I quote as an instance the affidavit of Robert Coxon of Morpeth, who was born in 1778, and was in the employment of a solicitor in Morpeth who died in 1826 at the age of seventy-one. He consequently represents a far reaching memory of legal matters. He says :—

“In former times the word *furn* was used in many parts of this county to express and was an aliquot part in value of a township, being one of several portions of land of which a township consisted, each one of such portions having originally been of equal value, and in particular I believe that it was so used in the parish of Hartburn in the said county. And I know that prior to the year 1805 nearly the entire township of North Middleton in the said parish of Hartburn was undivided, both tillage and pasture ground being occupied in common, each proprietor's share and interest being estimated by the number of antient farms or parts of a farm of which his land was known to consist. And in the year 1805, in consequence of a deed of agreement entered into by and between the said landowners in the said township the lands therein were allotted and set apart, such allotment and division being made according to the number of ancient farms or part or the parts of a farm which belonged to

each landowner, that being the only criterion by which the proportion of each owner's interest in the said land could be ascertained, and that in such division each farm was regarded as of equal value. All the business relating to the said allotment having passed through my hands I am well acquainted with the above mentioned facts and circumstances."

A few more particulars may be added about the township of North Middleton mentioned in the above affidavit.

(1). An Indenture of feoffment, March 27, 28 Charles II (1676) conveys "One quarter or fourth part of one farme and halfe a farme the said farme and halfe a farme into fower partes equally to be divided situate and being within the township fields precincts and territories of North Middleton."

(2). An Indenture of release, April 15, 1766 conveys in fee "all the messuages with a garden behind the same and all the several pieces or parcels of arable land meadow and pasture ground thereunto belonging, lying dispersedly in the several fields precincts and territories of North Middleton."

(3). William Davison of Middleton Mill testifies July 21, 1847. "From the time I first came into the township the poor rates were assessed and paid at so much per ancient farm, not so much in the pound, each farm paying the same sum, and every fractional part of a farm a sum in proportion thereto. For the last twenty-four years I have always been one of the overseers of the poor of the said township, and have received and paid the poor rates when assessed in manner aforesaid. The poor rates were first assessed upon the annual value of the hereditaments and tenements in the said township about ten years ago."

(4). North Middleton township was included in the Barony of Morpeth Castle. The following is an extract from the "Courtleet of the Barony of Morpeth Castle with its members," held Oct. 5, 1714.

"It's found by the Jury that Joseph Yellowly of Carter moor marry'd Jane Jameson, and in right of his wife the said Jane Jameson is become seised and possessed of a third parte of a farme in North Middleton within the jurisdiction of this Court, and held of the lord of this manor by suite of court and the certain yearly rent of                      and that the said Joseph Yellowly is admitted tenant accordingly."

These extracts, taken together, give materials for the continuous history of a township.

I pass on to give instances of evidence which shows the traces of this ancient system of land tenure by curious survivals of institutions deriving from it.

The records of the Church books show that contributions to parochial purposes were assessed upon each township in proportion to the number of ancient farms, and this in times long subsequent to the division of the lands of the township, and long after the old meaning of the word farm had been forgotten.

Let me take a typical instance. The parish of Earsdon consisted of eight townships, which in the Church books appear as follows :

Newsham	6 farms, $\frac{1}{2}$ farms and $\frac{1}{4}$ of a farm.
Seaton Delaval	11 farms.
Hartley	9 farms.
Backworth	10 farms.
Earsdon	8 farms.

Seghill	10 farms.
Burradon	5 farms.
Holywell	6 farms, $\frac{1}{2}$ farms and $\frac{1}{3}$ of a farm,

making in all  $66\frac{1}{3}$  farms. Each of these farms so lately as the year 1847 paid to the Vicar 6s. 8d. per annum. Until the year 1841 Church rates were assessed at so much per farm.

In the year 1841 the Vestry resolved that the Church rates should be paid upon the £ rental or actual value of the lands. The Vestry of the parish of Earsdon, like that of all the ancient parishes of Northumberland, consisted of a body of Four and Twenty, who were appointed by co-optation. A few extracts from the records of the proceedings of this body will show how parochial business was managed :

May 5. 1697. It is this day ordered by the major part of the four and twenty at the Chapelry of Earsdon that an assessment be levy'd on the said parish at the rate of five shillings p farm for and towards the repairing of the said Church or Chapell to be levyed and collected by the churchwardens for the time being at or before the thirtieth day of this present month.

Nov: 14. 1715. It is this day ordered by the major part of the four and twenty of this parish that an assessment of ten shillings a farm for the repairs of the Parsonage house and other incident expenses of the said Parish, and that the Churchwardens do take care to levy the same immediately.

March 7. 1744. At an appointed meeting of the four and twenty it is agreed that an assessment of two shillings and sixpence p farm be immediately collected towards defraying ye charge of ye parish for the year 1743.

April 20. 1840. At a meeting of the Minister Churchwardens Four and Twenty and principal inhabitants of the parish held in the Vestry room this day, It was agreed that an assessment of sixteen shillings per farm on the  $66\frac{1}{3}$  farms in the said parish be collected to defray the expenses of the preceding year.

In many other parishes the entries are equally explicit ; but in some they are more obscure, because the older books have disappeared and the more modern ones quote the old phraseology, after the old schedules, to which it originally referred, have disappeared. These Church books contain orders, "That the book of the rates," or "double the book of the rates be laid on." In these cases the "book of the rates" copied at the beginning of the vestry book merely has the names of individuals and a certain sum set against them. There can be no doubt that this corresponds to the number of farms, from each of which an average annual payment had been found by experience to cover current expenses. In other cases these nominal sums are called "Ancients" or "Ancient rents." I believe that a careful search in Church books would bring many more instances to light.

But I leave these doubtful cases and return to the townships where the farms were undoubtedly recognised as the units of land tenure. Not only were Church rates paid upon the farms, but in many cases there were in this century customary payments made to the parish clerk by the owners of these ancient reputed farms. Thus in Netherwitton in 1830 the parish clerk received fourpence per annum from each of the  $40\frac{1}{2}$  farms contained in the parish. In the parish of Warkworth the clerk received one shilling and sixpence, and the sexton ninepence a year from each

farm, till the year 1842 when the Vestry resolved, "That the Clerk and Sexton respectively should receive out of the Church rates certain fixed stipends on consenting not to collect or claim the sums to which they were customarily entitled." The Church books of Warkworth also contain a resolution of the Vestry in 1826 that the wall enclosing the Churchyard should be rebuilt, the owner of each farm building two yards in length of it. "An account of what each township repairs of the Church wall being at two yards per farm, beginning at the North East corner and so round."

Again in other townships old rate books shew that poor rates were at one time assessed on the basis of farms. Thus in the township of North Seaton the assessment of Church rates on farms ceased in the year 1746; but the assessment of poor rates remained on the ancient basis down to the year 1831. I append an extract from a rate book of 1829.

1829. Feb : 12.	W <sup>m</sup> Watson esq.	1 farm at £1 5 per farm	1	5	0
	W. J. Straker	4	-	-	5 0 0
	John Sanderson	3½	-	-	4 7 6
	John Swan	3	-	-	3 15 0
	Jas. Ogle	1½	-	-	1 17 6
	W <sup>m</sup> Ogle	1½	-	-	1 17 6
	James Haggup	1½	-	-	1 17 6
		16 at £1 5	-	-	20 0 0

There are also instances of land tax and fee farm rents paid upon the basis of farms and so stipulated in indentures of release. Finally divisions of commons show that in some cases the ancient basis of farms was employed even when the lands had been already enclosed and divided. It is noticeable that the desire for a division of lands was felt earlier in some townships than in others, but this division of lands did not obliterate at once the old state of things. Thus in the township of Burradon there were formerly two parcels of unenclosed lands, called the South Side and the North Side, the first of which was divided about the year 1723 and the latter about the year 1773. Upon both such divisions each freeholder had appointed to him a part of the common in proportion to the number of ancient farms of which his enclosed lands consisted. Even after this final division the old assessment did not pass away. Up to the year 1827 the poor rates and highway rates were assessed at so much per farm and not so much per pound.

I have now indicated the nature of the evidence by which the existence of Northumbrian townships as Village Communities holding land in common may be established. The evidence itself which at present has come into my hands enables me to determine the number of ancient farms into which forty-eight of the Northumbrian townships were formerly divided. I have little doubt that a more extended investigation would very largely increase that number.

These forty-eight townships are as follows: I have added the size of the farms calculated on the acreage size of the townships.

<i>Parish of Earsdon</i>	<i>No. of farms.</i>	<i>Area of each farm.</i>
Newsham containing ...	6½ and ½ farms	153 acres.
Seaton Delaval ...	11	314
Hartley ...	9	155

Backworth	...	10	...	144
Earsdon	...	8	...	153
Seghill	...	10	...	136
Burradon	...	5	...	100
Holywell	...	6½ and ½		
<i>Parish of Kirk Whelpington.</i>				
West Whelpington	...	19	...	205
<i>Parish of Bothal.</i>				
Longhirst	...	12½	...	132
<i>Parish of Woodhorn.</i>				
North Seaton	...	16	...	87
<i>Parish of Rothbury.</i>				
Whitton	...	8	...	79
Snitter	...	21	...	50
<i>Parish of Alwinton.</i>				
Burradon	...	18	...	80
Sharperton	...	11	...	153
<i>Parish of Elsdon.</i>				
Rochester	...	27	...	817
Toughend	...	24	...	1083
Otterburn	...	27	...	315
Woodside	...	17	...	350
Monkridge	...	15	...	360
<i>Parish of Hartburn.</i>				
North Middleton	...	14	...	75
<i>Parish of Whalton.</i>				
Newburn	...	12	...	108
Riplington	...	3	...	125
Ogle	...	14½	...	142
Whalton	...	18½	...	110
<i>Parish of Bedlington</i>	...	61½	...	131
<i>Parish of Tynemouth.</i>				
Chirton	...	8	...	223
Monkseaton	...	10	...	120
Murton	...	4	...	130
Preston	...	5	...	300
Whitley	...	5	...	103
<i>Parish of Netherwitton.</i>				
Netherwitton	...	19½	...	356
Coatyards	...	21	...	117
<i>Parish of Warkworth</i>				
Morwick	...	6	...	123
Togston	...	12	...	84
Acklington	...	18	...	106
Hauxley	...	10	...	71
Walkmill	...	1	...	120
Grange	...	8	...	135
Amble	...	14	...	81
Broadridge	...	3		
Spittle and Lower Buston	...	13		
Warkworth	...	10	...	99
Buston	...	8		

Birtley	...	10		
East Chevington	...	14	...	156
West Chevington	..	12	...	161
Hadstone	...	8	...	130

In some Church books the phrase "plough or ploughland" alternates with "farm"; but "farm" is by far the commonest expression.

Regarding the relation of these ancient farms to the lords of the manor I give the following extracts from Manor rolls:

(1). The manor of Tynemouth contained several farms which were of copyhold tenure; each of which paid to the lord 2s. 6d. per farm for "boon days" or "days work money," and 32 bushels of bigg or barley and 16 bushels of oats. The following is an example of the records of the Court Baron.

"Manerium de Tynemouth. You are to enquire what copyhold lands farms and tenements Ralph Grey of Backworth Esq dyed seized and possessed of within the manor of Tynemouth aforesaid and who is the next heir to the same according to the custom of this manor and as you find present under my hand this 17th day of Aprill anno D'ni 1700.

We find that the said Ralph Grey dyed possessed of eight severall copyhold farms and one half a farm with the appurtenances situated lying and being in Backworth aforesaid and also of and in one copyhold farm or ten<sup>t</sup> with the appurtenances situate and lying and being in Preston and also of and in one third part of two copyhold or customary tenements in Earsdon and also of and in one quarter of one customary tenement or farmhold in Monkseaton and also of and in eight stints or beast gates in Billy Milne moor, and that W<sup>m</sup> Grey of Backworth Esq<sup>r</sup> is the next heir of the said Ralph Grey to all the aforesaid copyhold lands or customary farmholds."

(2.) The Call book of the Court Baron of the Barony of Morpeth contains all the freeholders within the barony headed by the Duke of Newcastle for lands in Shilington, Twizell and Saltwich, as well as the owners of the manors of Netherwitton and Wallington who are subject to an annual payment and owe suit and service. A few extracts are interesting:

"Chief court and Court leet of the barony and Castle of Morpeth with its members held the 6<sup>th</sup> day of October 1724 before John Aynesley seneschall of the said Court:

"You are to enquire for and on behalfe of the lord of this mannor of how many farmes the tounship of Ulgham now consists and how many farmes there do belong to the said lord of this mannor and who are or is owner or owners of the other farm or farms and whether any or what part of the said tounshippe belongs to George Lawson, Gent. You are also to enquire what part and share of that parcell of ground lying in Ulgham aforesaid called the east part of the Whins doth belong to the said George Lawson.

"Upon the oath of Gawen Robinson of Ulgham aforesaid aged eighty years and upwards We doe find that the tounship of Ulgham now and formerly consisted of twenty four farmes and that twenty three farmes thereof did and doe and time beyond memory have belonged to the lord of this manor and his ancestors And that one farm only in the said tounship now doth and formerly did belong to the said George Lawson and his ancestor And we find that about forty years ago a parcell of



ground in Ulgham called the Whins was divided into three parts two pts of which were entirely allotted to the said Lord or his ancestor and that seven parts of the other third part thereof called the east part doth of right belong to the Lord of this manor And that the other eighth part thereof (two ridges belonging to the Church being taken out of the whole eight parts) doth belong to the said George Lawson of which eight parts one ridge lyeing on the west side of the freehold by and on the south side of the said town being taken to be a part of the said George Lawson's said eighth part and that noe other or greater part thereof doth belong to the said George Lawson."

In the Court baron of 1732 is an entry :

"Whereas Jane Swann of Loughorseley widow dy'd seized of one farme and a halfe of land situate lying and being in Loughorseley afore-said within the barony having an estate for life and after her decease the said farm and a halfe descended to Robert Potts in right of his wife William Dobson in right of his wife and George Moore who purchast a fourth part of the said farme and a halfe of John Lawson whereby they the said Robert Potts William Dobson and George Moore are become severally seized and legally intituled to three parts of the said farme and a halfe within the jurisdiction of this court paying an antient yearly free rent of 6d. to the Rt. Honoble the Earle of Carlisle Lord of the Mannor and suite of court having severally paid their fees are admitted tenants accordingly for three parts of the said farme and a halfe."

In 1733 there is a similar record of admission to a fourthe part and a halfe a farm in North Middleton on payment of an "antient yearly quit rent the sum of three half pence."

(3). Newbiggin by the sea is a small fishing village with a rude harbour. The following facts are known about its past history. In 1240 the manor of Newbiggin was held by John de Baliol, whose estates were granted by Edward I to the Earl of Brittany and Richmond, to whom in 1308 was made a grant of market and fair at Newbiggin. In 1319 Edward II made a grant "*bailivis et probis hominibus de Newbiggin*" of tolls on ships for the purpose of repairing their pier. In 1326 the lands of the Earl of Richmond were seized by the Crown, and in 1335 the King granted Newbiggin to John de Denton, who was mayor of Newcastle in 1336. Denton conveyed to the Widdrington family in 1343. In their hands the manor of Newbiggin remained till the forfeiture of William 4th Lord Widdington after the rebellion of 1715. His estates were purchased of the Crown by the Governor and Company of Undertakers for raising the Thames Water in York Buildings. The purchasers filed a bill in Chancery to establish their rights as Lords of Manor, which was stoutly resisted by the freeholders. The following extracts are taken from the proceedings in the suit "*Gregory v. Pattinson*," instituted in 1733.

The freeholders of Newbiggin assert "that the township of Newbiggin hath for all the time of their remembrance been distinguished by whole Freeholds and half Freeholds"; that Newbiggin Common has been stinted by them in proportion to their Freeholds: that there are certain rocks adjoining the said stinted pasture which extend to low water mark, and they insist that these rocks belong to the said Freeholders. They have constantly and in the most open manner rode the boundaries thereof down to low water mark and have won and got limestones and freestones forth of the same; they have gathered seaweed from the said rocks and have had payment from others to whom they have granted liberty of cutting seaweed.

They have constantly received anchorage money and have converted to their respective use such shipwrecks as have been driven ashore within the boundaries of the township. They payed no quit rent to Lord Widdrington or his ancestors ; but there was a fee farm rent of £10 1s. payable to the heirs of Edward Noell, Esq<sup>r</sup>. issuing of the several freehold lands at Newbiggin and payable in certain proportions amongst themselves.

They go on to say "The Widdrington family being a very opulent family and having numbers of people within their influence by reason of several beneficial farms at Woodhorn and elsewhere in the neighbourhood of Newbiggin, some of which were let to some of the freeholders at Newbiggin at very low rents, and the ancestors of the late Lord Widdrington having a desire to lay a foundation of a future claim to the said Newbiggin Common as a place from whence several considerable benefits might be reaped, did about sixty years ago first take upon themselves to hold a Court at Newbiggin and did prevail upon such of the Freeholders at Newbiggin as were their dependants and friends to appear at such pretended Court and did prevail upon them to accept admittances upon pretence that the same were only copies of their entrances in the Court Rolls as tenants at the Lord's Court. But the said several persons afterwards finding that by these means attempts were formed to make them copy holders and to subject them to fines and the bondages to which Copyhold estates are by law subjected the said several persons utterly declined and refused to appear any more at the said pretended courts and accordingly the said pretended Court was dropt and hath been declined not only since the year 1715 but for some time before."

A few extracts from the Freeholders' books show how they exercised their privileges.

" *Constabells* for the year 1730.

Ephraim Johnson } and they are to take care of the pinfold belonging to  
Joseph Payevett } the town and the pinfold in the moor be kept in  
sufficient repare.

*Comen Dryevers* for the year 1730 is

Robert Dawson                      Ralph Smeth.

*Ale tasters and bred waers* for the year 1730 is

John Pattson                      Thomas Johnson

and they are to heave att every Alle house in the town won quartt."

1731. The freeholders agree to pay one shilling a freehold to defend their "rites and privaliges."

1744. "Whereas there is some Freeholders who does not contribute towards the Chancery suit now depending, we the said freeholders do agree that the said Constables or any other freehold shall impound the s<sup>d</sup> freeholders cattle or horses grazing upon the common or Town pasture till such time the payment be made, and if they will not pay up their proportion we the said freehold does agree that these agressors shall forfeit and loose their rights and properties belonging to the said Town of Newbiggin."

1757. Ordered that John Swan of Linefield is to pay one guinea p wain for loading ware or sea-weed.

Mr. Cresswell is to pay £2 2 for liberty of keeping lobsters in the Rocks or sands belong<sup>g</sup> to the Township.

1762. Ordered that the Constable weigh all butter and bread that shall be offered for sale in s<sup>d</sup> township.

Similar entries are found up to the date of 1829.

## THE MORPETH GREAT MACE.

By R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A.

During the recent and successful Congress held by the Institute at Newcastle, the Mayor and Corporation of Morpeth exhibited in the temporary museum, formed in the Black Gate, their great mace; and as that mace is a little singular in form, and otherwise of much interest, I propose to describe it rather carefully, and to compare its heraldry with the heraldry of Naworth Castle: the reason for this will presently appear.

In form the Morpeth great mace, which is 2 feet 2½ inches long, is simple, consisting of a shaft with three knops, and a bell-like bowl, whose sides contract towards the top, or "tumble home," as a sailor would say. The mace is silver, but the bowl and knops are gilt. The knops are much flattened spheroids, and are best described by being likened to oranges without their skins. The bowl has a cresting formed of thirty fleurs-de-lys; on its top, or table, which is four inches in diameter, is a small flat boss, two inches in diameter, surrounded by a similar cresting of fifteen fleurs-de-lys. On this boss a shield is engraved bearing the royal arms, as used by the Stuarts, 1603—1689, enamelled in their proper colours, viz.: Quarterly, 1 and 4 grand quarters, France modern and England quarterly; second grand quarter, Scotland; third grand quarter, Ireland; above the shield is the date 1604, filled in with dark blue enamel. This is the usual place for the royal arms on civic maces.

Below the cresting of the bowl is a narrow band five-sixteenths of an inch wide bearing the following inscription, in two lines, in italic characters.

*Donū : Dñi: Wil: HOWARD: Dñi: de: MORPeth: Filii:  
Ducis: Norff: Fratrīs: Auunculi: Nepotis: et: Cognati: Com-  
itū: Arundell: Surrey: Suff: Northampt: et Nottingh: et Dñe  
Eliz: Vzoris: Eius: Sororis: et: coheredis: Georgii: Dñi: Dacre: de:  
Gilsland: et Greistock: A° Dñi: 1604: Volo: non: Valeo: WH<sup>1</sup>*

The inscription begins with the Howard badge of a cross crosslet fitchée, and ends with the Howard motto of *VOLO NON VALEO*, which accompanies Lord William Howard's shield of twenty-two quarterings over the entrance to the inner court of Naworth Castle, at which place there is also in the Oratory a chest for vestments, painted red, and semée with the silver cross crosslets fitchées of the Howards and the silver escallops of the Dacres.

Below the inscription is a cable molding, under which, on the bowl, are engraved the eight shields following, each surmounted by the name of the family it belongs to:—

<sup>1</sup> The letters WH are combined; the last stroke of the W forms the first of the H.



The Morpeth Great Mace.



1. *Howard. On a bend between six cross-crosslets fitchées a mullet.*
2. *Brotherton. Three lions passant gardant in pale; a label of three points.*
3. *Mowbray. A lion rampant.*
4. *Warren. Checquée.*
5. *Marley. Three birds (martlets) in pale.*
6. *Dacre. Three escallops, 2 and 1.*
7. *Greistock. Three lozenges (should be cushions), 2 and 1.*
8. *Grimthorp. Barry of six, three chaplets, 2 and 1.*

Four of these are Howard quarterings and four Dacre.

Under the foot of the mace is engraved a shield bearing:—

Quarterly 1. Howard (the bend plain).

2. Brotherton.

3. Mowbray.

4. Warrenne.

in the fess point a mullet for difference.

This shield was undoubtedly once enamelled, but the colouring matter has completely disappeared.

The following quotation from Canon Ornsby's Introduction to The Household Books of Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle, sums up the position so well, that I cannot do better than quote:—

"Lord William Howard was the third son of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, by his second marriage with Margaret, only daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Audley of Walden. He was born December 19, 1563. His mother did not long survive his birth. Shortly after her death the duke contracted a third marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Leybourne, of Cuswick, in the county of Westmoreland, and widow of Thomas Lord Dacre, of Gilsland. This alliance had an important influence upon Lord William's after life. Lord Dacre left four children, a son, George Lord Dacre, and three daughters, Anne, Mary and Elizabeth. By their mother's second marriage these children all came under the Duke of Norfolk's care, and by grant from the Crown he had the wardship of the young Lord Dacre. The Dacre patrimony was very large. It had been greatly enhanced in extent and value by the marriage in 1507, of Thomas (the great Lord Dacre, who fought at Flodden), with Elizabeth, granddaughter and heir of the last Lord Greystock, and the Duke's ambitious views had led him to form plans for the aggrandisement of his own children's fortunes by marriages with these youthful representatives of the ancient houses of Dacre and Greystock. His scheme was to marry his daughter Lady Margaret to the young Lord Dacre, and his eldest son Lord Arundel to Anne, Lord Dacre's eldest sister; Mary, the next sister, he intended for his second son Lord Thomas Howard; and Elizabeth, the youngest, for his third son Lord William. The untimely death of the young Lord Dacre at the age of eight years, by the accidental fall of a wooden vaulting horse, frustrated the Duke's project as to his daughter's marriage, and Mary Dacre died in early youth. But having obtained the wardship of the Ladies Anne and Elizabeth Dacre after their brother's death his plans, as regarded their respective marriages with his two sons, Lord Arundel and Lord William Howard, were eventually carried out; and the rich inheritance of which their brother's death made them the co-heirs, passed through that double alliance into the Duke's family and is enjoyed to this day by his descendants."<sup>1</sup>

Lord William Howard was one of the original founders of the first formed Society of Antiquaries, and from the catalogue of his library, and from memoranda in his handwriting, it is evident that his lordship was fond of and skilled in genealogy and heraldry. Over the entrance to the inner court at Naworth, is the armorial achievement of Lord William Howard, viz., a shield with twenty-two quarterings, between two lions as supporters: Crest, upon a helmet and mantling, the well-known Howard

<sup>1</sup> *Surtees Society*, vol. lxxviii, p. 8.

lion. Motto: "Volo non valeo." The whole is under a hood molding which has the Dacre escallop at each end.

The twenty-two quarterings are as follows:—

1. HOWARD. *Gules, on a bend between six cross crosslets fitchées arg. a demy lion Geules, pierced through the mouth with an arrow within a double tressure flowered of the same, in the midst of the bend of the Howard Arms.*" This is the augmentation for merit given to Thomas Howard, then earl of Surrey, but afterwards second duke of Norfolk, for his victory at Flodden Field.

2. FITTON. *Azure, three cinquefoils pierced argent.*

3. BOIS. *Ermine, a cross sable.*

4. SCALES. *Gules, six escallops argent.*

5. TENDRINGE. *Azure, a fess between two chevrons argent.*

6. MOWBRAY. *Gules, a lion rampant argent, armed and langued azure.* Brought in by Lady Margaret Mowbray, eldest daughter of Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshall of England and of Elizabeth Fitzalan, as heiress of Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel. She was the penniless bride of Sir Robert Howard, (*tempore* Henry V.) for her poor fortune of £200 was never paid, but "the Howard family," writes Mr. Henry Howard, "owe their chief illustration, honours, and power" to her.<sup>1</sup> By her there came to her descendants the dignities of Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshall of England, &c., great estates, and fourteen quarterings to their coat of arms: from No. 6 to 19.

7. ALBANY. *Gules, a lion rampant or.*

8. SEGRAVE. *Sable, a lion rampant argent, crowned or.*

9. BIGOT. *Party per pale or and vert, a lion rampant gules.*

10. BROTHERTON. *Gules, three lions passant guardant in pale or, a label of three points argent.* This is more properly blazoned, as England a label of three points argent. It is the arms of the Plantagenets, differenced by a label.

11. MOWBRAY. As before.

12. RICHARD FITZALAN, EARL OF ARUNDEL. *Barry of eight, or and gules.*

13. ALBANY. As before.

14. LUPUS. *Sable, a wolf's head erased argent.*

15. EARL OF CHESTER. *Azure three garbs or.*

16. WOODVILLE. *Argent, a fess and dexter canton gules.*

17. MALTRAVERS. *Sable, a fret or.*

18. CLUN. *Argent, a chief azure.*

19. WARREN. *Chequy, or and azure.* Brought in by Lady Margaret Mowbray. The fifth Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, married Alice, daughter and heir of William earl of Warren and Surrey. Hence the Howards got the title of Surrey.

20. TILNER. *Argent, a chevron between three gryphons' heads erased gules.*

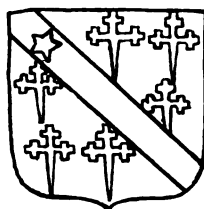
21. ROCHFORD. *Quarterly or and gules, within a bordure sable bezantée.*

22. THORPE OF NORFOLK. *Azure, three crescents argent.*

<sup>1</sup> "Memorials of the Howard Family," App. III. See also "The Great Governing Families of England," vol. ii, p. 308. The earldom of Arundel did not come by

this lady. See Burke's "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England," vol. i, p. 12. It came in later on by the marriage of the fourth Duke of Norfolk.

Howard



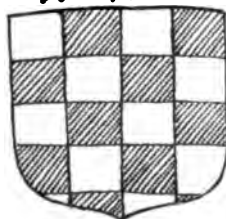
Brotherton



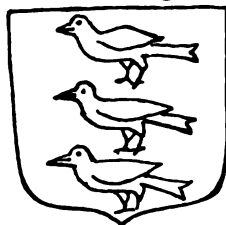
Mowbray



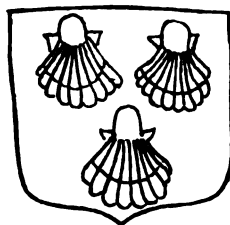
Warren



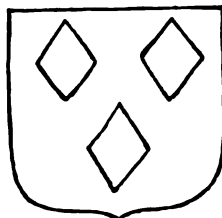
Marley



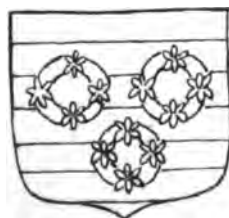
Dacre



Greystock



Grimthorp



W. H. ST. J. H. DEL.





**Crest :** *On a chapeau, a lion statant guardant, his tail extended, or, and ducally gorged argent.*

**Supporters :** *Two lions rampant.*

**Motto :** "*Volo non valeo.*"

In the inner court, over the entrance to the great hall, is the same coat of twenty-two quarterings impaling a coat of eight quarterings.

1. **DACRE.** *Gules, three escallops argent.*

2. **NEW GREYSTOKE, or Grimthorpe.** *Barry of six, argent and azure, three chaplets of roses.*

3. **OLD GREYSTOKE.** *Gules three cushions argent.*

4. **MULTON.** *Barry of six, argent and gules, on a canton of the second a lion passant or.* Introduced by the marriage of Ranulph de Dacre with Margaret, daughter and heiress of Thomas de Multon.

5. **BOTELER OF WEMME.** *Gules, a fess chequy or and sable, between six crosses pattées fitchées or.*

6. **MORVILLE.** *Azure, semée-de-lis and fretty or.* A Multon quartering.

7. **FERRERS.** *Vairy or and gules.*

8. **VAUX.** *Chequy or and gules.* A Multon quartering.

Old and New Greystoke, Boteler, and Ferrers were brought in by Lady Elizabeth Greystoke. The heiress of the first house of Greystoke married a Ralph de Grimthorpe, who took the name of Greystoke, but retained his own arms, which succeeding Barons of Greystoke quartered as New Greystoke. The pedigree below<sup>1</sup> shows how Boteler of Wemm and Ferrers came into the armorial bearings of Lady Elizabeth.

**Crests :** Two. The Howard lion to the dexter, and the Dacre bull to the sinister. They are resessant one another.

#### <sup>1</sup> BOTELER.

*Gules a fesse composée or and sable, between six crosses pattées argent, or six cross crosslets or.*

William Boteler, 2nd Baron = Joane, dau. and co-heir of  
Boteler of Wemma. John Baron Sudeley

Elizabeth, dau. = Robert Ferrers, 1st Baron  
and co-heir. Ferrers of Wemma.

Robert Ferrers, 2nd Baron = Joanne Swinford, dau. of  
Ferrers of Wemma. John of Gaunt.

Elizabeth, dau. = John Greystock, 6th  
and co-heir. Baron Greystock.

Ralph Greystock 7th = Elizabeth, dau. of  
Baron Greystock. William Baron Fitz  
Hugh.

Robert Greystock, = Elizabeth, dau. of Edmund  
ob. v.p. Grey, second Earl of Kent.

Elizabeth, daughter = Thomas Dacre, 2nd Baron  
and heir. Dacre. Fought at Flodden.

Supporters : A lion rampant for Howard to the dexter, and a bull rampant for Dacre to the sinister.

Motto : "Volo Non Valeo."

These elaborate compositions are of later date than the Morpeth mace ; indeed, the following entry in the "Household Books," for the year 1626, probably refers to one or other of them, as Canon Ornsby suggests :—Janu. 10. To Wm. Buckle, by bill, for bringing a stone of my Lord's Armes from Heddon *super murum*, xliiij. jd.<sup>1</sup>

It is further probable that in designing these elaborate shields, showing considerable research into pedigrees, Lord William had the assistance of his intimate friend Camden, the Clarencieux King-of-Arms.

One thing strikes one at once ; on the Morpeth mace of 1604 the Howard's arms are without the Flodden augmentations, whereas it occurs at Naworth ; on the mace Lord William differences his arms with a mullet—the mark of the third son ; the shields at Naworth have no mark of cadency.<sup>2</sup>

It has been already stated that of the eight shields on the mace, four are Howard quarterings and four Dacre. The four Howard are selected for very obvious reasons—Howard itself—then Mowbray—the Blanche Lion of Mowbray, brought in by Lady Margaret Mowbray, to whom the Howards owed so much—thirdly, the royal arms of England, differenced by a label for Brotherton ;<sup>3</sup> and fourthly Warren, representing the Norfolk second title of Earl of Surrey.

The Dacre quarterings on the mace are Dacre, Marley (or Merley) Greistock (old Greystock), and Grimthorp (new Greystock), and the introduction of the last two into the Dacre shield has been already explained. Lord William Howard himself tells how the Barony of Morpeth [and so the De Merlay arms] came in. "The Baronie of Morpeth came to Thomas of Greistock by Marie his wife, daughter and co-heir of Roger de Merlay, and from them in lineal descent to Eliza de Greistock and so to Lord W. Dacre her son."<sup>4</sup>

The De Merlay arms do not occur on the Dacre tombs at Lanercost, which are rich in heraldry, nor do they occur at Naworth Castle, except among the arms put up in the great hall since the fire of 1844. They are there given as, *Barry of ten pieces argent and gules, on a bordure azure eight martlets or* ; as given in Banks's Dormant and Extinct Baronage. This agrees with the arms of the borough of Morpeth, granted by William Herry, Norroy, May 20, 1552, which are *Barry of ten argent and gules, a triple towered castle, or* ; *on a bordure azure eight martlets gold*. On the mace the Merlay arms are simply three birds (martlets) in pale ; this is no doubt the older form of the Merlay arms, and the silver and red bars came in by some marriage ; suppose a cadet of the Multons to have married an heiress of De Merlay and to have taken her name, he might well assume as arms his own silver and red bars within an orle of De Merlay, that is, *an orle azure charged with martlets or* ; but this is a conjecture.

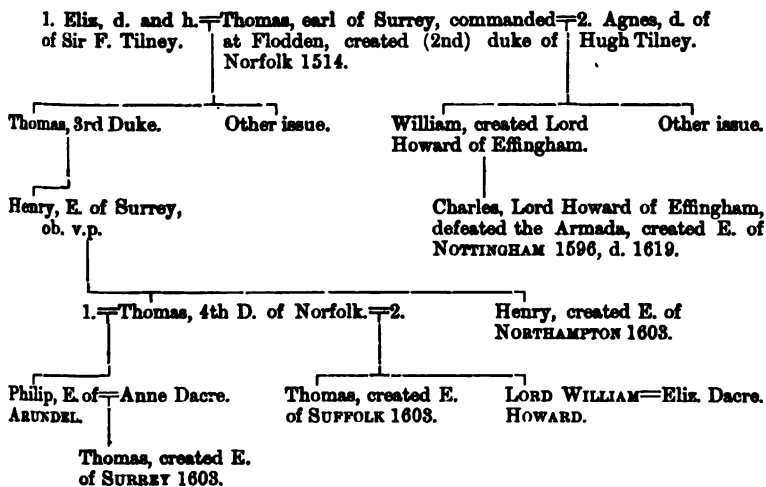
<sup>1</sup> Lord W. Howard's "Household Books," Surtees Society, vol. 68, p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> The chest at Naworth, painted red and semée with the cross crosslets fitchées and the escallop shells, has on one end the Blanche Lion of Mowbray charged on the neck with a mullet sable.

<sup>3</sup> For the assumption of these arms, which were granted by Richard II to the Mowbrays, Henry earl of Surrey was attainted in 1547.

<sup>4</sup> Lord William Howard's "Household Books," Surtees Society, vol. xlviii, p. 391 n.

The following skeleton pedigree shows how the donor of the Morpeth mace was related to the Earls he enumerates thereon.



In the east window of that portion of Lanercost Priory used as the parish church are the arms of Sir Thomas Dacre the Bastard, son of Thomas lord Dacre, the shield of eight quarterings described on page 93 *ante*, with a bend sinister Argent over all. It is very curious that Sir Thomas the Bastard in addition to the four Dacre quarterings takes also the four Greystoke quarterings of his father's legitimate wife.

ON THE DIFFERENCE OF PLAN ALLEGED TO EXIST  
BETWEEN CHURCHES OF AUSTIN CANONS AND THOSE  
OF MONKS ; AND THE FREQUENCY WITH WHICH  
SUCH CHURCHES WERE PAROCHIAL.

By the Rev. J. F. HODGSON.

LIST 1.—CHURCHES OF AUSTIN CANONS WHICH  
WERE PURELY CONVENTUAL.

(Continued.)

**BOLTON PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.**—The priory of Bolton was first founded at a place called Embsay, in the parish of Skipton, by William de Meschines and Cecilia de Romillé, baroness of Skipton, his wife, in 1120 ; and endowed by them with the mother church of Skipton, and its chapel of Carlton. In 1151, it was translated by Alicia, or Adeliza de Romillé, daughter and coheirress of the founders, the then patroness, with the consent of her son William, to a new site on the manor of Bolton in the same parish, which she had bestowed upon the canons in exchange for those of Stretton and Skipton. There it was rebuilt, and continued till the Dissolution, from which disastrous time till now, the nave has been used as a mere parochial chapel.

**LANERCOST PRIORY CHURCH, CUMBERLAND.**—Founded between 1164-9 in honour of S. Mary Magdalene, by Robert de Vallibus, lord of Gilsland, on a quiet and sequestered spot to the north of the river Irthing, about eleven miles from Carlisle. As will be seen by the sub-joined extract from the charter of foundation, it was endowed by him with the whole of the neighbouring churches ; the absence of any mention of a church at the place itself, affording the clearest evidence that none such previously existed there ; while the fact that no vicarage, or other provision for the cure of souls was established therein, proves equally clearly that, from the time of its foundation onwards, it continued to be purely conventual.

"Robertus de Vallibus &c. Sciatis me concessisse. . . . Deo et sanctæ Mariæ Magdalene, et priori de Lanercost . . . . eandem landam de Lanercost per has divisas, &c. . . . Et ecclesiam de ipse Walton, cum capella de Triermano, præterea concessi eis ecclesiam de Irthington, et ecclesiam de Brampton, et ecclesiam de Karlaton, et ecclesiam de Farlam, cum omnibus quæ ad easdem ecclesias pertinent," &c.—(Dug. vi, 236.)

Until a recent period, the north aisle of the nave of this fine and interesting church was used as a parochial chapel ; the nave itself being roofless, as shewn in Buck's view taken in 1739. The nave has since been roofed in and now forms the parish church.

**LEES, OR LEYES PRIORY CHURCH, STAFFORDSHIRE.**—Tanner says that, "At a place of this name either in this county or Derbyshire, seems to have been a house of Austin canons dedicated to St. Michael, and cell to the abbey of Roucester, to which Fulcher fil. Fulcheri, temp. Henry II, gave the church of St. Peter at Edensor, in the county of Derby."

"Omnibus &c. Fulcherus filius Fulcheri, salutem in Domino. Noscat universitas vestra, me dedisse. . . Deo et S. Mariæ, et S. Michaeli archangelo, et abbati Roucestriæ, et canonicis de Leyes, prædictæ ecclesiæ Roucestriæ obedientibus . . . ecclesiam S. Petri de Edneshoure, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis," &c.—(Dug. vi, 411.)

As no parish of this name—under any possible form of spelling—exists in either of the two counties above referred to, it follows that the priory church of Lees, wherever situated, must of necessity have been a purely conventual one.

**NORTH FERRIBY PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.**—Here, according to Tanner, was a priory of Knights' Templars, founded by the Lord Eustace de Vesci, which, on the suppression of that order, was changed into one of Austin canons. These, however, still continued to use the old seal of the Templars, till at least as late a date as 1463, when it was attached to an instrument acknowledging the Lord Vesci as their founder. The priory church would seem—from such account of it at least as I have been able to gather—to have been quite separate and distinct from that of the parish. The following is the evidence:—"The present church is a modern one, not more than thirty-five years old; it was, however, built upon the site of the old one, which was merely a wide nave with two east windows and a square tower, but neither aisles nor chancel." Letter of the Rev. T. M. Theed, Vicar of North Ferriby.

"I never heard anything said about North Ferriby Church, that I can recollect, as to its having been attached to a priory, or any other monastic building. There was nothing about the church that led me at the time to suppose that it was anything else than an ordinary parish church. There were certainly no domestic buildings in connection with it, nor do I remember any foundations of what might have been such buildings. The plan of the church was a nave with a north aisle, a chancel with, I think, also an aisle, and a west tower at the west end of the nave. There were, I think, three arches dividing the nave from its north aisle. I am sorry that I cannot give you any more information, it is so long ago, and all my papers with reference to it are, I fear, destroyed. I remember hearing it said that there were once some old buildings existing at Wauldby, which is not far from Ferriby, and that all the land about there had belonged to the church; and it was very much on account of this fact that Mr. Raikes sold it. I built a small chapel somewhere on the site of the old buildings for Mr. Raikes."—Letter of Mr. J. L. Pearson, architect.

**SOOKKIRK, SKEWKIRK, OR TOOKWITH PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.**—Skewkirk priory was a cell to S. Oswald's at Nostell, and appears to have owed its existence to a gift of two bovates of land there made by Geoffrey Fitz Pain to that house, at some date prior to 1114, when certain of the canons were sent to settle on the spot. It was dedicated in honour of All Saints.

"Henricus rex &c. .... duas bovatas terræ ..... quas Gaufridus filius Pagani eis dedit in Tockwid," &c.

"Albertus de Tockwid, salutem. Nouerit ..... me concessisse ..... et ecclesiæ Omnium Sanctorum de Scokirke et canonicis de Sancto Oswaldo, ibidem Deo seruiantibus, &c."—Dug., vi, 102.

The site of this priory was at a place called Scokirke, now Skewkirk, in what, till lately (when it was erected into a separate parish), was the township of Tockwith, in the parish of Bilton.

"A farm house (once a country residence) now stands on the probable ground where the old monastic buildings will have been. The old remains—cross, window, and corbels—are simply built up anyhow in walls of the present farm buildings, so in no way in their original places."—Letter of the Rev. B. Burdett Newenham, Vicar of Bilton.

The parish church of Bilton is under the invocation of S. Helen.

**THURGARTON PRIORY CHURCH, NOTTS.**—The priory of Thurgarton was founded, according to Tanner, by Ralph D'Eyncourt, circa 1130, and dedicated in honour of St. Peter.

"Ego Radulfus de Ayncourt, pro salute animæ meæ, filiorum, filiarumque meorum; et pro anima patris et matris mei; et pro anima Basilie mulieris meæ, et omnium parentum, et antecessorum meorum, fundavi, domum religionis apud Thurgarton; et in ejusdem domus fundatione concessi . . . totam Thurgartonam, et Fiskertonam, et parcam juxta Thurgarton, et omnes ecclesias de tota terra mea," &c.

The case of the church of Thurgarton is somewhat peculiar, since it is one which might with almost equal fairness, perhaps, be ranged either among those which are purely conventual, or conventual and parochial as well. On the whole, however, it would seem to belong more properly to the former class, since the priory, from the first moment of its existence, was endowed, not only with the church, but the whole parish of Thurgarton. Thus, apart from the priory itself, there ceased, thenceforward, to be any such thing as either parish or parishioners; the whole parish becoming at once and thereafter the private estate, and the whole scanty population the absolute servants or dependents of the canons, and unpossessed of any separate or independent rights whatever. Their place, in short, during the whole continuance of the house, was simply that of the ordinary outdoor servants of any other purely monastic establishment, neither more or less. As to the priory church, until 1854—when it was repaired and enlarged—the sole remaining fragment of that once magnificent structure consisted of the north-west tower, and the three western bays of the nave—the whole of pure thirteenth century work. At that time a north aisle and porch were added, together with a chancel and vestry; the building being thus brought to its present dimensions. Of the lady chapel, choir, and transepts, which are known to have existed, not a trace remains visible; the whole having been swept away and levelled to form garden ground. A modern dwelling-house, it may be added, the successor of an Elizabethan mansion, occupies the site of the south-west tower—the stump of which existed in Thornton's time—as well as that of the western range of the claustral buildings, the cellarage of which still remains entire.—Letters, with sketch ground plans, of the Rev. A. M. Bayley, vicar.

Such is the account I have to offer of those churches of Austin canons which were purely conventual, and I have, next in order, to enter upon an examination of such of them as were not so. In a concluding sentence of the introductory part of this paper I have said (vol. xli, p. 378), that the churches of Austin canons will be found, on careful examination, "to resolve themselves into two clearly defined, but very unequal groups, viz.: 1st, those which were purely conventual; and 2nd, those which were conventual and parochial as well." Now, if we once more betake ourselves to the Monasticon—with all its short-comings, the only available quarter for the purpose—we shall find, on counting, that the whole number of black canons' churches, as there set forth, amount to exactly two hundred and fifteen. To these, however, must be added three more, given in another part of the work, and under a different heading, viz.:—those of Bodmin, S. German's, and S. Frideswide's, Oxford, which thus bring them up, all told, to two hundred and eighteen. But we cannot stop even here. Besides these churches of black canons, it is necessary—as well for the purposes of this enquiry, as for the sake of comparison—to take into account also those of the other section of Augustinians, viz.:—the Premonstratensians, or white canons. Of these there were exactly thirty-six. The full number of Austin canons' churches in England, therefore, was just two hundred and fifty-four. And now, with these facts before us, we shall be able to see presently what the proportion of purely conventual Austin churches to those of a mixed, or semi-parochial character, really was. If those of the former class—belonging exclusively to the order of black canons—comprised in List I, be enumerated, they will be found to amount to one hundred and eighty one. But to these the whole of the thirty-six Premonstratensian churches must be added *en bloc*, since they were all, without exception, purely conventual; a fact, not only sufficiently remarkable in itself, but the more so in this connection, since they were the only monastic churches, those of the Carthusians and Mendicants necessarily excepted, among which no single semi-parochial example can be found. Added to the rest, they bring up the full number of purely conventual Austin churches to no less than two hundred and seventeen. And now, finally, if from the whole two hundred and fifty-four of both kinds, we proceed to take these two hundred and seventeen away, then there remain to us as the sum total of those churches which were conventual and parochial as well, but just thirty-seven! Thus may be seen at a glance, not only the proportion which these two groups of churches bore to each other; but the exact value of the allegation that the churches of Austin canons were always, or nearly always, parochial. Of those which were really so, I now proceed to give an account in—



## LIST II.—CHURCHES OF AUSTIN CANONS WHICH WERE CONVENTUAL AND PAROCHIAL.

**BAMBURGH PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.**—King Henry I, according to Tanner, having given the churches of S. Oswald and S. Aidan of Bamburgh to the priory of Nostell, some regular canons of that house were forthwith settled on the spot as a cell. Dug., vi, 103.

The priory buildings, now entirely destroyed, appear to have stood near the church towards the east; and, though nothing can now be certainly affirmed on the subject, there can be little doubt but that the large and singularly stately chancel constituted the conventual choir of the canons.

**BETHGELEERT PRIORY CHURCH, CAERNARVONSHIRE.**—This church, which was of much more ancient foundation as that of a monastic body than the introduction of the Austin canons into it, was possibly, also parochial. The present parish church is built partly on its site; with its materials; and has portions of its walls, &c., incorporated into its structure; facts which, as far as they go, seem to point in that direction.

**BLACKMORE PRIORY CHURCH, ESSEX.**—The priory of Blackmore would seem to have been established in the church of S. Lawrence there, about the time of Henry II, by Sir John de Saundfoot. It continued till 1527, when it was dissolved, and granted to Cardinal Wolsey in aid of his new college at Oxford.

The church is still used as the parish church of Blackmore.

**BOURNE ABBEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.**—An abbot and canons were settled in the parish church of Bourne, in or about A.D. 1138, by Baldwin Fitz Gilbert, as appears from the following extracts from the *Inspecimus* of 1 Edward III. :—

“Baldwinus filius Gisleberti omnibus, &c., Sciatis me concessisse . . . domino Gervasio abbati de Arroasia ecclesiam de Brunna, &c. Ita videlicet, quod prædictus abbas secundum consuetudinem et religionem sui ordinis, abbatem et canonicos in eadem ecclesia constituat,” &c. Dug., vi, 370.

The abbey church of Bourne, consisting of a chancel, nave, with north and south aisles, transepts, south porch, and two western towers, is still standing nearly perfect, and in use as that of the parish. There seems never to have been a central tower. Letter of Rev. H. M. Mansfield, vicar.

**BREDON PRIORY CHURCH, LEICESTERSHIRE.**—Founded in 1144, by Robert de Ferrars, earl of Nottingham, who gave the church of S. Mary and S. Hardulph, at Bredon, with divers lands to the monastery of Nostell; a prior and five canons were thereupon established on the spot as a cell to that house. Dug., vi, 96-7.

“The priory church, of which the choir and its aisles, the central tower, and south transept (now used as a porch) alone remain, is still used as that of the parish. There are no remains of the conventual buildings.”

Note by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope.

**BRIDLINGTON PRIORY CHURCH, YORK.**—Founded by Walter de Gant, early in the reign of Henry I, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

"Ego Walterus de Gant notifico omnibus sanctæ ecclesie fidelibus, quod in ecclesia sanctæ Mariæ de Bredlintonæ canonicos regulares stabilivi, &c." The nave of this magnificent building—all that now remains of it—continues to be, as in the time of the canons, the parish church of Bridlington. "The seyde Church ys devided the over part for the pryor and Covent and the nether part for the parysshe church." Survey in P.R.O.

**BRUTON ABBEY CHURCH, SOMERSETSHIRE.**—Founded originally about 1005, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, by Algar, earl of Cornwall, for monks, who were afterwards changed for canons by William Mohun, earl of Somerset, temp. Stephen. Leland says:—"The abbaye there was afore the conquest a place of monks, founded by Algarus erle of Cornwall. Moion set chanons there sins the conquest, and divers of the Moions were buryid there."

This fine church, which consists of a chancel, nave with north and south aisles, western tower, another to the north above the porch, and a crypt, continues to be used in its integrity as the church of the parish; the chancel, or monastic portion, which had been destroyed after the suppression, having been re-built by Sir R. C. Hoare. The abbey buildings stood about a hundred yards to the south-west, and traces of the foundations may still, it is said, be plainly seen in a hot and dry summer.

"The west tower and nave are very grand, and the oak roof is considered one of the finest even in the west of England." Letter of the Rev. H. T. Ridley, vicar.

**CANON'S ASHBY PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.**—According to Bridges, Stephen de Leye, lord of the manor of Ashby, temp. Henry II, was most probably the founder of the priory there, as he stands first on the list of benefactors, and bestowed on them the parish church. Of that building, as reconstructed by the canons, there are now but slight, though singularly beautiful remains, consisting of the tower to the north-west, west front, north porch, attached to the tower eastwards, and two and a half western bays of the nave and north aisle. Originally, it appears to have consisted of a long aisleless chancel, with, perhaps, a short transept, and nave of five bays with a north aisle only.

The western fragment, which is roofed over, is still used as a place of worship, but:—"There is not and never was any village, so that there was not any parochial endowment, and hence the ecclesiastical state is, I suppose, unique. And there is no endowment for a minister or repairs, though it is a real parish." Letter of Sir H. Dryden, Bart., accompanied by plan, drawing, and photograph.

**CARHAM-UPON-TWEED PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.**—The priory of Carham was a cell to that of Kirkham, and was burnt by the Scotch in 1296. (Dug. vi, 579.) There seems every reason to suppose that here again, the parish church served also as that of the priory, which stood close to it towards the west (not east as stated in the *Monasticon*); and of which the foundations, at some fifty yards distance, were exposed about thirty years ago, but have since been covered up.

**CARLISLE (CATHEDRAL AND) PRIORY CHURCH.**—Commenced by Walter, a wealthy Norman priest, and governor of the town and castle of Carlisle under William Rufus, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, for secular canons ; but completed and endowed by Henry I, for canons regular of S. Austin ; Adelulph, the first prior, being consecrated first bishop of the see.

The circumstances of this church—the only one, at the time, in the newly founded, or refounded city—were thus altogether exceptional ; the nave, which was designed for public use under the seculars, continuing to be used as a parish church, both under the regulars and the bishop, till only a few years since.

**CARTMEL PRIORY CHURCH, LANCASHIRE.**—Founded by William Marischall the elder, in 1188, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The priory would seem to have been established at the outset in the existing church of Cartmel, which, with its appurtenances, and the whole place or district of that name, were bestowed by the founder upon the house. The existing church, which must have been commenced immediately, however, still happily exists in its integrity, a stately, though not large building, and remarkable, among other noteworthy features, for its very striking and picturesque central tower. A good plate of the interior is given in the *Monasticon* ; and an excellent paper, profusely illustrated by its author, the late Rev. J. L. Petit, may be seen in the *Archæological Journal*, xxvii, 80-91.

**CAVERSHAM PRIORY CHURCH, OXFORDSHIRE.**—The parish church of Caversham was one of the earliest endowments of Butley, which afterwards established a cell upon a spot near the bridge there. Besides a chapel of S. Ann upon the bridge, it had also the offerings made in the chapel of our Lady, which occupied the eastern part of the north aisle of the parish church.

**CHIRBURY PRIORY CHURCH, SHROPSHIRE.**—The priory of Chirbury was founded in the first instance at Sende or Snet, by Robert de Bouchers, in the beginning of the reign of king Henry III ; but before the eleventh of that reign translated to Chirbury, where, notwithstanding a royal licence—9 Edward I—to return to Sende, it continued till the dissolution. Dug. vi, 580.

The nave, with its aisles and western tower, which were all along parochial, now constitute the sole remains of this fine and interesting church. Letter, accompanied by a photograph, from the Rev. P. M. Burd, vicar.

**DORCHESTER ABBEY CHURCH, OXFORDSHIRE.**—Founded for Arstin canons by Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, circa 1140, to the honour of S. Peter, S. Paul, and S. Birinus.

Here, again, as at Christchurch Twynham, the whole of this fine and singularly interesting church is still standing and in use ; the eastern or monastic part having been purchased and preserved by one of the inhabitants, as thus narrated by Leland :—"The body of the abbay church servid a late for the parochie chirche. Syns the suppression one Beauforest, a grete rich man dwelling in the towne of Dorchestre, bought the est part

of the chirche for cxl. pounda, and gave it to augment the parochie chirche."

**LITTLE DUNMOW PRIORY CHURCH, ESSEX.** Founded in 1104, by Juga, sister of Ralph Baynard.

"1104 Juga Baynard domina de Parva Dunmowe, fecit Mauricium episcopum Londoniensem dedicare ecclesiam de dicta villa in honore beatæ Virginis Mariæ, unde cura animarum commissa fuit per episcopum prædictum cuidam presbitero, nomine Britrico : " &c.

"1106 Igitur Galfridus Baynard filius et hæres Jugæ Baynard, considerans devotionem, &c. posuit canonicos in ecclesia de Dunmow assensu Anselmi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis."—(Dug. vi, 145-7.)

All that now remains of the church of this priory—which still, in part, continues to be used as that of the parish—is the south aisle of the choir, a very fine work with blocked arcade of late twelfth and—as to its outer walls—advanced fourteenth century character. For plan and elevation of this singularly fine and most peculiar work, see *Spring Gardens' Sketch-book*, Vol. v, plates 69-70.

**DUNSTABLE PRIORY CHURCH, BEDFORDSHIRE.**—Founded, together with the town of Dunstable itself, by King Henry I, who dedicated it in honour of S. Peter.

"Dictus rex, in limite dicti burgi, in honorem S. Petri, ecclesiam fabricavit, monasterium construxit; et sicut longe in animo concesserat priorem et canonicos ibidem posuit regulares. Dedit autem eis et eorum successoribus in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam, ecclesiam antedictam; dictum burgum cum burgensibus, foris nundinis, libertatibus et approvamentis quibuscunque, et omnibus rebus et proventibus quos percipere consueverat quando in manu sua tenuit idem burgum," &c.

The nave of Dunstable priory church was, therefore, parochial, as at present, from the time of its first foundation. Thus, we read in the *Annals*—"A.D. 1273. Sumptibus parochianorum renovatus fuit cumulus ecclesiæ nostræ de Dunstaple; scilicet ab altari ad crucem, usque ad ostium occidentale versus le North. Henricus Chadde majores expensas apposuit circa illud."—Dug. vi, 239-42.

**EDINGTON PRIORY CHURCH, WILTSHIRE.**—The church of Edington, like that of Ashridge, was not, strictly speaking, one of Austin canons at all, but of Bonhommes. Both, however, being included by Dugdale in the list of Austin churches, it may be well, having based this enquiry on the evidence of the Monasticon, to follow his example, and treat of them as such; the more so, as their enumeration does not affect the proportion of parochial and non-parochial examples—Edington belonging to one, and Ashridge to the other class.

William de Edington, bishop of Winchester, having magnificently rebuilt the church of his native place, established therein in lieu of the parish priest, a dean and twelve secular chaplains, whom, at the earnest entreaty of Edward, the Black Prince, he shortly afterwards changed into a college of Bonhommes. The church still remains entire, one of the noblest as well as most interesting monuments of its age, its date being precisely ascertained from the following record preserved in the house.—

"Ecclesia conventualis de Edyndon dedicata fuit a Roberto Weyvile

episcopo Sarum, in honore S. Jacobi apostoli, S. Katherinæ et omnium Sanctorum, anno Dom. 1361."

**S. GERMAN'S PRIORY CHURCH, CORNWALL.**—The history of this church, like that of Carlisle, is exceptional. At a very early period it was probably cathedral. In A.D. 1050, Leofric, bishop of Exeter, is said, erroneously, of course, to have turned out the seculars, who then occupied it, and introduced canons regular instead. The explanation of this may probably be that, he enforced necessary discipline upon the new canons, and compelled them to follow some sort of rule. According to Leland, the true canons regular of S. Austin, who possessed the priory at the time of the Dissolution, were introduced by bishop Bartholomew, temp. Henry II. The church, of which only the nave with its aisles, and two western towers remain, appears to have been always, as at present, parochial.

**GRESLEY PRIORY CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.**—Founded temp. Henry I., by William de Gresley, son of Nigel de Stafford, near his castle of Gresley, and dedicated by him in honour of S. Mary and S. George. That it was parochial as well as conventual is shewn by a deed of 1281, which asks Sir Geoffrey de Gresley, the patron, to licence brothers Wm. de Seyle and J. de Bromley as prior and pastor.—Reliquary, vi, 140. "Of the priory church, the (much altered) nave with north aisle, and tower at the east end of the latter, still remain. A chancel has recently been added. Not a vestige is left of the conventual buildings." Note by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope.

**HARTLAND ABBEY CHURCH, DEVONSHIRE.**—Githa, wife of earl Godwin, is said to have placed secular priests in the church of S. Nectan at Hartland, who continued till the time of king Henry II., when Geoffrey de Dinham, with the sanction of that monarch, and of Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, and the help of Richard, archdeacon of Poitiers, changed the seculars into a house of Austin canons.

"Henricus rex Angliæ, &c., Sciatis quod Gaufridus filius Oliveri de Dynam . . . donavit Ricardo Pictavensi archidiacono, ecclesiam S. Nectani de Hertilanda . . . ut ibi ordo canonicorum regularium . . . institueretur," &c. Dug., vi, 435-6.

Portions of the domestic buildings of the Abbey, especially the cloisters, are said to be still standing, incorporated into a modern dwelling-house. The church of S. Nectan too, a large and handsome structure, occupying a commanding site outside the town, continues as aforetime, and un-mutilated, to do duty as that of the parish.

**S. JULIAN AND S. BOTOLPH PRIORY CHURCH, COLCHESTER, ESSEX.**—Founded, according to Tanner, before A.D. 1107, by a monk named Ernulph. It would seem always to have been parochial; the rectorial tithes of S. Botolph, forming, at the suppression, part of the property of the house granted by king Henry VIII. to the lord chancellor Audley. The church is said to have continued perfect till the siege of Colchester, A.D. 1648, when it was in great measure destroyed, and has remained in ruins ever since. Dug., vi, 104-5.

For an account of this church with plan and illustrations, see Britton's *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, i, 1-6 and plates.

**KIRKBY BELER PRIORY CHURCH, LEICESTERSHIRE.**—Roger Beler, in the 9th Edward II, began a small chantry in the chapel of S. Peter, near his manor house here, which shortly afterwards he increased into a college for a warden and twelve secular priests. It was made conventual for a prior and canons regular of S. Austin in 1359.

The conventual church still does duty as that of the parish.

**SOUTH KYME PRIORY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.**—Founded *temp.* Henry II. by Philip de Kyme, knt., in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Dug., vi., 377.

This priory, which was endowed with the rectory of the parish church, would seem to have appropriated that building to conventual uses from the first. Up to A.D. 1805, the whole or greater portion of the nave, or parochial portion of the dual building, continued to exist and be in use as the parish church. Then, "it was subjected to one of the most brutal adaptations ever heard of. The south arcade having been pulled down, a wall was run from east to west, along the middle of the nave space, and the parallelogram thus formed was roofed over under one gable. The south and west windows are good curvilinear Decorated, the south porch doorway is Norman, belonging to the original church, existing before the foundation of the priory in 1170."—Letter of the Rev. Precentor Venables, Lincoln.

**LEATHERINGHAM PRIORY CHURCH, SUFFOLK.**—William de Bovill, says Tanner, having given the Church of S. Mary of Crew, and all the tithes of Letheringham, to the monastery of St. Peter in Ipswich, *temp.* ..... here was settled a small priory of three or four black canons (as a cell to that house) to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, whose yearly income was valued, 26th Hen. VIII, but at £26 18s. 5d. Dug., vi, 596.

It is possible that Crew, whose church was given to the priory of Ipswich, may have been, as the editors of the *Monasticon* suggest, the ancient name of the parish of which Letheringham was but a hamlet, though in the Norwich Registers the house is invariably called Letheringham. "Local tradition says there was a parish church before the priory existed, and human skeletons have been found in different parts of the traditional site a mile away from the priory." Hence it might seem as though the original parish church had been abandoned on the foundation of the priory, and that the new conventual one was designed from the beginning for parochial, as well as monastic uses. "The priory buildings adjoined it on the north side, and some vestiges of the old foundations are still visible above ground. The chancel was long in proportion, about two-thirds the length of the church, but the nave and tower, are all that now remain, and they form the parish church."—Letter of the Rev. J. E. Malins, vicar.

**MOBBERLEY PRIORY CHURCH, CHESHIRE.**—Here, says Tanner, Patrick de Modberley founded a priory of Black canons, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. Wilfrid, circa 1206, the moiety of the church being its first endowment. Between 1228 and 1240, it was annexed to the priory of Rocester; but in the course of the next fifty years, every trace of the connection vanishes, and the advowson of the church is found to be vested in William de Modberley. Dug., vi, 477-8.

The ancient parish church of Mobberly—the seat of this very short lived priory—still exists, a fine and very interesting building.

**OVINGHAM PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.**—The priory of Ovingham, which was a small cell to that of Hexham, stood, and in part indeed still stands, prettily situated to the south of the parish church on the gently sloping bank between it and the Tyne. The church, as its plan—very nearly approaching that of a Greek cross, with north and south aisles to the nave, and western aisles to the transept—sufficiently indicates, was evidently that of the cell as well as of the parish, and, with the exception of the early Norman, if not Saxon, western tower, doubtless rebuilt in its entirety, and at a single effort, in the second quarter of the thirteenth century by the mother house of Hexham. It is still, generally speaking, in excellent preservation.

**OWSTON ABBEY CHURCH, LEICESTERSHIRE.**—The abbey of Owston was founded by Robert Grimbald, one of the Justices of England, temp. Henry II, for Austin canons, in honour of Jesus Christ, S. Mary, and S. Andrew; the parish church being given up for their use.

“Do et concedo . . . . ecclesiam de Osolvestone, et ipsam villam totam sine ullo retenemento, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, in campis, &c. et in omnibus rebus et libertatibus prædictæ ecclesiæ et villæ adjacentibus, canonicis ibidem Deo et sancto Andræ servantibus, &c. *Dug. vi, 422-4.*

A fragment only of the abbey church of Owston continues in use as that of the parish. “There are now remaining only two very fine early English arches supported on three pillars which belonged to the church as an abbey church, for the architecture of the rest is very late and debased Perpendicular. I should fancy that at the dissolution a great portion of the church was pulled down, being much larger than the parish would require it; the chancel, no doubt, was pulled down at or about that time (for we have no chancel now) and probably my house was built out of it and the cloisters, for the stone corresponds with that of the church. I say this because when I restored the glebe house I found that many of the stones when taken out were beautifully carved inside, shewing plainly that they had belonged to another building. There is a narrow aisle on the north side of the nave, but this (that is, the outer wall of it), has been built since the dissolution, or very shortly before it. . . . . The nave is exceedingly high from the ground to the roof, consequently on the south side, a huge perpendicular wall of a most debased kind was run up with great high buttresses. The abbey buildings joined on to the west end of the church.” Letter, accompanied with sketch ground plan, of the Rev. F. D. Hall, vicar.

From Nichols' History of Leicestershire it appears that the freestone pavement of the destroyed portion of the church was sold for 20s.; ten glazed windows for £2 13s. 4d.; and that the painted glass in two windows of the south aisle was valued at 13s. 8d.

**RATLINGHOPE PRIORY CHURCH, SHROPSHIRE.**—According to Tanner, the manor of Ratlinghope being given, temp. John, to the Abbey of Wigmore, a prior and one or two canons were thenceforward established there as a cell. Next to nothing, however, seems to be known respecting this small and obscure house. The present church is a modern structure, presumably

occupying the site of the ancient one ; of which, as of the monastic buildings there are, as I am told by the present incumbent, no remains whatever. But the extreme poverty of the house, the net annual revenues of which at the Dissolution amounted to only £3 13s. 4d., render it in every way likely, though no direct evidence of the subject is forthcoming, that the parish, would also be made to do duty as the conventual, church. As such, therefore, I have classified it.

**SHERINGHAM PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.**—The church of this place, says Tanner, having been given to the abbey of Nutley in Bucks, by Walter Giffard, earl of Buckingham, temp. Henry II., here was sometime a cell to that abbey. Dug., vi, 575.

The parish church of Sheringham was probably also that of the priory, the remains of which, a few years ago, were visible at about two hundred yards distance from it. Letter of the Vicar of Sheringham.

**TWYNHAM, OR CHRIST CHURCH PRIORY CHURCH, HAMPSHIRE.**—In the Church of Christ, or the Holy Trinity here, says Tanner, were a dean and twenty-four secular canons in the time of Edward the Confessor ; but these, about A.D. 1150, by the procuration of Baldwin, earl of Devon, were changed for canons regular of S. Austin.

The whole of this noble church is still, happily, standing and in use, having been granted in its entirety, Oct. 23, 1540, by Henry VIII to the parishioners.

**HOLY TRINITY PRIORY CHURCH, IPSWICH.**—In the church of the Holy Trinity here, a priory of Austin canons was instituted, according to Tanner, before A.D. 1177, and chiefly endowed by Norman, son of Eadnoth, one of the first canons.

It was suppressed at the instance of Cardinal Wolsey, and a spacious mansion called Christ Church now occupies its site.

**TRENTHAM PRIORY CHURCH, STAFFORDSHIRE.**—Here, says Tanner, was an ancient nunnery, whereof S. Werburgh was by her brother king Ethelred appointed abbess, and here she died in 783. Nothing more is heard of it till the latter part of the reign of Henry I., when Randal, second earl of Chester introduced canons regular of S. Austin into the church of S. Mary and All Saints, which in some form would seem to have survived the destruction of the monastery.

“*Ranulphus Comes Cestrise, &c., Sciatis me donasse . . . Deo, et sanctæ Mariæ, et omnibus sanctis, ad restaurandam quandam abbathiam canonicorum in ecclesiæ de Trentham,*” &c. Dug., vi, 396-7.

The priory church, which has lost its ancient tower, continues to be used as that of the parish.

**WALTHAM HOLY CROSS ABBEY CHURCH, ESSEX.**—Founded in the first instance by Tovi, standard bearer to King Cnut, for two priests, which number was increased to twelve by Harold, who rebuilt, and richly endowed the church. As a college of secular canons, it continued according to his foundation till A.D. 1177, when the dean, Guido Ruffus, having previously resigned, king Henry II. inducted into it sixteen canons regular of S. Augustine ; Walter de Gaunt, a canon of Oseney, being constituted the first abbot. Dug., vi, 56-7.



Of Harold's buildings at Waltham, there are now no visible remains. The choir, transept, and central tower of the abbey church, save only the western arch of the latter, which opened to the nave—the whole conventual parts of it, in short—have now perished. As to this remaining arch, it is of late Norman work, a sufficient proof in one direction, at least, of the date of the superstructure. The nave itself, somewhat later still, is beyond all question a partly contemporary, though—as its details, especially those of the clerestory, conclusively prove—slightly subsequent work of the same architect who erected that of the cathedral church of Durham for bishop Flambard, 1099-1128. Its erection, which was evidently gradual, was due most probably to the munificence of Maude and Adeliza, queens of king Henry I., both of whom were great friends and supporters of the house. As heretofore, it still continues to serve as the parish church of Waltham. For views and plan of Waltham abbey church, with divers wild speculations of various writers, and some very judicious observations of the author thereon, see Britton's *Antiquities of Great Britain*, iii, 17-26.

**WARTER PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.**—Warter priory was founded A.D. 1132 by Geoffrey Fitz Pain, or Trusbut, in honour of S. James, the patron of the parish church, wherein he established a prior and canons.

"Memorandum quod domus Wartriæ fundata fuit Galfrido Trusbut . . . . cui in fundatione tantummodo contulit ecclesiam de Wartria &c.

"Hujus domus fuerunt rectores isti, Joseph, prior 1. Radulphus prior 2. Ricardus abbas 1. Yvo abbas 2, et ultimus. Nicholaus prior 3, Richardus prior 4," &c. *Dug. vi, 297-8.*

The present parish church of Warter is entirely modern, but occupies the site of the original one, which formed part—the south aisle of the nave, as would seem most likely—of the conventual church.—Letter of Rev. R. D. French, vicar.

**WESTACRE PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.**—A priory of black canons, who afterwards became canons of S. Austin, was commenced in the parish church of Westacre, temp. William Rufus, by Oliver, the parish priest, and his son Walter; Ralph de Toni, the then lord of the manor, confirming the grants made to the same.

The ancient parochial and conventual church of All Saints continues in its integrity as that of the parish.

**WOMBRIDGE PRIORY CHURCH, SHROPSHIRE.**—Founded temp. Henry I, by William Fitz Alan, in honour of SS. Mary and Leonard. From the identity of the dedication and the position of the domestic buildings, which adjoin the parish church, it would seem probable that that structure served originally as the priory church as well. The present church of Wombridge, which has supplanted a miserable erection of brick, is entirely modern, but occupies the site of the original church which was blown down in a violent storm, A.D. 1756. *Dug., vi, 387*; and Letter of the Rev. M. M. Lakke, vicar.

**WORKSOP PRIORY CHURCH, NOTTS.**—Founded in the 3rd Henry I, by William de Lovetot, in honour of S. Mary and S. Cuthbert.

"Imprimis totam capellariam totius domus suæ, cum decimis et oblationibus; deinde ecclesiam de Wirksop, in qua canonici sunt, cum decimis et omnibus rebus ad ecclesiam eandem pertinentibus, &c." Dug., vi, 116.

The nave of this magnificent church, which was always, as at present, parochial, remains, with its two western towers, in excellent preservation. The eastern, or monastic church, consisting of the structural choir and transepts, is destroyed; but the large and beautiful lady chapel, though ruined, has its walls yet standing to nearly their full height.

A full account of Worksop priory, accompanied with a plan and general view, may be seen in the Journal of the British Archæological Association, xxx, 217.

Having now, in the two foregoing lists, given a summary account of both groups of the Augustinian churches, viz.:—1st, Those which were purely conventual, and 2nd, those which were parochial as well; it remains only to classify in a third, such of them as, from the time of the suppression, were either destroyed by violence, or allowed to fall gently to decay; and which clearly therefore, from these circumstances alone could never have been parish churches. For it is important to note, in this connection, that every one of these churches without exception, which was *historically* parochial before that event (I take no account of the case of S. Botolph's, Colchester, which was destroyed during the siege of the town in the civil war, and never afterwards rebuilt), *continues to be so still*. Nor is this all, for the fact that even in these cases (with certain exceptions readily accounted for), it is only the *parochial*, and not the conventual part of them which has been preserved, affords the strongest possible corroborative proof that in all those cases where no such part has been preserved, there was consequently no parish church, nor any possessed of legal rights besides the canons. That some few of these purely conventual churches should have escaped the general, and otherwise inevitable destruction, either through the munificent care of individuals, or the public spirit of the people, who purchased, and subsequently devoted them to parochial uses, is natural enough. It is precisely what happened, under similar circumstances, in the case of the Benedictine churches of Malvern, Selby, and Milton Abbas. But such particular instances of rescue are all perfectly well known and authenticated, and in no way affect the case of the vast remaining bulk, which, one and all, were left to ruin. What the exact degree of that ruin in the several examples enumerated in the following table may be, I cannot, of course, pretend to say; nor, for my present purpose, is the subject of the least importance. What is important to observe is the fact that, from the day the canons ceased to serve them, the whole of these churches have been utterly abandoned; a state of things impossible to account for, either by reason or analogy, except on the supposition, confirmed throughout by history, that they were conventual and conventual only.

## LIST III.—CHURCHES OF AUSTIN CANONS MORE OR LESS ENTIRELY RUINED.

## DIVISION I.

*Churches of Black Canons heretofore described.*

Acornbury Priory Church, Cambridgeshire.  
 Alnesborne Priory Church, Suffolk.  
 Anglesea Priory Church, Cambridgeshire.  
 Ashridge Priory Church, Buckinghamshire.  
 Badlesmere Priory Church, Kent.  
 Barlynch Priory Church, Somersetshire.  
 Barnwell Priory Church, Cambridgeshire.  
 Beeston Priory Church, Norfolk.  
 Bentley Priory Church, Middlesex.  
 Berden Priory Church, Essex.  
 Bicester Priory Church, Oxfordshire.  
 Bilsington Priory Church, Kent.  
 Bisham Montague Priory Church, Berkshire.  
 Blythborough Priory Church, Norfolk.  
 Bradenstoke Priory Church, Wiltshire.  
 Bradley Priory Church, Lincolnshire.  
 Brissett Priory Church, Suffolk.  
 Brooke Priory Church, Rutlandshire.  
 Breamore Priory Church, Hampshire.  
 Broomhall Priory Church, Norfolk.  
 Brykley Priory Church, Somersetshire.  
 Burnham Abbey Church, Bucks.  
 Burscough Priory Church, Lancashire.  
 Bushmead Priory Church, Bedfordshire.  
 Butley Priory Church, Suffolk.  
 Caermarthen Priory Church.  
 Caldwell Priory Church, Bedfordshire.  
 Calke Priory Church, Derbyshire.  
 Calwich Priory Church, Staffordshire.  
 Campsey Priory Church, Suffolk.  
 Castle-Hymel Priory Church, Northamptonshire.  
 Chacomb Priory Church, Northamptonshire.  
 Chiche S. Osyth Priory Church, Essex.  
 Chipley Priory Church, Suffolk.  
 Cirencester Abbey Church, Gloucestershire.  
 Cold Norton Priory Church, Oxfordshire.  
 Combwell Priory Church, Kent.  
 Conishead Priory Church, Lancashire.  
 Cornworthy Priory Church, Devonshire.  
 Coxsford Priory Church, Norfolk.  
 Crabhouse, or Wigenhall Priory Church, Norfolk.  
 Creake Abbey Church, Norfolk.  
 Dartford Priory Church, Kent.  
 Dodnaah Priory Church, Suffolk.

Drax Priory Church, Yorkshire.  
Elsham Priory Church, Lincolnshire.  
Erdbury Priory Church, Warwickshire.  
Felley Priory Church, Nottinghamshire.  
Flanesford Priory Church, Herefordshire.  
Flixton Priory Church, Norfolk.  
Flixton Priory Church, Suffolk.  
Frithelstock Priory Church, Devonshire.  
Gloucester, S. Oswald's Priory Church.  
Goring Priory Church, Oxfordshire.  
Grace Dieu Priory Church, Leicestershire.  
Guisborough Priory Church, Yorkshire.  
Haltemprice Priory Church, Yorkshire.  
Halywell Priory Church, Warwickshire.  
Hardham Priory Church, Sussex.  
Harwood Priory Church, Bedfordshire.  
Hastings Priory Church, Sussex.  
Haselberge Priory Church, Somersetshire.  
Haverfordwest Priory Church, Pembrokeshire.  
Haughmond Abbey Church, Shropshire.  
Healaugh Park Priory Church, Yorkshire.  
Hempton Priory Church, Norfolk.  
Herringsfleet Priory Church, Suffolk.  
Hickling Priory Church, Norfolk.  
Hode Priory Church, Yorkshire.  
Huntingdon Priory Church.  
Hyrst Priory Church, Lincolnshire.  
Ilchester Priory Church, Somersetshire.  
Ivy Church Priory Church, Wiltshire.  
Ixworth Priory Church, Suffolk.  
Ipswich Priory Church, SS. Peter and Paul,  
Kenilworth Priory Church Warwickshire.  
Kersey Priory Church, Suffolk.  
Keynsham Abbey Church, Somersetshire.  
Kirkham Priory Church, Yorkshire.  
Lacock Abbey Church, Wiltshire.  
Latton Priory Church, Essex.  
Launceston Priory Church, Cornwall.  
Laund Priory Church, Leicestershire.  
Leeds Priory Church, Kent.  
Lees Priory Church, Staffordshire.  
Leicester, S. Mary de Pratis Priory Church.  
Leighs, or Little Leighs Priory Church, Essex.  
Leigh, or Canonsleigh Priory Church, Devonshire.  
Lilleshull Abbey Church, Shropshire.  
Linchmere Priory Church, Sussex.  
Llanthony Abbey Church, Gloucestershire.  
Llanthony Priory Church, Monmouthshire.  
London, Christ, or Holy Trinity Priory Church.  
Longleat Priory Church, Wiltshire.  
Markby Priory Church, Lincolnshire.  
Marton Priory Church, Yorkshire.

Massingham Magna Priory Church, Norfolk.  
Maxstoke Priory Church, Warwickshire.  
Merton Priory Church, Surrey.  
Michelham Priory Church, Sussex.  
Missenden Abbey Church, Buckinghamshire.  
Mottisfont Priory Church, Hampshire.  
Mountjoy Priory Church, Norfolk.  
Newburgh Abbey Church, Yorkshire.  
Newark Priory Church, Surrey.  
Newenham Priory Church, Bedfordshire.  
Newstead Abbey Church, Nottinghamshire.  
Newstead Priory Church, Lincolnshire.  
Nocton, or Nocton Park Priory Church, Leicestershire.  
Northampton, S. James's Abbey Church.  
North Ferriby Priory Church, Yorkshire.  
Norton Abbey Church, Cheshire.  
Nostell Priory Church, Yorkshire.  
Nutley Priory Church, Buckinghamshire.  
Old Buckenham Priory Church, Norfolk.  
Oseney Abbey Church, Oxfordshire.  
Pentney Priory Church, Norfolk.  
Peterston Priory Church, Norfolk.  
Plympton Priory Church, Devonshire.  
Poughley Priory Church, Berkshire.  
Pynham, or De Calceto Priory Church, Sussex.  
Ravenston Priory Church, Buckinghamshire.  
Reigate Priory Church, Surrey.  
Repton Priory Church, Derbyshire.  
Rochester Priory Church, Staffordshire.  
Ronton Priory Church, Staffordshire.  
Rothwell Priory Church, Northamptonshire.  
Sandleford Priory Church, Berkshire.  
Scarthe Priory Church, Yorkshire.  
Seokirk, or Skewkirk Priory Church, Yorkshire.  
Selborne Priory Church, Hampshire.  
Shelford Priory Church, Nottinghamshire.  
Spinney Priory Church, Cambridgeshire.  
Southampton, St. Denys's Priory Church.  
Southwick Priory Church, Hampshire.  
Stafford, S. Thomas's Priory Church.  
Staverdale Priory Church, Somersetshire.  
Stone Priory Church, Staffordshire.  
Stoneley Priory Church, Huntingdon.  
Studley Priory Church, Warwickshire.  
Syon Abbey Church, Middlesex.  
Tandridge Priory Church, Surrey.  
Taunton Priory Church, Somersetshire.  
Thirling Priory Church, Cambridgeshire.  
Thoby, or Ginges Priory Church, Essex.  
Thornholm Priory Church, Lincolnshire.  
Thornton Abbey Church, Lincolnshire.  
Threimbale Priory Church, Essex.

Tiptree Priory Church, Essex.  
 Tonbridge Priory Church, Kent.  
 Torksey Priory Church, Lincolnshire.  
 Tortington Priory Church, Sussex.  
 Ulverscroft Priory Church, Leicestershire.  
 Walsingham Priory Church, Norfolk.  
 Warwick, S. Sepulchre's Priory Church.  
 Waybourne Priory Church, Norfolk.  
 Wellowe, or Grimsby Abbey Church, Lincolnshire.  
 Westwood in Leases Abbey Church, Kent.  
 Weybridge Priory Church, Norfolk.  
 Wigmore Abbey Church, Herefordshire.  
 Woodbridge Priory Church, Suffolk.  
 Woodham Ferrars Priory Church, Essex.  
 Woodkirk Priory Church, Yorkshire.  
 Wormgay Priory Church, Norfolk.  
 Wormsley Priory Church, Herefordshire.  
 Worspring Priory Church, Somersetshire.  
 Wroxton Priory Church, Oxfordshire.  
 Wymondsey Parva Priory Church, Hertfordshire.

## DIVISION II.

*Churches of White Canons, not heretofore described.*

**ALNWICK ABBEY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.**—Founded by Eustace Fitz John, A.D. 1147, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Nothing but the entrance gateway now remains standing above ground, but the foundations of the church and conventual buildings have recently been uncovered by the Duke of Northumberland. The parish church of Alnwick, situate at a considerable distance from the abbey, is under the invocation of S. Mary and S. Michael.

**BARLINGS ABBEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.**—Barlings abbey was founded by Ralph de Haya and Richard his brother, A.D. 1154, in honour of the B.V.M., being endowed, *inter alia*, with the whole town and parish church of S. Edward there. The abbey church, whose central tower carried on four open arches, and curiously resembling that of the Grey friars at Richmond, Yorks., is figured in the Monasticon—but has since fallen down—is there said to have been cruciform, and three hundred feet in length; the height of the tower being no less than one hundred and eighty feet.

**BAYHAM ABBEY CHURCH, SUSSEX.**—The abbey of Bayham was founded circa A.D. 1200, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, by Robert de Thurnham, for certain Premonstratensian canons whom he removed therefrom from Bromley in Deptford. The church, whose plan is very peculiar, and of which considerable remains exist in a more or less fragmentary state, forms an exceedingly picturesque group of ruins. There is a plate of them in the Monasticon, vii, 910.

**BEAUCHIEF ABBEY CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.**—Founded by Robert Fitz Ranulph, lord of Alfreton, December 21st, 1183, in honour of (the

Blessed Virgin Mary and) S. Thomas the Martyr. The aisleless nave of the church, with the remains of a fine western tower, was converted into a parochial chapel circa 1652, by Edward Pegge, an ancestor of the antiquary. The church stands in the parish of Norton. For an account of Beauchief Abbey, with view, see *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xxx, 426; and Addy's *Historical Memorials of Beauchief Abbey*.

**BELEIGH, OR MALDON ABBEY CHURCH, ESSEX.**—Beleigh abbey was founded by Robert Mantell, A.D. 1180, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. Nicholas. The chapter house, which is said to be a small, but beautiful early English structure, with graceful vaulting shafts, and the warming house with dormitory over, appear to be the best preserved portion of the ruins.

**BLANCHLAND ABBEY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.**—The abbey of Blanchland was founded by Walter de Bolebek for twelve canons, to the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, A.D. 1165. The editors of the *Monasticon*, in an only too characteristic way, add:—"There are some small remains of this abbey, beside an ancient gateway still existing." The fact is, however, that the church, having from the time of the dissolution been left to the slow and quiet processes of natural decay only, remained, down to 1752, in so good a state of preservation that Lord Crewe's trustees then formed a considerable portion of it into a parochial chapel. "The aisleless choir, north transept with eastern aisle, and tower at the north end of the transept still remain." Note by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope.

**BRODHOLM PRIORY CHURCH, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.**—Agnes de Camville, says Tanner, wife of Peter de Gousla (founder of Newhouse), erected the priory of Brodholm, in the latter part of the reign of Stephen, to the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Its full annual value, according to Leland, was only £10; to Dugdale, £16 5s. 2d.

**COCKERSAND ABBEY CHURCH, LANCASHIRE.**—Cockersand abbey was established on the suppression of a hospital endowed chiefly by William de Lancaster, temp. Henry II. and dependent on that of Leicester, circa A.D. 1190, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. "The octagonal chapter house forms the chief remaining feature, but the whole of the plan of the aisleless cruciform church may be traced." Note by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope.

**COVERHAM ABBEY CHURCH, YORKSHIRE.**—Helewisia, daughter of Ranulf de Glanville, chief justice of England, in the latter part of the reign of Henry II, according to Tanner, founded at Swainby, in the parish of Pickhill, a house of white canons, who were removed, 14 John, to Coverham, by his son Ralph Fitz Robert, Lord of Middleham. The beautiful ruins of Coverham abbey church still exist as a sort of adjunct to a small mansion house, which has been formed out of the domestic buildings. For an account of both, with the magnificent early monumental effigies of the Nevilles, which still, I believe, do duty as gate posts to the house, &c., see Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, i. The parish church is under the invocation of the Holy Trinity.

**CROXTON ABBEY CHURCH, LEICESTERSHIRE.**—Founded by one William, whom Tanner surnamed Porcarius; Peck, Portarius; but the Charters, no doubt correctly, Parcarius de Linus, A.D. 1162, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. John. It stood in the parish of Croxton Keyrial, and—as the parish church was also under that invocation—was known, probably for the sake of distinction, as “*ecclesia Sancti Johannis de Valle*,” in it were buried the viscera of King John.

**DALE, OR DE PARCO STANLEY ABBEY CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.**—Founded by William Fitz Rauf, Seneschal of Normandy and Geoffrey de Salicosa Mara his son-in-law, A.D. 1204, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The church, which except the arch of the great east window, had entirely disappeared from the surface, was carefully explored beneath it, by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, for the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, during the summers of 1879 and of 1880; when its general plan, together with many interesting details, were brought to light. For an account of these, by Mr. Hope, see vol. ii of their *Transactions*.

**DODFORD PRIORY CHURCH, WORCESTERSHIRE.**—King Henry II. was the founder of this small priory of Augustinians, which, eventually containing but a single canon, was granted *temp.* Edward IV, to the abbot and convent of Hales-Owen, who forthwith established therein a cell of their own order. All that remains of the buildings is said to be found in the walls of a farm house.

**DUREFORD ABBEY CHURCH, SUSSEX.**—Tanner says, “Henry Hoes the elder, before the year 1169, built and endowed here an abbey of Premonstratensian canons, from Welbeck, to the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John Baptist.” The abbey has completely disappeared. It stood in the parish of Rogate; the church of which place is under the invocation of S. Bartholomew.

**EASBY ABBEY CHURCH, YORKSHIRE.**—The abbey of Easby was founded by Roald, Constable of Richmond Castle, under Alan, the third earl, *circa* A.D. 1152, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. Agatha. The beautiful remains of Easby abbey, the church of which, however, is almost totally destroyed, stand in a lovely situation about a mile below Richmond on the brink of the river Swale. The little parish church of Easby—one of singular interest—nestles closely beneath their shelter to the east.

**EGLISTON ABBEY CHURCH, YORKSHIRE.**—The abbey of Egliston was founded by Ralph de Multon in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. John Baptist. The ruins, which occupy a situation of the utmost loveliness on the southern brink of the river Tees, about a couple of miles below Barnard Castle, are situate in the parish of Startforth. The walls of the aisleless cruciform church are fairly perfect.

**HAGNEBY ABBEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.**—This church was built by Herbert Fitz Alard de Orreby, and Agnes his wife, A.D. 1175, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Hagneby, a hamlet in the parish of Hannay; the church of which place is under the invocation of S.



Andrew. The abbey church of Hagneby, with its dependent offices, have been so long utterly destroyed, that their very site is said to be now mere matter of conjecture.

**HALES OWEN ABBEY CHURCH, SHROPSHIRE.**—King John, who in the sixteenth year of his reign gave the manor and church of Hales to Peter de Rupibus, bishop of Winchester, for the purpose, and at whose charges, according to Tanner, the buildings seem to have been both begun and finished, was apparently the real founder of Hales Owen abbey, though the patronage remained with the bishop. It was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. John the Evangelist, and was one of the richest houses of the order; the clear annual income at the time of the dissolution amounting to £280 13s. 2½d. The church is now more completely ruined apparently, than the domestic offices, of which there are still considerable, though very shattered remains.

**HOME LACY, OR HAMM ABBEY CHURCH, HEREFORDSHIRE.**—Founded, according to Tanner, by William Fitzwain, in the beginning of the reign of Henry III, to the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. Thomas the Martyr. The site of it is, and has long been, utterly unknown. The parish church is under the invocation of S. Cuthbert.

**HORNBY PRIORY CHURCH, LANCASHIRE.**—According to Tanner, Hornby was a cell of a prior and three canons to the abbey of Croxton, and of the foundation of the ancestors of the Lord Monteagle. It was under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. Wilfrid; and of the annual value of £26. The buildings, which stood in the parish of Melling, are now completely ruined.

**IRFORD PRIORY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.**—Irford was a small priory of nuns, founded by Ralph de Albini, temp. Henry II, and dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. At the dissolution, its gross annual income amounted to only £14 13s. 4d.

**KAYLEND PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.**—On a place called Kaylend, in the parish of Cottesbrook, given by William Butteville to the abbot and convent of Sulby was established a cell of white canons, dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. John. "Large foundation stones," says Bridges, "have within these few years been dug up in Kalendar meadow, and the cell when standing appears to have been moated round."

**LANGDON, OR WEST LANGDON ABBEY CHURCH, KENT.**—The abbey of Langdon, an off-shoot from that of Leiston, was founded A.D. 1192, by William de Auberville, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. Thomas of Canterbury. A brick dwelling-house now occupies the site of the cellarium; while a small fragment of masonry is all that remains visible of the fabric of the church. The site was very carefully explored, however, in 1882 by Mr. W. H. St John Hope, who has given full particulars respecting it, accompanied with a ground plan, in the *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. xviii.

**LANGLEY ABBEY CHURCH, NORFOLK.**—According to Tanner, the abbey of Langley was built and endowed, A.D. 1198, by Robert Fitz Roger

Helke, or de Clavering, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. There are said to be considerable remains of this abbey still standing. The parish church is under the invocation of S. Michael.

**LAVENDON ABBEY CHURCH, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.**—Founded by Sir John de Bidun in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. John Baptist, about the reign of king Henry II. All remains, both of the church and conventual buildings, seem now to have entirely disappeared. The parish church of Lavendon is under the invocation of S. Mary only.

**LEISTON ABBEY CHURCH, SUFFOLK.**—The abbey of Leiston was founded by Ranulf de Glanville, founder also of Butley priory, in 1182, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It was first built near the sea, but the site proving inconvenient, the brethren were removed by Robert de Ufford, earl of Suffolk, circa 1363, to a fresh one about a mile distant. The new church being consumed by fire in 1389 was thereupon rebuilt, and, like that of the original foundation which was still occupied by a few canons, continued till the general suppression, when both were destroyed. Some remains still exist. The parish church of Leiston is under the invocation of S. Margaret.

**NEWBO ABBEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.**—Richard de Malebisse was the founder of this abbey church, which he built to the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary in A.D. 1198.

**NEWHOUSE ABBEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.**—This, the first Premonstratensian, or White Canons', church erected in England, was founded by Peter de Gousla, A.D. 1146, in honour of S. Mary and S. Martial. It stood in the parish of Brocklesby, the church of which place is under the invocation of All Saints. No remains of it exist above ground.

**SHAP ABBEY CHURCH, WESTMORELAND.**—Founded in the first instance, at Preston in Kentdale, by Thomas Fitz Gospatric Fitz Orme, towards the end of the reign of king Henry II, in honour of S. Mary Magdalene. This abbey was afterwards removed by him to a lonely and deeply sequestered spot in the parish of Hepp (now Shap), where it continued till the dissolution. The church—now greatly ruined and far remote from that of the parish and village—is a simple Early English structure with a late Perpendicular western tower: the latter, owing to its excellent masonry, and the care taken of the ruins of late years, being still in excellent preservation. The parish church of Shap is under the invocation of S. Michael.

**S. RADEGUND'S OR BRADSOLE ABBEY CHURCH, NEAR DOVER, KENT.**—Founded, according to Hasted, by Walter Hacket and Emma his wife, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. Radegund in A.D. 1191. Tanner says the founders were king Richard I, or Geoffrey earl of Perch, and Maud his wife; while Leland asserts that it was founded by Hugh, a canon, and the first abbot there. The church—which is greatly ruined—was carefully explored as regards its buried portions in 1880 by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, when a ground plan of the highest interest and originality were brought to light. The ruins, which are fairly extensive, stand in the parish of Polton.

**SULBY ABBEY CHURCH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.**—The abbey of Sulby, founded by William de Widville and Robert de Chesney, bishop of Lincoln, in A.D. 1155, and afterwards much increased by Sir Robert de Pavely, was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It was one of the richest houses of the order, being valued in the gross, *temp.* Henry VIII, at £305 8s. 5d. yearly.

**TITCHFIELD ABBEY CHURCH, HAMPSHIRE.**—Peter de Rupibus, bishop of Winchester, having obtained of king Henry III, a grant of the manor of Titchfield, founded an abbey of white canons there, A.D. 1231, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Henry VIII's grantee, pulled down most of the church and offices, and therewith constructed a "right stately house," now in its turn duly gone to ruin. 'The shell of the aisleless nave, and the cloister square, with the chapter house and frater doors, still remain.' Note by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope. The parish church of Titchfield is under the invocation of S. Peter.

**TORR ABBEY CHURCH, DEVONSHIRE.**—Torr abbey, the richest of all the Premonstratensian houses, its annual revenue amounting at the Dissolution to £396 0s. 11d., was founded by William Briwere, A.D. 1196, in honour of the Holy Saviour, the Holy Trinity, and the Blessed Virgin Mary. Nothing, says Oliver, can exceed the beautiful situation of this great abbey; and, if we may judge by the remains of the church, of the chapter-house, and other buildings, the magnificence of the fabric did honour to the situation. It is situate in the parish of Tor-Mohun.

"Of the church, the south wall of the presbytery, the south transept with eastern chapels, the west wall of the north transept, and part of the walls of the nave and its single north aisle remain. The east side of the cloister, too, with the chapter house and other doors, is standing to a considerable height. The whole of the *cellarium* and the fine cellarage beneath the frater are incorporated into a modern house." Note by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope.

**TUPHOLME ABBEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.**—Founded *temp.* Henry II. by Alan de Nevill and his brother Gilbert, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Among the remains of this Abbey may be mentioned those of the original Norman cloister arcades—a very unusual feature.

**WELBECK ABBEY CHURCH, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.**—Welbeck, according to Tanner, was an offshoot from Newhouse, commenced 18th Stephen, 1153, and finished *temp.* Henry II. by Thomas Fitz Richard, Fitz Jocel le Flemang, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. James, but so much increased by John Hotham, bishop of Ely, A.D. 1329, that he and his successors became thereafter recognised as founders, or patrons thereof. In A.D. 1512, when the Premonstratensians were exempted by Pope Julius II from the jurisdiction of the abbot of Premontre and the chapter-general, Welbeck abbey became the chief house of the order in England. The abbey church, together with its dependent buildings, has been pulled down and converted into a mansion-house. It stood in the parish of Cuckney.

**WENDLING ABBEY CHURCH, NORFOLK.**—Founded by William de Wendling, clerk, *temp.* Henry III, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Part of the church is said to have been standing till about 1840, when it was pulled down and the materials taken for building purposes. The parish church of Wendling is under the invocation of SS. Peter and Paul.

**WEST DEREHAM ABBEY CHURCH, NORFOLK.**—The abbey of Dereham was founded by Hubert, dean of York, at that, his native place, A.D. 1188, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. All visible remains of the church and conventual buildings seem soon to have entirely disappeared. The gatehouse alone is left. The parish church of West Dereham is under the invocation of S. Andrew.

## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

November 6, 1884.

J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, Esq., in the Chair.

The Rev. Prebendary SCARTH read an account of the latest discoveries made in uncovering the Roman Baths at Bath, and those at Herbord, near to Poitiers. Mr. Scarth's paper is printed at page 11.

Mr. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE gave a description of some Roman antiquities found by him at San, in Egypt, while excavating there for the Egypt Exploration Fund. Mr. Petrie's paper is printed in vol. xli, page 342.

Mr. PEACOCK communicated some additional notes on Swan Marks which are printed at page 17.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. Prebendary SCARTH.—Plan of the Roman bath, at Bath, shewing all the latest discoveries.

By Mr. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.—A number of Roman antiquities found at San in Egypt, consisting of various domestic and personal ornaments, etc.

December 4, 1884.

J. BAIN, Esq., in the Chair

The Rev. JOSEPH HIRST communicated the following account of the efforts now being made to clear the huge accumulation of *débris* from the summit of the Acropolis :—About two months ago the new Inspector-General of Antiquities and Excavations, K. Stamátakes, γενικός Ἐφωρος, ably seconded and assisted by the present Minister of Public Instruction, K. Vulpiótis, undertook at length to carry out, and for the first time according to a pre-determined and comprehensive plan, the oft-projected and attempted work of clearing away from the summit of the Acropolis the heaps of rubbish that have so long disfigured it, and the remains of mediæval masonry that still occupy its surface. Much discussion has naturally taken place as to the advisability of destroying walls and buildings of Frank, Venetian, or Turkish occupants, but the preponderance of judgment has been in favour of taking exact photographs of all later ruins of any historic or archaeological interest, and of thus laying bare the original old wall of Grecian times. Accurate descriptions have therefore been drawn up, and numerous views taken of every important

object that is to be removed, and the Athenian Acropolis will in a short time be as wholly representative or suggestive of ancient days as is the historic Roman Forum since Dr. Bacelli and Sig. Lanciani began to carry out their noble scheme. Nevertheless, those who after an absence of a few years again visit Athens, and approach the sacred Hill from various sides, will, perhaps, be disappointed by the sudden disappearance of many a time-honoured landmark, and regret the ruthless destruction of that strange medley of Turkish dwellings, modern battlements, and mediaeval wall-skirting, so long familiar to the eye in views of the Athenian Acropolis. Too much praise, however, cannot be given to the energetic members of the Greek Archaeological Society, who have taken all necessary precautions, and who watch with unabated interest the progress of the works. Few visitors to the Acropolis can fail to remark that its summit is in many places covered to the depth of from six to eight feet with the *débris* of ages, so that important and expensive labour must be employed to exhibit the various temples on the proper level, and to unearth the foundations and pavement trodden by the children of the Imperial Commonwealth. Let us hope that this new venture will tend to the substantial enrichment of the well-deserving public museums established here (begun, alas! after the whole world had been adorned with the spoils and trophies of Grecian art), where every attention and facility is so lavishly bestowed upon the stranger. The workmen are now engaged in breaking up and in clearing away an enormous brick cistern of Roman days, commonly attributed to Justinian. It is supposed to have been built to supply water for the garrison of soldiers when the Acropolis began to have a considerable population. The gutters can still be seen which conducted the water from the roofs of the temples and from the rocky surface of the hill into this recess. It occupies the rectangular space between the Pinacotheca and the back part of the northern wing of the Propylaea. It is now laid open to view, but will soon disappear altogether to leave revealed the original foundations of those ancient buildings. By the aid of a pole and of a steel tape I had an accurate measurement of this cistern made under my own eye, and found it to be fifteen and a half metres long by ten and a half wide, while the depth from where the double-vaulted roof infringed on the wall of the Pinacotheca to the flooring of the cistern underneath is about five metres. This roof was supported by a row of three brick columns running down the middle flanked at each end by an abutment from the side wall, making in all five brick supports for the double-vaulted ceiling. It may be remarked that in all the ancient cisterns remaining in Byzantium the supporting columns are invariably of marble or stone. There are a number of small cisterns scattered over the Acropolis, three or four feet wide by, perhaps, six or eight feet deep, now half filled with rubbish, presenting the appearance of huge circular *amphorae* made narrow at the top, which were built to supply private houses of Turkish or other times with rain water. From a gap already made in the side of the great cistern built up against the Pinacotheca (*viz.*, on the long side of the cistern) I was able to observe some six feet of the original foundations of the time of Pericles. As far as at present laid bare, *viz.*, down to the bottom of the cistern, these consist of two layers of well-squared stones, surmounted by a projecting ledge. All these stones are of the kind usual in the foundations

of ancient Greek buildings, a porous-looking tufa from the Piræus, not unlike the cavernous stone used in walls of modern Paris, which crumble but do not break up into pieces when struck by a cannon ball. Perhaps this ledge, which stands out from the main wall about half a foot, may have been to protect the basement from the action of rain water, just as stones were so chiselled in rough escarpments by Roman as by modern masons, to keep water away from the cemented joinings. In the excavations connected with this cistern nothing of importance has been found save some fragments of inscriptions and a small marble head, all of which are deposited in the temporary museum erected on the Acropolis. The members of the German School, however, in clearing up the *débris* round the temple of the Wingless Victory have discovered another delicately-carved fragment of the long-missing balustrade that guarded it as with a barrier on the northern side which looked sheer down upon the main ascent into the Propylæa.

Admiral TREMLET communicated a memoir on the Menhir Autel at Kernuz, Pont l'Abbé, Brittany. This is a granite monolith, ten feet long, discovered through being struck with the plough-share. It was unearthed by M. du Chatelier, and found to be carved with four panels bearing representations of, apparently, Mercury, Hercules or Jupiter, Mars, and other deities. The stone seems to be of Roman date.

The paper will appear in a future *Journal*.

Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE read a paper on the Augustinian Priory of the Holy Trinity at Repton, Derbyshire, describing the results of the excavations on the site of the priory church, which have been recently completed by the Rev. W. Furneaux. Mr. Hope's paper is printed in vol. xli, page 349.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. HIRST, Admiral TREMLET and Mr. HOPE.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Admiral TREMLET.—Drawings of the Menhir Autel at Kernuz.

By Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE.—Ground plan of Repton Priory, with plans and sections of bases and moldings.

## *Notices of Archaeological Publications,*

A BOOK OF FAC-SIMILES OF MONUMENTAL BRASSES ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE, WITH BRIEF DESCRIPTIVE NOTES. By the Rev. W. F. CREENY, M.A. Printed for the Author, Norwich, 1884.

There is, perhaps, no branch of archæology that has been more thoroughly worked at, we had almost written, worked out, in England than monumental brasses. Before the discovery of the uses and merits of heel-ball the work of brass-rubbing was in the hands of a small but zealous band of antiquaries, such as, in the early days, Cole, Kerrich, Stothard, Cotman, and Craven Ord, who, for the sake of the valuable information which they perceived was to be obtained, went to the trouble of taking impressions from brasses in printers' ink, working off portions at a time. Later men laboriously made rubbings proper with new blacked leather, or leather and black-lead, adding to the probability of imperfect or feeble impressions, the chances of entire disappointment and the certainty of dirty fingers. Others used black-lead mixed with linseed oil, working on silver paper, and succeeded well. All these impressions were far superior to any other representations of such memorials that had appeared in printed works up to the early part of this century, though there was still the serious drawback that they could not be multiplied and made available for general reference with the absolute accuracy so essential. Engravers without knowledge of costume and armour turned both into hopeless confusion, and we gather something of the difficulties that Cotman had to contend with, in bringing out his fine collection, from the perusal of some of his letters now before us to an eminent Cambridge antiquary.

Thus the work languished, while greedy clerks and sextons continued their wicked habit of appropriating and consigning to the melting-pot the evidences of the history of many a village and district, until about the year 1838, when Mr. Ullathorne's invention for quite a different purpose was suddenly found to provide exactly what was required. Then arose an army of rubbers; the work was easy, naturally a great inducement to it; no knowledge or training was wanted, a still greater advantage; the equipment was simple, and it was not unamusing to produce "white lines with black heel-ball." Almost cœval with this new-born enthusiasm was the formation of the Archæological Association, now the Institute, and of the numerous archæological and architectural societies throughout the kingdom, and if every brass in England was not rubbed many times over within a very few years it was from no want of inclination on the part of the rubbers. Whether the greater number of these enthusiastic men and women—for both sexes were occupied—knew, or cared to learn much, if anything, of the individuals represented, their armour, or costume, is quite a different matter. For the most part the rubbing of brasses was the mere



amusement of the hour; the long rolls were soon found to be cumbersome and no higher use could be found for hundreds of brass rubbings in the early heel-ball days than that of papering for walls. Another evil was that people cut up their rubbings and newly and symmetrically arranged the shields and other accessories round about the principal figure, thus dislocating the whole story, and it is these mutilated lying rubbings which reappear from time to time in our own day for exhibition at archaeological meetings, usually *apropos* of nothing at all.

But the study was soon to be lifted to its proper position. In 1840 the brothers Waller issued the first part of their great work on English brasses, in which the skill of the etcher and engraver is no less conspicuous than the knowledge displayed in the letter-press. In the same year the late Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, who had already accumulated a large collection of rubbings, published his useful book on "Sepulchral Monuments," while soon after the Rev. H. Addington began his great collection, sumptuously bound in vast volumes, and which was just completed at the time of his lamented death in 1883. This series, though somewhat marred by the elaborate painting of the heraldry, now finds a fitting resting in the British Museum. The publication in 1846 by the Rev. C. R. Manning of his valuable list, which has bitten many a man with the rubber's fever, Mr Creeny among the number, was followed two years after by the Rev. H. Haines's more complete catalogue, amplified from all sources.

Antiquaries have long been aware that a considerable number of brasses still existed on the Continent. Attention has been called to some of them from time to time by the late Mr. Way and by Mr. A. Nesbitt, but no general collection has hitherto been brought together—such a collection as Mr. Franks is amassing for England and, with his usual generosity, depositing in the library of the Society of Antiquaries. Thus, when Mr. Creeny exhibited a first instalment of his rubbings from the continent before the Society of Antiquaries in May 1882, the surprise was great; and when a second series was laid before the Fellows in May 1883, the opinion was general that their reproduction in a permanent and convenient form was highly desirable. With this encouragement Mr. Creeny, who is not a man to let the grass grow under his feet, issued a prospectus a few week's later, and, starting for another holiday of hard work, completed his collection. Eighteen months after, the subscribers have in their hands a copy of the folio volume now before us, which will assuredly find a worthy place in public libraries, beside the goodly works of Stothard, Hefner, Waller, and Hollis, and take a principal position in the smaller collections of students of costume.

This is in every respect a remarkable book, and one which would have been impossible fifteen years ago; but so rapid has been the development of photolithography since its first general practical use in 1868, in its application to the illustration of art, and so successful the introduction of artificial light in the beginning of 1880, that a work which might have formed the labours of a lifetime has now been brought within the compass of eighteen months. The author in his introduction does not profess to go very deeply into the general subjects, but he gives a useful synopsis of the contents of the book, which is followed by a lively account of the journeys he took in search of his subjects. From this we get an insight of the robustness and energy of his character, and we catch not a little of

the enthusiasm which enabled him to go so cheerily through his labours. For instance, in August, 1883, he begins with a rubbing at Nymwegen ; five days later he has done the brass of King Eric Menved and his queen at Ringstead, in the island of Zealand, and is in Copenhagen on his way to Upsala and Vester Aker. In another five days he has crossed the Baltic, and is calmly at work in the "Tom" of Posen, with Breslau and Cracow, his furthest point, in prospect. Not the least of the difficulties that had to be conquered was the mural position of so many of the brasses ; this must have made the rubbing of such great plates a task of considerable severity. The author, of course, was occasionally baffled by the total disappearance of subjects for which long journeys had been made ; this is the common fate of antiquaries, and we have a fellow feeling with him in his account of how he found himself locked up in Paderborn Cathedral, for we were ourselves in the same dilemma many years ago in the Romanesque crypt of the very same church. In addition to the chronological list of the contents of the book, Mr. Creeny gives us another table of continental brasses, which may, perhaps be amplified, now that the list has been started, to possibly form the material of another volume on a future day.

It will be immediately understood that an exhaustive review of a book like this would be impossible in the limited space at our command. The subjects and details which it illustrates are so numerous and so varied that it might rather require a series of hand-books. Mr. Creeny's own descriptive letter-press is excellent and suggestive, and we believe we cannot do better now than run lightly through the book with his aid, dwelling from time to time upon certain special examples (premising, however, that we are disposed to linger with the early rather than with later brasses), and not disdaining the help of the magnifying glass.

We can easily realize Mr. Creeny's feelings when he was first brought face to face with the figure of Bishop Ysowilpe, at Verden in Hanover, which, being clearly dated 1231, is the earliest brass known. In its simplicity one cannot help comparing the Ysowilpe with the early abbatial effigies at Westminster, with the effigy of abbot Benedict, at Peterborough, and with the early bishop at Salisbury with his pall inscribed "*affer opem devenies in idem.*" Ysowilpe's weighted pall, the simple indications of the rich stuff of the dalmatic, the light chasuble with an apparently woollen lining, the low mitre, and the plain and slender pastoral staff are interesting features. As Mr. Creeny says, "the drawing might have been better, the lines bolder and firmer, and the whole work more artistic—but not by this artist—not in this year, 1231." In his naked upraised hands the bishop bears respectively a castle and a church—another Gundulph—the evidences more eloquent than written history that he rebuilt part of his church, established the convent of St. Andrew, and fortified the marshes.

From the picturesque city of Hildesheim we have the brass of Otto de Brunswick, dated 1297. A considerable advance has been made in fifty years, and we may justly admire the gracefulness of the treatment of the folds of the bishop's different vestments. Another castle builder, he supports a capital model of a fortress in his left hand, inscribed on the curtain wall **WOLOENBERGH**. This castle is entered through a lofty gateway ; in the middle of the ward appears the lodgings of the lord in two stories, covered with a gabled roof and showing the windows of the chapel

on one side. A tall watch tower at one corner dominates the whole which is encircled by embattled curtains from tower to tower. The entire memorial is of considerable interest, and students of ecclesiastical costume will appreciate the delineation of the different vestments of these two thirteenth century bishops by local Germans. Others may contrast them with the only three brasses of this period in England, namely, the knights at Stoke d'Abernoun, Trumpington, and Buslingthorpe, and the difference in the general treatment will be at once seen, the English figures being cut out and extracted from a sheet of brass, while the German ones have the figures and background on the same plate. It will be observed that in these two early German brasses the plates narrow slightly to the feet. It is possible that they may have been originally fixed on the flat lids of stone coffins in accordance with the principle carried out in our own country, where the early stone effigies were sculptured upon the lids of the actual coffins which were placed level with the pavement. A notable instance of this arrangement was the effigy of King John, originally placed in Worcester cathedral, between the figures of St. Oswald and St. Wulstan, all three being coffin lid effigies. Monumental figures on such narrowing slabs were put later in low recessed arches and upon altar tombs, and so it was till towards the middle of the fourteenth century, when the narrowing slab, the survival of an ancient practice, gradually died away.

We pass on to the series of brasses of the fourteenth century, which appropriately opens in 1319 with the noble monument of King Eric Menved of Denmark and his Queen Ingeborg, at Ringstead in the island of Zealand. In describing this, the earliest example of elaborate works of the kind, Mr. Creeny takes the opportunity of showing us that the artist proceeded in setting out his work by first considering that the whole plate was diapered with flowers and birds contained in a geometric pattern. Over this ground he laid the rest of his work, viz., double panelled shafts containing figures of saints and prophets in niches and supporting the two great canopies, beneath which are the two principal figures. The king, who probably spent more of his life in armour than in any other costume, is habited in the royal robe, the dalmatic, in this case without sleeves, embroidered with the arms of Denmark; he holds upright in his gloved right hand the two-edged sword of Justice and in his left the kingly sceptre. A sword is held in this way by Henry the Lion in his effigy at Brunswick, and the costume, the under tunic, dalmatic, and mantle, is the same as may be seen in slightly varying forms on the effigies of Cœur de Lion at Rouen, King John, Henry III, Edward II, and Edward III.

The Queen, who also holds a sceptre, is crowned and wears a kirtle, cote-hardi, and mantle. The cote-hardi is an early example and unusually high in the side openings. She wears a wimple, not, we think, as marking her short widowhood because mourning was hardly indicated by special habits at this period, but as one of the numerous varieties of the head-dresses of the ladies of the time. This example consists of a single cloth or veil laid flat on the throat, and then pinned up in a not unusual way to a band round the temples. The Queen's face is in marble, and we notice the straight under-line of the eyes, the peculiar fashion with artists of this period, and a satisfactory feature that may occasionally be seen in real life in conjunction with grey eyes. Some of the effigies of the Artois family in the dark crypt of the great church at La Ville

d'Eau have head and hands of marble; it is a practice far from uncommon on the continent.

Of the figures in the niches the saints have *nimbi* and naked feet, the prophets wear caps and are shod. In the canopies of the great arches the souls of the departed are received in sheets by kneeling figures of saintly or angelic persons, though they have no wings; others swing censers with graceful ease; while higher up the souls are welcomed by angels with the music of long curved horns, and so they pass out of sight into the arms of the Father. The whole composition is refined and elaborate; the details of the canopies are worked with the utmost minuteness and precision, and nothing is admitted that does not tend to enhance in one way or another the beauty and harmony of the composition. Certainly it is a great work. Beneath the feet of the royal pair, in long compartments, less than two inches wide, men with spear, horn, and bow hunt the deer and the boar; thus the amusements of life are finely contrasted with the striking and final scenes in the upper part of the canopy. The entire brass, which measures 9ft. 4ins. by 5ft. 6ins. is circumscribed by the inscriptions in Lombardic letters, written in the first person: *Ego Ericus q'dam rex de Dacia, &c.* No other work of the kind appears to have been laid down in Denmark, and this is one of the finest examples in the century of the great Flemish school, from whence emanated the brasses at Lynn, Newark, and St. Alban's, all being "toned by the same mental influence."

From Vester Aker, in Sweden, we have the brass of Frau Ramborg de Wik, 1327, in which the symbols of the evangelists occur in the later or fourteenth century arrangement, namely, top, dexter side, *eagle*, sinister, *man*; bottom, dexter, *lion*, sinister, *ox*. In the thirteenth century and earlier, according to Professor Reussens, the eagle and the man change places. This memorial, which consists of a single plate of brass measuring 6ft. 1in. by 3ft. 1in., is remarkable for the grandure of the inscription in Lombardic letters four inches high. It is written in the first person, and a separate inscription invokes vengeance on any despoiler, leaving no blessing for the protectors, which has in fact, happily, been well earned.

Glancing at the brass of Bishop Bernhard de Lippe, 1340, at Paderborn, cut out in the English manner, and in which this high ecclesiastic is shown in a chasuble embroidered with lions and eagles, we come to the great brasses of the four brothers Bulowe at Schwerin.

Bishops Ludulph and Henry died respectively in 1339 and 1347, and their memorial is evidently the creation of the artist who produced the brass of King Eric. The diapered background is the same, but the whole is not so fine a composition, and though it is much marred by the position of four heraldic achievements, we thankfully recognize the advantage of being able to study in a convenient form the intricate details of so large a work, such as the apparel of the alb of Ludulph and the graceful figure of St. Margaret in the middle shaft. The released souls are seen above the great arches of the canopy in the hands of the Creator.

The two other brothers, Bishops Godfrey and Frederic, died 1314 and 1375, are shown in a brass, measuring 13ft 6in. by 6ft. 5in., the largest known. This has many evidences of work of the latter end of the century, and what a work it is! Of extraordinary clearness and brilliancy we have conventional figures of the bishops under triple-arched

canopies, and vested so gorgeously that we can do no more than mention the fact. The plate must be carefully studied : we would, however, call attention—1, to the variety and interest of the musical instruments played upon by the angels on the maniples, in the crook of Bishop Frederic's pastoral staff, and by the twenty-six kings seated among the vine leaves and grapes that spring from the wavy stem of Jesse, which contains the two inscriptions, and forms the border of the brass ; 2, to the details of the canopies, in which the Deity holds in his arms the souls which have laid aside earthly garments and, now redeemed, worship amidst a heavenly choir ; 3, to the figures in the niches of the shafts, and specially, to the choice row of civil figures at the base ; and 4, to the delightful scenes in the lives of the wodewoses, those hairy men, who, from their manners, we may fairly consider as the lineal descendants of the satyrs of classic times. In one scene a table is spread under the trees, and the hairy king dines ; in the other a bold mounted wodewose has stolen a fair lady, and, while making his way with her to the king, who sits expectant in a tent,—which, by the way, he entirely fills, is stopped in his career by a mounted knight in full armour who suddenly gallops out from under the portcullis of a castle. The episodes are capital, and every figure, from the thin and hirsute turnspit to the stout knight, will well repay examination. It is not easy to reconcile the solemn scenes in the canopies with the hilarious goings on at the base, but we feel the thorough mediævalism of the whole thing, while remembering a curious instance of unexpected humour on an effigy at Peterborough, where the two angels who support the pillow steady themselves by grasping the abbot by the ears !

The fine brass of William Wenemaer, 1325, at Ghent, is known to most students of armour, but we welcome a representation of his curious costume that is not marred by the blundering of engravers. We only, at this moment, remember one other example of a heart-shaped shield, namely that borne by St. Michael in the great wooden statue in the church at Hameln. The attitude of Wenemaer with the body bent to the side is, as Mr. Creeny says, not graceful, but it was so arranged of set purpose, and this example is valuable, as showing that a position, fashionable in this country during the first half of the fourteenth century, had extended to the Low Countries. Here it was common to both sexes, and may be observed in effigies, brasses, and glass. We mention as examples, the figure of John de Creke, in his brass at Westley-Waterless, two statues of ladies in the hall of the Vicars Choral at Wells, and the figures of the De Clares in the painted glass at Tewkesbury.

Another great double episcopal brass is that of Bishop Burchard de Serken, 1317, and Bishop John de Mul, 1350, at Lübeck. It would be difficult to carry the art which this book illustrates much further than it has been brought in the example before us. We have the same conventional episcopal figures, but engraved with a boldness and vigour that shows, not only the perfect mastery the artist had over what must always seem to an amateur a most intractable material, but also what a consummate draughtsman he was. There is no over-loading and confusion of details and one can distinguish and read off the different vestments in a moment, and only in the cases of the crosses of the pastoral staves can it be said that one beauty has been overpowered by another. As Mr. Creeny well says :—"One

might dwell upon the wondrous details of this great work for hours. What observer would not like to have known the man whose weird fancy created the awesome and varied monsters that fill the trefoils of the background, and in a 'moment of sweetness and light,' made butterflies attend upon them? From the delicate finish of the minuter work, let the eye rest upon the effigies themselves, and there the triumph of the artist's refinement is complete." The shafts which support the canopy of this grand work contain niches full of lovely detail which shelter saints and prophets, and in the upper part the escaped souls are twice represented, first as small figures in napkins held by angels, then in a higher compartment in the arms of the Almighty. To the architectural details generally special attention should be called; they are rich and accurate beyond conception, and the elegance of the tabernacle work, and fullness and symmetry of the upper portions of the four great shafts fill the beholder with satisfaction. The long compartments below the feet are, with much propriety, filled with representations of incidents in the lives of the Saints Nicholas and Eloy. In spaces less than four inches deep, we have numerous scenes including the bringing to life by St. Nicholas of the three little children in the pickle-tub, and St. Eloy seizing the prince of darkness by the nose.

The memorial of Albert Hovener, 1357, at Stralsund, is another of the monster brasses, and a fine example of civil costume which requires study to be clearly understood. It consists of a close embroidered jupon, such as is worn by William of Hatfield, at York, and of which the sleeves only are seen. Then comes a long tunic, lined with vair with side waist openings, and having sleeves to the bend of the arm from which long tippetts faced with vair depend. Over this is worn a mantle, shorter than the tunic, and ornamented and stiffened with embroidered "barring" on the shoulders. This mantle is divided below the elbows into back and front portions, and has a hood attached, the whole being lined with vair. It is possible that, as Mr. Creeny suggests, this represents the scarf of a proconsul. The dress must have been exceedingly comfortable and picturesque, and we cannot recall any similar to it. The canopy and other parts of the work are generally the same as in the preceding examples of this school, but we notice a tendency to a decline in the quality of the art. We may not overlook the unusual shape of the horn from which a wild man seems perfectly well able to blow "bloody sounds," though he is trampled underfoot by the proconsul, and harassed in his rear by the furious attack of a lion. A spirited hunting scene is going forward below, in which there is more blowing of horns, under freer conditions, and a boar rushes blindly to his fate on the point of a spear. What illustrations for the treatises of Master William Twici and Dame Juliana!

The brass of Johan von Zoest, 1361, and his wife, is the last in this century of the great Flemish school, and give capital examples of civil costume. The embroidered sleeves of the man's jupon,—

"As it were a mede

Alle full of fresshe flowres white a rede,"

and the lady's rich kirtle, are familiar to us from our own monuments.

With a sudden drop in size, and a manifest decline in art, we come to the brass of Bishop Rupert, 1394, at Paderborn. This, in its costume, is the most curious and interesting figure in the book, and, as we take it,

the dress worn, or shown, is partly civil and partly ecclesiastical. We have first the tight jupon, indicated by its sleeves reaching to the knuckles; then the tunic with close sleeves, edged with fur; and over all a long gown buttoned across the chest and having a standing collar. This is a gown much of a kind which was worn in England in the early part of the fifteenth century; the long loose sleeves are like the sleeves of a surplice. On the shoulders the almuze is simply folded and laid, not worn, indicating a canon, and over the head two angels hold a mitre. In the inscription it is stated:—"Rapuit nex Rupert electū hui' eccē"; an expression which further bears out the opinion, which a high authority has given us, that he was only a commendatory bishop. The military figures at Rupert's feet are good examples of armour. The one wears a visored bascinet and camail, and breeches of mail to the knees; the other wears a wide rimmed helmet, of which illustrations are frequent enough in MSS. but of the highest rarity in sculpture. Both are clad in the German jupon with loose sleeves of a light material, such as are worn by Conrad von Bickenbach, 1393, in his effigy at Roellfeld; Hefner gives another example, 1394, the date of Rupert's death.

Bishop Bertram Cremen, who died in 1377, is represented at Lübeck by a great brass full of bad drawing and bad workmanship. That the artist was not well acquainted with the ordinary proportions of the human frame is shown by the figure of St. John, and nothing can be more feeble than the architecture; the man does not even seem to have observed, in a city like Lübeck, how brickwork was laid. There is no doubt about the date of the border brass, for it is quite clear in the inscription upon it, though the part which contained the name of the bishop is gone. We can hardly believe that the whole of this memorial belongs to the same period. The person who drew and engraved the figure of the mitred saint in the border cannot have drawn the mitre of the principal figure, for such a mitre did not exist in his day; moreover, the details of the vestments of the bishop are in no way in accordance with any detail in the border. It would therefore appear that the border alone (we shall notice a similar example later on), forms Bishop Cremen's memorial, the work indeed of a sad bungler, and that the "cut out" figure of a bishop, clearly a work of the sixteenth century, has been introduced from elsewhere. The imperfect finish of the edges of the whole, the upraised hand comprised in a squared plate, the character of the lower end of the pastoral staff, and the chipped feet, are evidences that the figure has been extracted from another brass by rude hands in later times. This also accounts for the destruction of the name of the bishop originally commemorated.

The large brass of John and Gerard de Heere 1332 and 1398, the brass being of the latter date, presents two men in the well-known armour of the time of Richard II. with certain Flemish peculiarities, such as the embroidered jupon. We notice the absence of musical instruments in the canopies and a decided failing in the art. Among the several smaller brasses that follow we should call attention to the costume of "Miserere mei, 1400," from Nordhausen, wearing a German ceinture of bells, and a most curious baudric of tree-branches strung with coronets and having clapper bells attached.

The impressive monument of Joris de Munter and his wife, 1439, at Bruges shows them draped in winding sheets, of which the folds are most

skilfully and artistically arranged, and reposing upon a back-ground copied from "Lucca Cloth." Martin de Visch, 1452, also from Bruges, is a vast and martial figure. Within a border of bits and in front of a richly diapered wall he stands on a lion; he is clad in armour and wears a sleeved tabard on which, as well as on the shield and tilting helm, the *fishes* are represented with a boldness and vigour that would have startled Isaac Walton.

We may not, though we would fain, linger over the plate of Isabella Duchess of Burgundy at Basle, 1450, full as it is of heraldic and other details of the highest interest; nor can we do more than glance at the charming monument, by William Leomansz of Cologne, of Katherine de Bourbon, 1469, at Nymwegen, who so well becomes the heraldic dignity which surrounds her, a descendant of the illustrious houses of Bourbon and Bourgogne. The architectural details mark the advent of classic, and the curtain as a background is an early example.

John Luneborch, 1474, at Lübeck, is represented in a large but harsh and rigid work, in which the engraver would never decide upon his background; still, as an accurate representation of the chief man in Lübeck four centuries ago, it cannot but demand notice.

"Magnificus Dominus Lucus de Gorta," 1475, at Posen, in a complete suit of plate, is an example of the peculiar German work in low relief—the features hammered up from the back. To painters and amateurs of armour the fluted gauntlets with double gaddings and strapped cuffs, and the vizored salade and mentonniere will be very welcome. The thoroughly German figure of Gerart, Duke of Julich, 1475, at Altenburg, also in full armour, shows an armet or close helmet and bavier, and the unusual addition of a horn—not the horn of the hunter, as Mr. Creeny says, nobody hunts in armour, but the horn of battle, such as is worn by the knight at Pershore of an earlier period. Gerart also wears a curious family collar, consisting of the repetition of two adossed horns between knots formed of the interlacing of the letter G. This would be an addition to a complete work on collars, badges, knots, &c., which is so much wanted.

Without any comment we may safely leave to students of ecclesiastical costume the study of the representations of Bishop Andreas, 1479, from Posen; Archbishop Jacobus de Senno, 1580, a queer figure, from Gnezen; Bishop Rudolph, 1482, from Breslau, and the *vera effigies* of Bishop Vriel de Gorka, 1498, and Cardinal Federicus, 1510, at Cracow.

The memorial of Pieter Lausanne and his wife, 1487, from Ypres, is very singular, consisting as it does of a border with a wavy inscription, within the curves of which we have a series of scenes in the life of a man. "First the infant," who is being warmed before the fire by his mother;—we will not forestall the intermediate pictures of the eventful history, but pass to the last scene but one, in which the ultimate rites of the church are administered; finally the iron-work of a "herse," surrounded by tall tapers, shows that "man goeth to his long home."

Of high interest and value are the memorials of the House of Saxony at Meissen. Beginning with Duke Frederic, with the Arch-Marshal's sword, in 1464, and ending with Duke Frederic in 1539, a brilliant pageant of noble men and women passes before us. Rich costume vies with magnificent armour, and both are at once heightened and sobered by the heraldry of an ancient house. We should direct attention to the brass



of the pious Sidonia, 1510, since the engraving is ascribed to Albert Durer. We doubt the attribution, but we should like to know for certain who was the artist of so refined and graceful a figure. It is well contrasted by the effigy of her courageous husband—immortalized in "*Der Prinzenraub*"—in his grand Maximilian suit. The dress of Amalie, Duchess of Bavaria, 1502, is a work of the same school, if not by the same hand as that of Sidonia. She is dressed in widow's weeds, which include a band tied over the mouth, a curious fashion never seen in England. She tells her beads standing under a canopy of tree-tracery—grotesque gardeners' gothic, which surely must be allied to the flowing tracery we remember at Goslar, all tied together with cords in solid stone.

There are yet many plates to arrest the attention, but these remarks have run to such a length that our pleasant task must cease, and on the confines of the German renaissance, we take our leave of this delightful book. We are glad to see a fair list of original subscribers, who will, doubtless, have received their copies with mingled feelings of satisfaction and gratitude. The prospectus informs us that the modest cost is now raised: this is quite right, and we trust the author may soon be fully recompensed for his intelligent labours. We repeat our thanks to Mr. Creeny for thus bringing from afar and placing within our reach such wide sources of information. We are now, at last, enabled to extend and ratify our knowledge by comparing our own brazen records with a new and varied series, while we have the higher satisfaction of contemplating faithful copies of works engraved in enduring brass with the mind and by the fingers of genius.

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MEDÆVAL MILITARY ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND. By G. T. CLARK :  
2 vols. 8vo. London : Wymans and Sons. 1884.

Those who have read Mr. Clark's papers contributed to the *Archæological Journal* at intervals for above forty years past, and have heard his explanations at the annual gatherings of the Institute, will have welcomed with more than ordinary pleasure the publication of two volumes containing the substance of his lectures, with much valuable matter added.

The work, which has appeared in the past year, does honour to British Archæology, and places this country on a par with France and other countries whose writers have treated on a similar subject.

What renders the work still more valuable is, that the plans and drawings of mediæval castles which it contains must prove of the greatest value to the student, since they enable him to compare the different systems of construction, and the engineering skill displayed in the work of each. We can give but a brief idea of the value of this work by mentioning the plan of its arrangement, and this appears particularly good.

The author begins by treating of the earth-works of the Post-Roman and English periods, and gives instances of the artificial mounds that have been formed long before the coming of the Norman. He carefully distinguishes between the Roman, the British and the English, and supports his statements by reference to authorities. The examples given of two of the ancient Burhs, and the enumeration of others, help us not a little to understand the character of an early British, or of a purely English, fortress.

The third chapter contains a very instructive account of the castles in England at the period of the Norman Conquest, and under the Con-

queror, and this leads on naturally to the consideration of the political value of the castles under the Conqueror.

It seems very clear that our earliest castles were not of stone, or if of stone, such examples were very rare, and their construction very slight. Wood seems to have been the material almost universally employed. But after the Norman Conquest arose those stone square keeps of which the tower of London, the keep at Malling, and the keep at Rochester, are such noble examples. "That William ordered many castles to be constructed is certain; and among the orders left with Bishop Odo and William Fitz Osborn, when acting as joint regents of the kingdom, was one specially charging them to see to the building of castles; and no doubt these orders were obeyed, but it has been hastily assumed that the castles were constructed of masonry. The keeps of Dover and Rochester for example (if such were erected under the Conqueror) were certainly not those now standing, which belong to the reign of Henry II., and yet the masonry of William's reign was of a very durable character, as may be seen in the tower of London, and in not a few still standing churches."

Mr. Clark conjectures that existing works were strengthened until it was convenient to replace them by others more in accordance with the new idea of strength and security.

"William and his barons evidently employed two classes of castles—one always in masonry, and one very often in timber. Where a castle was built in a new position, as in London, or where there was no mound, natural or artificial, they employed masonry, and chose as a rule for the keep, the rectangular form—a type said to have been introduced from Maine, and seen at Arques, at Caen, and at Falaise; but where the site was old, and there was a mound, as at Lincoln, Huntingdon, Rockingham, Wallingford, or York, they seem to have been content to repair the existing works, usually of timber only, and to have postponed the replacing them with a regular shell, till a more convenient season, which in many cases did not occur for a century,"

"The building of a Norman castle required both time and money. The architects, over-lookers, and probably the masons had to be brought from Normandy, and in many cases the stone for the exterior; and as most of the existing square keeps, and very nearly all the shell keeps, are of the twelfth century, it seems probable that the Conqueror was, to some extent, content with such defences as he found in England, strengthened, no doubt, very materially by the superior skill and resources of his engineers."

Henry II. was a great builder of castles, but this does not refer to new castles, of which he built but few, but rather to the completion or addition of new keeps to old castles, as for instance at Dover.

Mr. Clark devotes three chapters of his work to the castles of England and Wales at the latter part of the 12th century, and then gives an approximate list of rectangular keeps in England. These in number amount to above 50.

Chapter X treats of the shell keep, once the most common, but which has rarely been preserved, and as he tells us, is seldom if ever found in a perfect or unaltered condition.

The shell keep is always placed on a mound, either natural or artificial. Belvoir, Durham, and Lewes, and some others are placed on natural hills. The plan and dimensions of these keeps are roughly governed by the figure of the mound. Most are polygons of ten or twelve sides, not

always equal. Some are circular, others are polygonal outside and circular within, others are slightly oval. Their diameter is rarely less than 30 feet and seldom exceeds 100. The wall was usually from eight to ten feet thick, and as a security against settlement, generally placed two or three feet within the edge of the mound. An approximate list of shell keeps is also given by Mr. Clark, and these amount to about 119, though the evidence of them is not always perfect.

Instances are also given of the castles of the Early English period. Mr. Clark tells us that the rectangular, and circular or polygonal keeps, with their Norman features, retained their hold upon English castle builders through the reigns of Stephen and Henry II (1135-1189), or for a century and a quarter from the Conquest. He also mentions the "*castra adulterina*" of which so many were built during the reign of Stephen, but destroyed by his successor. These are supposed to have been constructed of timber or mere walled enclosures. Few of them represented the chief seat of large estates, as the aforementioned castles did.

By degrees the Norman and shell keeps fell out of fashion, and were succeeded by towers of a cylindrical form, known as donjons or juliets, and this change corresponds to the middle period of the Early English ecclesiastical architecture. Pembroke is an example of these castles, also Coningsborough. The donjons were entered at the first floor level, either by an exterior stone stair or by one of timber; the basement or ground floor was occupied as a magazine.

"In those days," says Mr. Clark, "when the keep was the citadel, and not unfrequently used as such, prisoners were not kept within its walls. Dungeons there were none, save in a very few exceptional cases. There were commonly three floors,—the basement for stores; the central floor contained the principal apartments, usually with a fire-place; the upper floor was either for the soldiery or a bedroom for the lord; the walls are ordinarily from ten to twelve feet thick. Mural towers formed a feature of the castles of this date, these served to flank or strengthen the *enceinte* wall. They were used to cap an angle or to flank a gateway.

In addition to flanking towers there was also at this period a contrivance in general use called a "*Brétasche*." This was a gallery of timber running round the walls outside the battlements, supported by struts resting on corbels, and covered with a sloping roof. Sometimes, in large towers, there were two tiers of such galleries, the upper projecting beyond the lower. These galleries concealed the top of the wall. The *brétasche* was only put up when a siege was expected.

Mr. Clark throws great light upon the structure of English castles, by bringing instances of more perfect work in castles of the same date which remain on the continent. He has enriched his work by plans and descriptions of some of these, as of the castle at Arques near Dieppe, and constant allusion is made to other typical fortresses such as Chateau Galliard on the Seine, to Plafonds, restored to its original state by Napoleon the Third under the supervision of the celebrated writer on mediæval castles and architecture, Mons. Violet le Duc. He tells us that in the latter part of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries much was done to introduce domestic comfort into castles.

"Fire-places which in the Norman keeps were but recesses in the

wall, often with a mere lateral orifice for a smoke vent, as at Colchester and Rochester, were in the Early English period adorned with hoods, often of stone, sometimes of wood and plaster, and the flues made capacious and calculated to carry off the smoke." The vent or flue was often capped by a chimney-shaft and smoke lanthorn, an example of which may be seen at Grosmont and at St. Briavels. The hall, chapel, and other buildings placed usually in the inner ward, were more ornate than in the Norman period.

In royal castles and others, the "capita" of estates and the seats of the greater barons, great attention was paid to domestic comfort and splendour. The sheriffs' accounts of this date for repairs mention the filling of windows with stained glass and the painting of the walls in distemper. Castles for purely military defence were, however, neglected in times of tranquillity, and only refitted and strengthened when necessity arose.

The twelfth chapter treats of the Edwardian or concentric castles. "The first characteristic of a concentric castle is the arrangement of the lines of defence one within the other, two or even three deep, with towers at the angles and along the walls, so planned that no part is left entirely to its own defences."

The employment of mural towers not only added to the passive strength of the wall, but when placed within bow shot, enabled the defenders to enfilade the intermediate curtain; by this means the curtain could not be so easily breached with the ram. The parts of the lines of defence were so arranged that the garrison could sally from one part and so harass the attack upon another part. Many Norman keeps became eventually the inner wards of these concentric castles, as may be seen in the tower of London. Caerphilly is the earliest and most complete example of a concentric castle—of this both a plan and drawing are given. "In a military point of view," says Mr. Clark, "Caerphilly is a work of consummate skill." Harlech is a concentric castle, probably designed by the same architect.

The twelve chapters which describe the rise, and lay down the principles of mediæval military architecture, are followed by descriptions of the most prominent and interesting castles in Great Britain. These are taken alphabetically, commencing with the most perfect and the most complete perhaps in this island,—Alnwick. While Mr. Clark does not weary us with detail, he brings into small compass the most prominent points which bear upon the history of each castle. As we examine its structure, we learn also the events which led to its successive changes; documentary records are brought to bear upon architectural details. This can only have resulted from great labour and much zeal in the pursuit of knowledge. While reading in succession the accounts of the castles which he has brought under notice, we feel as if we were reading the history of England under a new aspect, and reading it in a manner hitherto unknown. Every castle tells its own historical tale, and we people it with occupants, and clothe those occupants in their peculiar dresses, arms, and accoutrements.

History has lately been almost re-written from inscriptions, and churches have been made to give up their progressive developments by means of a careful examination of their architectural details. This has now been done for mediæval castles, and the value of their ruins, which

in past ages have met with such wanton destruction, is now brought to light, and we trust that the publication of these volumes may lead in future to their careful preservation. Their owners ought, indeed, to value these possessions as they deserve.

Mr. Clark's book does not profess to be a complete description of all the mediæval castles that remain in Great Britain. Some have not been described or even mentioned, as Nunney in Somerset, and Raby Castle in the county of Durham, though Barnard Castle in the same county has had ample justice done to it. We, therefore, look forward to a supplement to these volumes which may perfect the work, and we can only hope that Mr. Clark's life may be prolonged to accomplish it.

The style of Mr. Clark's writing is nervous and clear, and well suits the subject of which he treats. There is no difficulty in following his descriptions, and his historical information is drawn from the best sources. We may remark, however, a few trifling errors into which he has fallen, as, for instance, when he speaks of the Roman Emperor Claudius as *Claudian* (vol. ii, p. 537-8).

We do not know if this is a newly devised form of nomenclature, as so many new forms of spelling classical names have lately been adopted; but if so, it is calculated to lead to much confusion. We know the poet *Claudian*, but have never heard of an Emperor of that name before!

Again, in vol. ii, p. 451, we find the words *Sarsden*, printed for *Sarsen*, describing the Sarsen stones, so plentiful in Wiltshire, but on looking into Mr. Smith's description of the British and Roman antiquities of Wiltshire, we find it invariably written *Sarsen*.

These are but trifling errors to detect in two volumes containing so much accurate research and learning. We only point them out as needing correction in any future edition, which we hope may be soon called for. Indeed we cannot but think that an abridged edition in one volume, would furnish an invaluable help to students of their country's history, and would enable them to obtain a truer idea of our national growth than any simple historical account. Simple history often needs life, and when put into the form of a novel, creates suspicion and distrust. In Mr. Clark's book you have entertainment with the full persuasion that you are treading on very sure ground, and that what you receive is *Truth* unwarped by any political or party bias.

H.M.S.

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THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE LIBRARY: Being a Classified Collection of the Chief Contents of the *Gentleman's Magazine* from 1731 to 1868. Edited by GEORGE LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A.: Dialect, Proverbs and Word-Lore. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, E.C., 1883.

In issuing DIALECT, PROVERBS AND WORD-LORE—like its predecessor, "Manners and Customs," complete in itself—the editor alludes in his preface to the value of the local knowledge which is so abundantly shown throughout its pages, a kind of information which is now "so rapidly becoming impossible for the modern student to attain," and to the good work which the eighteenth century scholars have done in recognising the value of the materials at their hand, while, as he says, it is not a little remarkable that so popular a magazine as the *Gentleman's* should

have found room for those examples of dialect which we of the present day so gladly reprint and re-edit.

The contributors to the volume now before us are, with two exceptions, all different from those whose writings formed the book on Manners and Customs, and we shall probably, almost naturally, find, as the series advances, that we shall be successively dealing with the contributions of different sets of men, though, doubtless there will be some persons of such active minds that we shall track them through the library until we take a pleasant leave of them with Anecdote and Humour.

The philologist who lingers over the Lists of Local Words and Specimens of Dialect will have the advantage of communing with the late Mr. Kemble and with the Rev. W. Barnes, the venerable antiquary, happily still living, who has done so much for the preservation of the dialect of Dorset. He will soon discover that Mr. Gomme gives some useful *Notes* at the end of the book from which, *apropos* of Wageby's "Skyl-Kay of Klawinge,"—which *Eboracensis* points out is a mere *rechauffée* of Hampole's "Pricke of Conscience,"—we gather that the Dialect Society have not published a volume for Northumberland. The student will not overlook the letters in the dialect of the Shetland Islands, a valuable contribution that does not seem to have been known to Mr. Edmonston. This is a good example of the wisdom of collecting these hidden sources of information from the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

With regard to Provincial Glossaries we notice, almost on opening the book, the curious way in which nearly obsolete words crop up in the mouths of country witnesses in legal cases. For example the verb to *inseene* used by a shoemaker at the Staffordshire Translation Sessions in 1827. Akin to this appears to be the expression, common among the upper classes fifty years earlier, namely, in asking for knowledge or information, "give me some sense on it." We do not remember that this expression is used in our own day, but anyone who has been in the habit of reading familiar letters of a hundred years ago and upwards can hardly fail to have noticed how much of the ordinary language and expressions of the better classes in those days now finds a refuge in the mouths of the lower classes, *e.g.*, polite, genteel, service, duty. That grotesque word "Unked," which is included in the list of expressions from the West of England, contributed in 1793, is common at the present day in the heart of Northamptonshire, as is also that more euphonious expression, "sarve the 'uggs," a variety of the Devonshire version, "sar the pigs." We are glad to see again the famous *Exmoor Courtship* and *Exmoor Scolding*, the authorship of which has been attributed by so high an authority as the late Sir Frederic Madden to Archdeacon Hole, but Mr. Gomme does not think this conclusive. The proper vocabulary of these pieces shows how curious and barbarous the dialect is. We observe the word "Upzetting" explained as "a gossiping or christening." The word was also used in the same sense in Norfolk, as is shown by the following expression in an original letter from that county, dated May 21, 1742, now before us: "I am invited to so many up sittings that I go to none, they being costly compliments," this sentence being preceded by a notice of numerous births in the neighbourhood.

With the section dealing with Proverbs, we have no space to stay, but we are struck in passing with the casual remark of a northern correspondent in 1754, concerning some cumuli of stones which he takes to be the

burying places of "the antient Druides," or of heroes killed in battle, reminding us that "Antient Druides" enjoyed a position in the world of archæology a hundred years ago, from which they have in the meantime been somewhat rudely dislodged. Proverbial phrases supply us, in 1754, with an amusing triangular squabble between Paul Gemesage (Dr. Samuel Pegge), James Dowland, and one "W.M.," about the not particularly interesting phrase, "Cat in the pan." They all talk a certain amount of nonsense, and Paul Gemesage wisely retires early from the fray; Mr. Dowland loses his temper, and is finally routed by "W.M."

Probably many matters worthy of note would never have been explained at all if some one had not first still further darkened them by his silly solutions. For instance, "L.E." propounds a childish explanation of the phrase, "eyes draws straws," which elicits from W. a reasonable note on an expression which seems now to have quite passed out of remembrance.

"Nine of Diamonds, the curse of Scotland," receives several explanations, but that which commends itself most to us relates to the Duke of Cumberland having sent the message to a certain general the night before Culloden to give no quarter, written on the back of the nine of diamonds. It was a fashion in the eighteenth century to write small notes on the back of playing cards, and this custom continued till quite the end of the century. Cards are certain to have been plentiful enough in the English camp, and nothing is more likely than that the Duke made use of one of them in the manner suggested. The allusions to the game of "comet," in which the nine of diamonds figures conspicuously, seem rather wide of the mark as furnishing the particular reason for the expression, though possibly an *alde-de-camp* may have singled out such a special card at that period for the Duke to make use of in sending his order.

Of Special Words the list contributed in 1770, of names and phrases expressive of the various stages of drunkenness, or, as the contributor puts it, in words redolent of the character of the period:—"To veil the turpitude of what is pleasing in itself and generally connected with reciprocations," and "to express the condition of an honest fellow and no flincher, under the effects of good fellowship," is very full, and some of the expressions really very happy. The "beerometer," that strange table of "degrees," occasionally to be seen in old fashioned country houses, is but a fragment of this lengthy list, which, probably, no amount of temperance in the nation will ever consign to oblivion.

The fifteenth century "nunchion" (noontion) of workmen is now, owing to change of habits, represented by the "eleven o'clock" of country labourers; and many persons besides Knights of the Garter and blessed with fair digestions, will perhaps be grateful for the receipt for "Stump Pye"; in any case, they will find cause for gratitude in the explanations of certain antiquated words and other subdivisions of this section.

In the part treating of Names of Persons and Places, the papers by T. Row (another *non de plume* of Samuel Pegge) show how much material for reference on this subject has been set free and made available by Mr. Gomme's useful collection; it will be noticed how the science of heraldry may give collateral help in the elucidation of surnames, such as Forster and Hayles. The volume ends with a section on Signs of Inns, a subject upon which a good deal has been written from time to time. We wish some one would give a series of illustrations of the ironwork that upholds

inn signs both old and modern. There is much elegance in the work of both periods, and it so happens that their general character has not been influenced to any great extent by varying fashions. It should be borne in mind that the greater part of such ornamental ironwork comes direct from the mind of the *village blacksmith*, untrammelled by the exigencies of "high art," and is to be valued as an original production accordingly whether recent or old.

For the ordinary antiquary, or even for one who has no pretension to the title, the perusal of this book recalls a great deal, and it certainly sets one thinking upon a variety of out of the way subjects, a knowledge of which goes far towards the making, not only of an agreeable companion, but also of a well-informed man.



## Archæological Intelligence.

MR. HENRY ECROYD SMITH, author of *Reliquiæ Insuriarum* (the Roman Isurium, now Aldbro', by Borobridge). 1852; *Reliques of Anglo-Saxon Churches of West Kirby, Cheshire*, 1870; *Archæology in the Mersey District, &c.*, proposes to publish, by subscription, Conisborough Castle: legendary, historic, and romantic. This monograph is intended to constitute a complete and exhaustive *fasciculus* of all that is known to have been written upon the subject, in any way worthy of preservation. The work will be issued in Quarto, and illustrated with numerous *Platinotype* reproductions of old engravings, and recent photographs of the ruins; whilst the technically-descriptive essay upon the remains, by Mr. G. T. Clark—reprinted by permission of the Council of the Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Association, from the current volume of its *Journal*—will be accompanied by the superior wood-cut plans and illustrations, made from actual survey by Mr. A. S. Ellis, of London.

The subscription price is 15s.; after issue, one Guinea. Names may be sent to Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith, Holgate Head, Bell Busk, Leeds.

# The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1885.

## ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN BRITAIN IN 1884.

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

Again a fair average year of discoveries has to be reported. Though not of special importance, many of the inscriptions are of considerable interest as affecting the history of the localities where they were found.

Commencing with the Roman Wall, there was found in November last at Byker, closely adjoining Newcastle-on-Tyne, a small altar 1ft. 10in. high and 11 inches broad. A portion of the right hand side of the inscribed face has been worn off, as if by the sharpening of knives or other instruments. What is left of the inscription is :

IVL. MAX  
IMVS. SAC  
D.I. ....  
O. ....  
P E ....  
C V ....  
.....

Little can be made of this with the exception of the name of the dedicator *Jul(ius) Maximus*. He appears to have been a priest of some deity from the abbreviation SAC. for *Sacerdos*. Dr. Bruce would read the next line *D(ei) I(nvicti) (Mithrae)* which is very probable. The dedicator would therefore be a priest of "the invincible god Mithras." A peculiarity which occasionally occurs in Roman inscriptions is here exemplified ; the name of the dedicator appearing before the name of the deity to whom the altar is erected.

At the station of *Cilurnum* (Chesters) Mr. Clayton has been occupied during a great portion of the year in laying bare a large arched subterranean building situated

between the *castrum* and the river Tyne, and during the progress of the excavations several discoveries of inscriptions occurred. The first was in March, when the fragment of (apparently) an altar was turned up, inscribed—

RIBVS . COM  
RO . SALVTE DE  
VR . SEVERI

The commencement of all the lines is lost, and of the third line only the upper part of the letters remain. The first stroke in this line is part of the letter v. I was originally inclined to read the first and commencement of the second lines as (*Mat*)*ribus Com(magenorum)*, although aware that Teutonic and Celtic races were generally recognised as the only worshippers of *Matres*; but we know from the dedication (Borghesi, *Œuvres*, vol. iii, p. 127) to the Pannonian and Dalmatian mothers, that their worship extended as far east as Hungary and Turkey. The presence of a cohort of Syrians on the Wall, and the fact of dedications to the *Dea Syria* occurring, led me to think that the worship of the *Matres* might have extended to the Semitic tribe of the *Commageni*. Fortunately M. Robert Mowat, the well known French archaeologist, drew my attention to the fact that at Aix in Savoy, and at other places in Gaul, we have instances of the worship of the *Matres Comedovae*. I consider M. Mowat to have pointed out the correct reading *Matribus Comedovis*, and other French archaeologists have, I believe, since agreed with him. The remainder of the inscription I take to be (*P*)*ro salute De(cimi) (A)ur(elii) Severi*. I think it to have been erected for the welfare of a private individual (as in many instances) rather than for that of an Emperor, though it has been suggested that *DE(VOTI)* may have been the word, of which *DE* only remains. This seems improbable; we should hardly find *Devoti* in this position.

A second fragmentary inscription was found in April of which the remaining letters were—

PER . CL  
LEG . PR  
SEP . NIL

The commencement of the lines only is left to us. In the first *E* and *R* are ligulate, and in the second *P* and *R*. There is little difficulty in reading this fragment. From

another inscription found at the same station we know that Septimius Nilus was Praefect of the 2nd Ala of the Astures in A.D. 221, this regiment at that time forming the garrison of the station. From another inscription found on the Wall, we know that there was in Britain in A.D. 223, an Imperial Legate named Claudius Xenophon. This inscription seems to embrace the two names, and should be read : "*Per Cl(audium) (Xenephontem) Leg(atum) Pr(o) (praetore) (Curante) Sep(timio) Nil(o) (Praefecto Alae II. Asturum.* The commencement of the inscription, which is lost, has probably referred to the restoration of some buildings, and the name of the emperor, in whose reign the work was done. He would be no doubt Alexander Severus, and Claudius Xenophon was probably the successor of Marius Valerianus, for the latter was Legate in A.D. 221-2, as we learn from inscriptions at *Cilurnum* and *Netherby*. The inscription has been in tablet form.

In May, two curiously carved stones were found built side by side into the walls of one the rooms of the building excavated. They were below the floor level. One had upon it what appears to be a phallic design, the other bore the figure of a bird, and above it what seem to be the letters

NEILO.

What these letters mean it is difficult to say. It has been suggested that they are a variation of NILO, and refer to the Praefect named in the last inscription.

Another fragment found at *Cilurnum* is inscribed

NN.  
—,  
FOC

but little can be made of it. The NN may perhaps be part of the abbreviation ANN (for *Annos*). The last letter is imperfect, and may be c, g, or o.

In March also, a salmon fisher found in the river Tyne, near to the station, an inscribed fragment of rock, which had evidently fallen from a cliff above, some time previously. The lettering is in the main very rude, but it appears to be

SSTR'O  
CINA . VOTO  
NIRI . SECIN  
NI .

In the first line T and R seem to be ligulate, in the third the

s—very rudely formed—is reversed, and more resembles z, whilst the n at the end of the same line is so disconnected that it may be ai. The commencement of all the lines is lost, and probably the commencement of the inscription. The third line may have contained (OFFI)CINA or some such word, followed certainly by VORO, but no sense can be gathered from it. The stone is 3 feet high by 2 feet broad, and the inscription is confined to the upper half of its face. In October there was also discovered in the excavations before named, an altar 2ft. 6in. high, bearing upon its face a figure of Fortune, and the inscription

D A E  
FORT . CO  
NSERVATR  
ICI . VENENV  
S . GER . L . M

The first line is an abbreviation of DEAE which occurs in several other Britanno-Roman altars, but singularly enough, they are all dedicated to the same deity—Fortune. This line is upon the head of the altar. The second line is at the summit of the shaft, the first o being ligulate with the r and the second placed within the c. Then comes the figure of the goddess, and the remainder of the inscription is below. In the third line the v and a are ligulate, and in the fourth ENE are likewise tied. The whole inscription reads, *D(e)ae Fort(unae) Conservatrici Venerus Ger(manus) L(ibenter) M(erito)*. “To the goddess Fortune, the preserver, Venerus a German (dedicates this) willingly to a deserving object.”

This is the third dedication to Fortuna Conservatrix found in Britain. One was found at Netherby, where it is still preserved, the other found in 1612 at Manchester was long supposed to have been lost, but in May last I had the pleasure of re-discovering it amongst the Arundel marbles in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

The whole of these newly discovered inscriptions are preserved by Mr. Clayton in his large museum at Chesters.

Near Gilsland on the line of the Wall, three centurial stones have recently been found, for copies of which I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. Bruce. They are

(1)  
COH . VI  
▷ CALEDO  
NI . SECVND

(2)  
) . COCCEI  
REGVLI

(3)  
COH . II  
) LAETIA

Dr. Bruce informs me that No. 1 was difficult to read, being much worn, but as far as he and the Rev. A. Wright could make it out, it was as above. The *d* and *o* in the second line are ligulate, as are the *vnd* in the third. As it stands it would read *Coh(ortis) Sextae Centuria Caledoni(i) Secund(i)*. "The century of Caledonius Secundus of the sixth cohort." The only doubt is as to there being such a name as *Caledonius*. The second inscription is plainly *Centuria Coccei Reguli*. "The century of Cocceius Regulus." The third is from Mr. Wright's reading. Neither of the letters which appear to be *Λ* in the second line have a horizontal stroke; the first is *Λ*, the second may be and probably is part of *Ν*. I would read it as *Coh(ortis) Secundae Centuria Laetini(iani)*.

In the wall of the north aisle of the church at Dearham, near Maryport, and at its west end, Dr. Hooppell informs me that he found during the last summer, the upper part of a Roman altar, used as a building stone, upon which could be traced the words

## MATRIBVS

evidently the commencement of a dedication to the *Deae Matres*. It has probably been brought from the station at Maryport (*Axelodunum*.)

In October, 1879, during the restoration of the church at Brough-under Stanemore, two inscriptions were found built into the foundations of the south porch. One dedicated to Septimius Severus, I have already described.<sup>1</sup> The other seemed to be in such puzzling characters, that soon after its discovery, a cast of it was sent to Professor Stephens of Copenhagen, under the impression that it was Runic. This he doubted, but referred it to the Professor of Greek (in the same university), who after a lengthened examination, stated that it was in no known classical language or alphabet. Professors Mommsen and Hübner at Berlin, and Professor Kaibel were unable also to decipher it. Professor Stephens then attempted to read it as a Runic inscription, and a paper in vol. v. of the *Cumberland and Westmoreland Archaeological Society's Transactions* (pp. 291-310), was the result, which was reproduced in vol. iii of his "Runic Monuments." In this, the

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxxviii, pp. 282-5.

Professor thought it to be the tombstone of a lady named Cimokom, who had been martyred for her Christianity.<sup>2</sup> But from the engravings which appeared of it, several English classical scholars came to the opinion that it was in Greek, though the letters were rude, and of what may be called a "rustic" type. Accordingly in the *Academy* for June 14, 1884, Professor Sayce brought forward a reading of the inscription in Greek, and after several months discussion in the pages of the same paper, in which Professors Sayce and Ridgeway, Messrs. Isaac Taylor, H. Bradley, E. L. Hicks and E. B. Nicholson, took part, a tolerably fair reading was finally established by Mr. Arthur J. Evans.<sup>3</sup>

The stone was subsequently purchased for the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, to which place it has recently been removed, and has been submitted to a critical examination by the most eminent authorities there. On the 23rd February last, Professor E. C. Clark read a paper upon it to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, bringing forward the following as the correct reading, as far as could be made out with certainty.

ΕΚΚΑΙΔΕΧΕΤΗΤΙΣ  
ΙΔΩΝΤΥΜΒΟΣΚΕΦΘΕΝΤ  
ΤΠΟΜΟΙΡΗΣ ΕΡΜΗ  
ΚΟΜΜΑΓΗΝΟΝΕΠΟΣ  
ΦΡΑΣΑΤΩΤΟΔΟΔΕΙΤΗΣ  
ΧΑΙΡΕΤΠΑΙΠΑΡΕΜΟΤ  
ΚΗΝΠΕΡΩΝΗΤΟΝΒΙΟ  
ΕΡΠΗΣ ΟΚΤΤΑΤΕΠ  
ΤΗΤΓΑΡΜΕΡΟΠΩΝΕΠΙ  
ΚΙΜΜΕΡΙΩΝΗ ΚΟΤΥΕΤ  
CΕΙ . . . . ΓΑΡΟΠΑΙCΕΡΜΗΣ  
.....

The inscription evidently consisted of five hexameters which Professor Clark considers in their original form to have been

Εκδεχεται τις ιδων τυμβω σκεφθεντ υπο μοιρης  
Ερμην κομμαγηνον επος φρασατω τις οδειτης  
χαιρε συ παι παρ εμου κηνπερ θνητον βιον ερπης  
ωκντατ επτης γαρ μεροπων επι Κιμμεριων γην  
κου ψευσει αυτω γαρ ο παις Ερμη ακολουθει.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Antiquary* for September, 1884, Professor Stephens abandons his idea of

the inscription being Runic.  
<sup>3</sup> *Academy*, August 30, 1884.

though the last line is by no means agreed upon, even at Cambridge. Mr. Evans restores it differently. It is, however, probably premature as yet to venture on the exact wording, which may eventually be discovered. Professor Clark gives as a translation this "free metrical paraphrase."

Hermes of Commagene here—  
 Young Hermes, in his sixteenth year—  
 Entombed by fate before his day  
 Beholding, let the traveller say :—  
 Fair youth, my greeting to thy shrine  
 Though but a mortal course be thine,  
 Since all too soon thou wing'dst thy flight  
 From realms of speech to realm of night ;  
 Yet no misnomer art thou shewn,  
 Who with thy namesake God art flown.

The only false quantity in the original is a syllable too much ( $\kappa\alpha\iota$ ) in the first word, but this has probably been omitted in speaking. The seventh and first part of the eighth lines are the most difficult part of the translation. Mr. Evans thinks they refer to the youth having been taken prisoner in an engagement, and dragging on a life of captivity, an idea repudiated by Professor Clark. At present I prefer the translation of the latter, whose long and able paper should be perused by any antiquary interested in the matter. It is too long to reproduce here, and unless given *in extenso* would lose much of its value.

We have no other inscription in Britain referring to a native of Commagene. It is possible that Hermes, and the friend or relative who erected the monument, were members of the *Cohors I. Hamiorum*, a cohort of Syrian archers, of which several traces have been found in the north. This is by far the longest Greek inscription found in our island, and the first of a sepulchral character. The others have been upon altars, votive tablets, rings, &c. The stone, which is about two feet high and one foot broad, is flanked on the inscribed face by palm branches, and above the inscription is carved with a geometric pattern of squares, divided into triangles.

At Chester there was found, on the 31st October, in the course of an excavation between the Grosvenor Hotel and city wall (close to the Eastgate), the half of an altar, which had been split perpendicularly down the middle,



apparently to be used as a building stone. On the left side within a panel, there is a figure of a bird which has all the characteristics of a goose, and on the remaining half of the back is a portion of what seems to have been a serpent, but this is doubtful. On the remaining portion of the face the altar is thus inscribed

I O  
O P T  
M A X  
V

The first line is in very large letters, the others are smaller. The base (on the front) is broken off, but judging by the size of the panel on the side, there would be room for at least another line of an inscription, and after the v in the fourth line, there appears to be a stop. The reading has certainly been *Jo(vi) Opt(imo) Max(imo)*, but whether v has been part of the *formula* v.s. for *V(oto) S(olutum)* or part of the name of the dedicator must remain unknown. The height of this altar is 3 feet 10 inches, and at the angles are pilasters, returned on each face; they bear two flutes each, and terminate in a foliated capital resembling Corinthian. The altar is of sandstone.

There was also found in the same city in November, in excavations made by Mr. Bullin in White Friars, a portion of an ordinary red tile, bearing upon it in very fine letters

IVLV

which has probably, when entire, been IVLVS. F., the F standing of course for *Fecit*. The v and l are ligulate.

On the right side of the altar discovered in Chester in 1653 (Hübner, No. 167) I. have found that there has been an inscription beneath the figure of the Genius. All that is now traceable is

G . . . .  
C I . . . .

which I apprehend has been part of the words *G(enio Sancto Lo)ci*, &c.

During the repewing of the nave of St. Mary's church at Lancaster, in the year 1863, a number of loose stones were taken up from the old floor, preparatory to a new one being put down. Amongst them was one which had

formed part of a Roman inscribed tablet, of the annexed shape and dimensions—



The stone came into the possession of the late Rev. Canon Turner, Vicar of Lancaster, and was preserved by him, but so carefully, that it was totally unknown to even local antiquaries. It is still at the Vicarage in possession of the Rev. Canon Allen. The letters on the stone are beautifully cut and are two inches in height, with the exception of the three larger ones. The only ligature is in the case of the *r* in the second line, which letter is formed upon the upright stroke of the *t*.

The inscription is important, as confirming the existence of Lancaster as a Roman station, in the reign of Trajan. Previously, from a milestone dedicated to Hadrian having been found in the neighbourhood, I had expressed the opinion that he was the emperor by whose orders the *castrum* was erected. This discovery proves that in the reign of his predecessor (Trajan) important structures were built. The stone, when entire, has been a tablet commemorating their erection. The inscription *apparently* reads: *Imp(eratori) Ner(vae) Trajan(o) Aug(usto)*, &c. The omission of *CAES* for *Caesari* after *IMP.* is peculiar, but there are examples of it. With the exception of two inscriptions found at Chichester, this is the earliest *on stone* naming an emperor, found in Britain. A few tombstones of soldiers may, however, be earlier, and an inscription found at York (also dedicated to Trajan) may be coeval. No Roman inscription of so early a date, either on stone, bronze, or lead, has been recorded as found so far to the north previously.

In the recently published correspondence of Dr. Stukeley<sup>1</sup> there are two letters addressed to him by Mr. Samuel Peele, an excise officer at Lancaster, dated in 1754, containing an account of a Roman inscribed altar, which is said to have "tumbled out of the earth" at that town about December, 1753 and the only letters visible were said to be

V  
C  
M  
I i i E  
D SERO E  
T VO EA

Nothing can be made out of this. Possibly the two small *i*'s are meant for II. The altar when found was said to have had "three elliptical cavities" "on the top," but they were soon afterwards struck off. On one side was a representation of an axe (*securis*) on the other of a *patera*. This altar has not been heard of since.

On the 12th March during the excavations necessary for laying the foundations of the new tower of St. Swithin's church at Lincoln, the workmen at a depth of 13ft. from the surface came upon a Roman altar lying face downwards in a bed of gravel. It is formed of a block of oolite 3ft. high, and at the base 1ft. 8in. broad. On the right hand side is engraved a *praefericulum*, on the left a *patera*. The head of the altar with the focus is much mutilated. On its face is the following inscription—

PARCIS . DEA  
BVS . ET . NV  
MINIBVS . AVG .  
C . ANTISTIVS  
FRONTINVS  
CVRATOR . TER.  
AR . D . S . D .

The letters are well cut, and well preserved; the stops are of triangular shape. The only difficulty in the reading is in TER. in the third line. The Rev. Precentor Venables favoured me with a copy of the inscription on the day of its discovery, and I at once asked him to make certain if there was a stop after TER. as I had an idea, though there is no epigraphic or historical authority for such a *Curator*, that we might have TERAR., for TERRAR(VM) in the last two lines. The stop however is plain and AR

<sup>1</sup> Surtees Society's Publications, vol. lxxvi, pp. 242-3.

is doubtless the abbreviation for ARAM. We must therefore either take TER. as a word in itself, or look for some other abbreviation.

Professor Mommsen wrote to me suggesting TER(TIVM) as the reading. Dr. Hübner informed Precentor Venables that he considered TER. (three times) was simply the meaning, but if either of these be accepted it leaves us still in the dark as to the question, "Of what was Frontinus the Curator?" As the altar was found close to the north bank of the river Witham, on the verge of the Roman area, I am inclined to suggest *Curator ter(minorum)*. It is true that we have no precedent for this reading, but inscriptions are constantly giving us examples of titles otherwise unknown<sup>1</sup>. Hence I would expand the inscription *Parcis Deabus et Numinibus Aug(usti) C(aius) Antistius Frontinus Curator Ter(minorum) Ar(am) d(e)s(uo) d(edit)*. "To the goddesses, the Parcae, and to the "divinities of the Augustus" (the reigning emperor) "Caius Antistius Frontinus, Overseer of the boundaries, "of his own" (or "at his own expense") "has given" ("this altar)."

Only three other inscriptions dedicated to the *Parcae* (or "Fates") have been found in Britain, at least so far as recorded. Two were found in 1861 in English Street, Carlisle, and the third in 1866 at Skinburness, near the mouth of the Solway. In the latter and in one of those found at Carlisle they are styled *Matres*, but in none of them is the title *Deae* given to them, as in the Lincoln example. This altar is at present preserved in the cloister at Lincoln.

The discoveries at York consist in the first place of a fragment of a dedicatory tablet inscribed—

CAES . M . AV .

The letters M.AV. are ligulate with each other. From this circumstance I am inclined to think that the Emperor referred to is either Caracalla or Elagabalus, each of whom took the names of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, rather than the earlier emperor Marcus Aurelius. Though ligatures as a rule, however, show a late date, the test is not an infallible one, as other inscriptions prove. The

<sup>1</sup> If Curator had been used here to designate a military officer, we should have had the name of the corps to which he belonged following.

inscription was found in excavating for the foundations of the new Mechanic's Institute in Clifford Street in 1883, but came to hand too late for my list for that year. The stone has the appearance of having been used for sharpening some kind of implement at a later period.

At "The Mount," outside Micklegate Bar, two broken altars have been found. Of one the base only remained, and on it were the letters

S . P . R .

rudely cut. I should surmise that D. has preceded these letters, and the reading would then be *D(e) S(ua) P(ecunia) R(estituit)*, "At his own cost has restored" (the altar).

The other altar was more interesting. Though broken into numerous fragments, some of which had been lost, the remainder yielded the following inscription—

D . . . . .  
SILV . . . . .  
L . CELERNIVS  
VITALIS . CORNI .  
LEG . VIII . HIS .  
V . S . L . M .

FIDONVMHOCDONVM  
ADPHTINEATCAVTVMATTIGAM.

The first portion of this inscription is easily restored and read. It is, without doubt, *D(eo Sancto) Silv(ano) L(ucius) Celernius Vitalis Corni(cularius) Leg(ionis) VIII. His(panae) V(otum) S(olvit) L(aetus) L(ibens) M(erito)*.

"To the holy god Silvanus, Lucius Celernius Vitalis a *cornicularius* of the Ninth Legion (surnamed) the Spanish, performs his vow willingly (and) joyfully to a deserving object."

The second part of the inscription is more peculiar. It is in very small letters, and through the last line there is a fracture. The reading here given is that of Dr. Hübner, as published in the *Academy*, July 12th, 1884. The expansion would be—*Fido num(ini) hoc donum adpertimeat (vel appertineat) cautum attigam*. Canon Raine speaking of this reading says: "The young officer, grateful to the deity who had often shown himself trustworthy by bringing the deer or wild boar to the hunter, makes a special reservation of the altar. It is to be specially sacred, and safe from profane hands. In 'cautum attigam' we are reminded of the 'cave vestem attigas' of Accius. The prohibition may refer to

the offering, or to the altar, or to both." This translation depends upon the first letter being correctly read. It seems doubtful, from what Canon Raine tells me in answer to enquiries, whether it is F or E. M. Robert Mowat is inclined to read EI. DONVM as the commencement of the line. This, of course, would alter the reading considerably. The two I's in the second line are equivalent to E. This variation frequently occurs. The two G's in *Attigam* are an error, either of the dedicator, or stone cutter.

At the end of October, in making some ornamental grounds at the rear of the Rose and Crown Inn, Ilkley (*Olicana*), the workmen came upon (amongst other discoveries) an old rubble wall, two feet beneath which (as if used for the foundation of it) was a large slab of stone, six feet long, thirty inches wide, and rough at the back. The upper portion of the face of the slab, bears the representation of a female sitting in a chair, within a recess. This figure is three feet in height, and underneath there is an inscription in four lines, of which the following portion remains :—

DIS . . . . . (M)ANIBVS .  
VE • IC . . . . . NCONIS . FILIA  
ANNORVM . XXX . CCORNOVIA .  
H . . . . . S . . . . . E .

The M of *Manibus* in the first line is obliterated, and of the name of the deceased we have only VE\*IC\*\* but of her father's name we have the termination—NCONIS in the genitive, followed by FILIA. The whole reads *Dis Manibus Ve\*ic \*\*\*\*\*-nconis Filia, Annorum xxx C(ivis) Cornovia. H(ic) S(ita) E(st)*. "To the divine shades of . . . daughter of . . . thirty years of age a Cornovian citizen. Here she is laid." This is the first allusion to a Cornovian citizen which has occurred in a Britanno-Roman inscription. Who the Cornovii were is still a matter of uncertainty. The *Notitia* names a cohort of Cornovii as stationed at *Pons Aelii* (Newcastle on Tyne), but no traces of it have yet been found. As the Romans would hardly employ a British cohort against fellow countrymen, the *Cornovii* were probably a Continental people, and quite distinct from the *Cornavii*, mentioned by Ptolemy as inhabiting parts of Cheshire and Shropshire.

On an altar found at *Procolitia*, on the Roman Wall, the name of *Venico* occurs. Is it possible we should read the

name of the subject of this inscription as *Venica, Veniconis filia*?

Another inscription found in Yorkshire, as far back as 1880, has remained inedited. In that year there was found at Castleford, near Pontefract, close to the Roman road which passes through the town, at a depth of three feet, a Roman milestone 4½ feet high, and 1 foot in diameter, which was removed to Half Acres (the residence of Mr. Joseph Brewerton), a short distance from the place of its discovery, and where it still is.

After much correspondence with Mr. Brewerton (for I have not yet seen the stone) I have evolved a portion of the tenor of its inscription. It was first erected in the reign of the emperor Decius, A.D. 249-251, and after his death appears to have been inverted and an inscription to his successors, the joint emperors Gallus and Volusianus, cut on the other end. This last inscription is much more perfect than the other, and what I have so far made out of it is

IMPP  
... C. VIBIO  
GALLO. ET. C. V  
VOLVIA  
NO. P. F.  
AVGG EB  
...  
XXI

I should expand this (supplying doubtful portions) as *Imp(eratoribus) C(æsaribus) C. Vibio Gallo et C. V. Volusiano P(ri)us F(elicibus) Aug(ustis) Eb(uraco) (Millia passuum) XXI*. The stone is soon to be photographed, when I hope to put the reading of the obscure portions of the inscription beyond dispute. Castleford is generally thought to have been the site of the station called in the Fifth Iter of Antoninus *Legeolium*, and in the Eighth Iter *Lagecium*, in each being named as twenty-one Roman miles from York, the distance thus agreeing with the numerals upon the stone.

The inscription upon the other end of the stone appears more worn and consequently more obscure. All that I can make out *with certainty* from the written copies sent me is

**IMP . C**  
**C . M . Q**  
**DECIO**

*i.e., Imp(eratori) C(aio) M(essio) Q(uinto) Decio.* In the *Academy* (Feb. 28, 1885) I have given my conjectures as to the remainder of the inscription, but I forbear from putting them on record in the *Journal*, as probably I shall soon be able to give the correct reading.

Dr. Hooppell informs me that in addition to the graphitic inscription found at Binchester<sup>1</sup> the following also occurred there

(1)	(2)
PIE .	. . VSDOM .

besides seven others which seem to be, clearly, numerals.

During the months of July and August, in the course of excavations at the corner of Castle-street, Bevis Marks, in the city of London, amongst a large number of Roman sculptures built up into a more recent wall, were found fragments of two inscriptions which, as sent to me by Mr. J. E. Price, seem

(1)	(2)
\ AVI	IVL
\ NTIO	. . S.
R . LXX	DO.

Of the first, I gave the opinion to Mr. Price that it was part of a sepulchral stone, which, when entire had read :

(D . M .)  
 AVI(DIVS)  
 (A)NTIO(CHVS)  
 (ANNO)R . LXX.

The R in the last line is on a much smaller scale than the other letters. Its reading, of course, would be *D(iis) M(anibus) Avi(dius) (A)ntio(chus) (Anno)r(um) LXX*, *i.e.* "To the divine shades, Avidius Antiochus of seventy years of age." The stone is 1 foot high by 8½ in. broad. The second inscription, when originally sent to me, had merely the commencement of the first and last lines visible—IVL. and DO—with flutings to the left of the lines, but there was space for fully two lines between the extant letters. On mentioning this to Messrs. Price and A. White, they re-examined the stone and found the letter s commencing another line but there is still a gap, and I have no doubt whatever that we have the commencement of four lines, one of which has yet to be found. Unfortunately the stone is much covered with cement, &c., which cannot well be got off without damaging the inscription. This

<sup>1</sup> Given in my list for 1880.



stone is about eighteen inches square, including the side flutings.

Some two months later further excavations were made adjoining the site of these discoveries, when a quantity of Roman sculpture was found, some of it evidently from tombs of considerable size. The following inscriptions also occurred :

(1)  
CANDIDI

(2)  
ET MEMORIA  
ELIAE NVMIDI  
NTISSIMA . FEMI  
RELIQVA CAV

No. 1 is on the edge of a large flag-stone, and the last letter comes close to where it has broken off. There is room for one or two letters at the commencement, and I suggested that under the mortar with which the stone is covered the centurial mark > might be hidden, but the London antiquaries say it is not there.

The second is a fragment of a large inscription broken at each end. On the right the breakage is perpendicular or nearly so, but on the left it is diagonal. There have been letters before *ET* but they are so filled up with cement and worn as not to be distinguishable. There can, however, be little doubt they were D.M., and I would read the first two lines *D(iis) M(anibus) et memoria(e) (A)eliae Numidi(ae)*. In the third line we seem to have *Pientissima* instead of *Pientissimae*, or I should have continued it as *Pientissimae Feminae*. As it is, the name of another female must have preceded these words. In the last line *Reliqua causa* seem to be indicated, but the sentence cannot be construed as it stands. All of these stones are now in the Guildhall Museum.

At Bath there has lately been found a portion of a frieze, during the excavations at the Roman baths there, bearing the following letters, which are  $6\frac{1}{4}$  inches high :

S S I L

Though unimportant of themselves, they require to be put on record as it is very probable the remainder of the inscription may be found.

At Manton (near Marlborough) on the Wiltshire Downs, there was discovered in January, near the racing establishment of Mr. A. Taylor, "in levelling the inequalities in the surface of the ground near the house," a number of

silver and brass Roman coins ranging from Julian to Honorius, a quantity of Roman pottery, two skeletons, twelve large pewter dishes, and a vase and amphora of the same metal. The largest of the dishes was two feet in diameter, and the remainder graduated in sizes down to one foot. On the broad rims of many of them were elaborate ornamentations; and on one, seventeen inches in diameter, a name was scratched, but the lettering was very indistinct. Mr. F. M. Russell, of Marlborough, informs me that it seemed to be either

L BIINÆ or MRIINÆ

Some fresh information with regard to previously discovered inscriptions remains to be noticed. On the leaden stamp found at Chester and given by Dr. Hübner (C. I. L., vii, No. 1268), as

▷ CL . AVG  
VIC

it appears that the last line should be *VIG*. Hence I consider it as referring to the Roman fire-brigade at Chester. As there would be no necessity for a cohort of *Vigiles*, but probably only two or three *centuriae*, I would read the inscription as *Centuria Cl(audii) Aug(ustalis) Vig(illum).*

Dr. Hübner's No. 1168, which when I wrote my paper upon the station *Navio*, named in it,<sup>1</sup> was supposed to be lost, has recently been rediscovered in the possession of Mr. F. Beresford Wright, of Wootton Court, Warwick, and by him has been presented to the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription found at Ilkley which I published in *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 345, and then supposed to be lost, is now preserved at the Vicarage at Arncliffe. It had been given by Mr. Carr to the Rev. Canon Boyd.

In vol. xxxvii of the *Journal*, p. 149, I have read the commencement of the inscription on the stone found at the Roman station at Beckfort as *LIA*. It should probably be *LINA*, as in the photographs which I have of it, and in

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxxiii, pp. 49-55.

<sup>2</sup> Although the writer made enquiries through the medium of a letter in the *Derby Mercury* as far back as 1877, re-

garding the ownership of this stone, nothing could be ascertained until Mr. W. H. St. John Hope in 1884, forwarded a letter to the same journal, and with the satisfactory result named above.

a copy of the inscription sent to me by the Rev. Dr. Hooppell the A appears thus, A. The diagonal stroke is evidently meant to join the I.

The inscription TALIOF. which I have given in the *Journal*, vol. xli, p. 185, should probably read TALIO . F. Two *patellæ* bearing this stamp have been found on the continent ; one, discovered in Pomerania, is now preserved in the Berlin Museum, and the other, from Transylvania, is now in the Museum at Vienna.

The two inscriptions which I have given in vol. xli of the *Journal*, p. 185, from the Rawlinson MSS. at Oxford, are, I find, also given in the fly sheets of Ward's copy of Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, in the British Museum.

P.S.—From a correct transcript, recently obtained by Dr. Bruce, I find that the inscription built up into the walls of Jedburgh Abbey, which I published in *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiii, p. 365, should be

I. O. M. VEX  
ILATIO . RETO  
RVM . GAESA  
Q . C . A . IVL  
SEVER . TRIB.

Dr. Bruce expands it as *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Vexillatio Raetorum Gaesa (torum) q(uorum c(uram) a(git) Jul(ius) Sever(us) Trib(unus)*.<sup>1</sup> I am not aware whether Dr. Bruce has noted its bearing on two other inscriptions found at Risingham, in each of which the abbreviation VEXIL . G . R. occurs, which should be read *Vexil(latio) G(aesatorum) R(aetorum)*. Dr. Hübner<sup>2</sup> expands the contraction as *Vexil(larii) G(ermani) R(aeti)*, though at the same station he was the original discoverer of the *Raeti Gaesati* in another inscription (*C. I. L.* vii, No. 1002). We also probably have the same force mentioned in *C. I. L.* vii, No. 731, though Dr. Hübner seems to have overlooked the fact.

A vexillation of Raeti and Norici is mentioned on an altar found at Manchester.<sup>3</sup>

The Jedburgh inscription I find was first (though incorrectly) given in Jeffrey's *History of Roxburghshire* (1864), pp. 255-7.

<sup>1</sup> *Athenæum*, May 2nd, 1885.    <sup>2</sup> *C. I. L.* vii, No. 987-988.

<sup>3</sup> *Roman Lancashire*, p. 109.





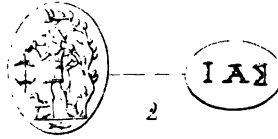
1



4



5



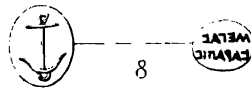
2



6



7



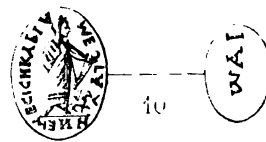
8



9



3



10

## NOTICE OF A FEW MORE EARLY CHRISTIAN GEMS,

By C. DRURY E. FORTNUM, F.S.A., etc.<sup>1</sup>

On some former occasions I have had much pleasure in directing the attention of members of the Royal Archaeological Institute to various rings and engraved gems in my own and other collections, the workmanship of the earlier centuries of our era, whereon are represented in intaglio upon the metal, or upon the stones encased therein, emblems or subjects having indirect or symbolic reference to Christianity. The descriptive remarks read to the Institute on those occasions were honoured by publication in the *Archæological Journal*, and may be found by reference to vols. xxvi, p. 137; xxviii, p. 266; xxix, 305; xxxiii, p. 111, and lastly in vol. xxxvii at page 351.

Since the last publication I have been fortunate enough to acquire some other early christian gems of not less interest than those considered in my former papers, some description and remarks on which, together with an illustrative engraved plate, I would now offer to the Society.

For the convenience of those who take interest in this special branch of antiquarian enquiry I would propose to number the objects now to be described in sequence of those which were the subjects of my former papers, the last gem in which was numbered 13.

Of those now under consideration No. 1 on the illustrative engraved plate, on which they are figured of the actual size, will be No. 14 of the collective and descriptive list, and so forward.

These gems are from various sources, some kindly ceded to me by my friend the Rev. Greville Chester, others from the collection of Dr. Dressel, some from my own gather-

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, May 7, 1886, when the objects therein referred to were exhibited.

ing; and independently of my own belief in their integrity, all have been submitted to the careful scrutiny of no less than five or six of the best judges of my acquaintance, who were agreed in considering them genuine and antique.

No. 14. A nicolo of oval form, which from certain fine crackling on the surface would seem to have been subjected to the action of fire, but insufficient to do more than slightly impair the purity of the white stratum. (See plate fig. 1.) Its surface is covered with subject in intaglio. Above is the ship, emblematic of the voyage of life and, perhaps subsequently, of the church, and in the field over it are the letters I H C.<sup>1</sup> De Rossi, Garrucci, and the late much regretted Padre Broussa consider that the ship with these initials of Christ above it, is typical of Him and of His church. To the right (in the impression and as seen in the engraving) is the chrisma, beneath which an anchor with a fish on either side, the head of the upper one being towards the top, that of the lower fish towards the flukes of the anchor, viz., counter-naïant as in the sign *Pisces*.

On the other side, the left, Jonas, with a star above him, is being ejected by the marine monster<sup>2</sup> whose serpentine body and fish-like tail extend across the field, here spotted over with oblong cuts from the sculptor's wheel to indicate the water of the great deep, in which and below a dolphin swims.

I have before suggested and, then unknown to me, a similar idea has been advanced by the late Canon Martigny, that the two fish with the anchor may have connubial reference, and supposing this to be the fact, may we not venture to interpret this complex representation of Christian emblems as follows: viz., that the stone was originally set in a marriage ring—that the fish, the wedded pair, united in hope (the anchor) under Christ (the chrisma) that the voyage of life (the ship) or the church of Christ of which they are disciples, may lead them to the resurrection (Jonah) to Eternal life? (the star). This may be a too poetical surmise, but it would at least give some

<sup>1</sup> As on a gem of the Borgia coll. and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> The "whale" represented with Jonah

is the "*priestis*" (Pliny *Hist. Nat.* xxiv, 19, 8), *prietas* or *prietas*, i.e., Sea monsters.

reason for the occurrence of so many emblems together, and in the relative positions in which they are seen on this curious gem.

Or, on the other hand, it may be suggested that the two fish are hopefully united under the sacred monogram as members of the Church of Christ (the ship) and so on.

It may also be argued that although those gems on which two fish are represented, one on each side of the stem of cross or anchor, the heads of which are in the *same direction*, may have matrimonial reference,<sup>1</sup> the fact that the fishes on this gem are placed head to tail, as in the Zodaical sign, would be against such an inference.

It came from Beirut in Syria and is of fairly good workmanship. In the opinion of some of the more learned Roman antiquaries it is of classic time, probably of the later years of the third century, and may be even anterior to Constantine, the chrisma having been known previous to its adoption by him for the Labarum.

No. 15 (fig. 2). The gem engraved under this number is also one of considerable interest. On the face of an oval piece of red jasper we have the following representation in intaglio. A figure, undoubtedly representing the Good Shepherd, stands erect, his weight borne upon the right leg and foot, the left being slightly bent backwards, the toe touching the ground. He is clad in the usual short tunic, &c., a *pallium* or shawl falling from the left shoulder is held by that hand. On and over his right shoulder and back he holds the sheep or lamb, its fore legs being held by his raised and extended right hand. He looks upwards to his right and the usual domed shepherd's hat is on the head.<sup>2</sup> On either side a sheep is standing on the ground from which a tree of serpentine growth, doubtless intended for a vine, rises spreading above his head; below his feet and the incised line indicating the ground on which he stands, a fish is swimming, while on the field of the gem immediately before him is an anchor. Here then again we have several well known emblems combined on the same gem. In section, this jasper is an oval thin truncated cone, the base

<sup>1</sup> The laying together the extended index fingers of each hand is a well known sign referring to marriage in the East.

<sup>2</sup> These descriptions of attitude are as seen in the impressions from the intaglio on which they are reversed.



of which is the face of the gem, the reverse being an oval of smaller surface, and on this we find incised the letters, as shown in the engraving, IAB. My first impression on examining this intaglio (which was kindly secured for me by my friend Dr. Dressel, whose practised eye is authoritative as to the genuineness of an antique) was that these letters were to be read as the well known IAΩ (Ω) the third letter being accidentally and wrongly written on its side. On showing the gem to my friend the learned Padre Garrucci he doubted that such a form of the letter could have been unintentional. Further consideration of the subject and reference to notes, &c., led to the conclusion that the letter in question was a B (beta) not a ω wrongly inscribed, and that the word was to be read the other way, as on the stone, BAI, being an abbreviation of Βασις. On referring to *Suiceri (J.C.) Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus*, Vol. i., sub. voc. Βασις it is explained as of Egyptian origin and signifying "*ramus palmæ*" a palm branch. *Suiceri* refers to the *Evangelium Egypticum*, Ino. xii, v. 13, καὶ βασις φοιτητῶν. See also *Peyron Lexicon Copticum*, p. 19, Βασις, *ramus palmæ*, the emblem of Martyrdom and of Victory. BAI would also signify the soul (King) and also a prize = the palm branch. The workmanship of this gem is good and its preservation perfect; it is probably of the first half of the third century, according to the opinion of the Com: De Rossi, who thought the inscription, reading it as IAΩ indicated a Gnostic tendency on the part of the original owner.

No. 16 (see plate 3) is a gem, a carnelian or sard much broken, which was referred to in my former paper (page 359) as then belonging to Dr. Dressel, but since acquired by me; on which we have the Good Shepherd standing between, probably, two sheep but one only remains, beyond on either side is a cypress tree on each of which a bird is perched. Here we have the sheep, the disciples or church on earth, and the birds their spiritual state in heaven, perhaps also typifying the Jewish and Christian churches mundane and celestial—a curious and interesting figurative representation, well executed. It also is a work probably of a somewhat later period of the third century.

No. 17. At the dispersion of the Castellani collection in

Rome last year, I acquired another gem of similar character to that figured on page 359 of my last paper (No. 2). It is a *nicolo* of fairly good workmanship, probably of the advanced third century; the Good Shepherd carrying the lamb or sheep seems to be advancing towards his right, beneath the spreading branch of what is probably intended for a vine, a sheep is on either side, the whole group reversed in arrangement, but much resembling that on the red jasper (No. 2 on the plate), but beyond the sheep on the ground before him is what appears to represent a bird, above which is an object like the letter J, as seen on the intaglio, but longer in proportion to its width, and which may be intended for a shepherd's crook or *pedum*, if not a letter, in which case it would probably be the initial of the original owner of the gem. I believe, however, that it represents the shepherd's crook, as, on sealing, the letter would be reversed.

A similar subject on a *nicolo*, but varied from that just described, was also sold at the Castellani sale; it was in bad condition, chipped and of coarse inferior workmanship.

In the Ravenna Library are two gems, a crystal and a carnelian, on each of which is a *pastor bonus* in intaglio of very rude execution.

By way of illustration I have laid on the table a terracotta lamp, on which the subject of the Good Shepherd is seen in relief surrounded by bunches of grapes.

I would also direct attention to the interesting and perfectly preserved archaic Greek bronze statuette representing the Hermes Criophoros, a nude figure, his head only covered by a close fitting cap or hood and carrying a ram sheep on his shoulders. This little group, found in the neighbourhood of Santa Maria Capua, is referred to by the late M. Veyries<sup>1</sup> in his interesting monograph on Criophoric figures of Greek, Roman and early Christian times, and is probably of a date considerably anterior to the third century B.C.

In it we have the type adopted in later time by the early Christians in representing the Good Shepherd as we

<sup>1</sup> Veyries, M.A., *Les Figures Criophores*. Paris, 1884., p. 7, No. 11. Bib. des

Écoles Fr. d'Athènes et de Rome.

see it upon the lamp, and upon the engraved gems I have just described.

This "Hermes" carrying the young male sheep or goat may merely represent a peasant bringing an offering to the shrine of his favourite deity, and in this respect such group may have been considered as doubly typical by the Christian mind, the young male sheep, of the first of the flock, representing that Lamb, without spot, who was offered for us all; while, on the other hand, as a shepherd carefully bearing the young or weakly ram, would signify the disciple gently borne on the loving neck of Him who is the Shepherd of our souls. The group would thus have two-fold significance, although there can be little doubt that it was in the latter sense as the *pastor bonus* that it was generally accepted and represented.

The gem described under No. 10 in my last paper (No. 4 in our plate) is a *nicolo*, the intaglio on which is of similar character to a stone referred to by Martigny and to one by Gorli; on the gem figured by the latter, the fish hang from the arms of a cross, which in no way resembles an anchor. On that now under notice the anchor is reversed in position, the fish hanging by their heads one on each side of the stem. The work is coarsely executed but somewhat deeply cut, and probably of the later years of the third or early fourth century; found in Egypt.

The two fish—if such representation has no connubial reference—are believed by some to typify the multiplication of the food—Christ's body; the anchor—the cross; or, the faithful attracted or attached to an eucharistic or other emblem of the faith (vide De Rossi, Bul. 1879, p. 109) two fish, with emblem, the two *conjugi* united, yoked, or mated together under the faith—"pisciculi secundum Jesum Christum" to quote Tertullian.

In the library at Ravenna are two Christian gems, on one, a green jasper, is an anchor between two fish; on the other, a carnelian, a cross between two fish.

No. 18 (No. 5 on the plate) is a gem of similar material and character to that described in my former paper under No. 12. It is an intaglio on pyrites, and represents a winged draped figure, an angel or victory holding an orb surmounted by a cross potent, (the *crux ansata* reversed,) and an inscription below, which Mr. King rather agreed

with me in reading *pax* from an impression, but which may be of badly formed Greek letters XAT, and the initials of the owner. It came from Egypt and is rudely executed, but somewhat in the early Byzantine manner of the fifth and early sixth century; its oriental origin would be strong reason for the inscription being in Greek, rather than in Roman letters. On the gem (No. 12) described in my last paper, the victory holds a double cross, an emblem which, it would seem, does not appear till the period of Justinian II. The victory with orb and cross on that now under consideration, occurs on coins of Arcadius after 383 A.D. The double cross, *i.e.*, the cross having above the lateral arms a smaller cross-bar, may probably have taken its origin from the title affixed over the head and bearing the well known superscription which Pilate would not alter.

The intaglio now under notice is larger than that No. 12, and better in execution, though very coarse, as might be expected on so harsh and ungrateful a material.

No. 7 on the engraving (numbered 19 in my list) figures an intaglio upon sard found at Rome, the Christian significance of the subject on which, a spreading tree between two branches of palm, was open to some doubt; my own opinion was that it was intended to represent the tree of life. That opinion is in a measure confirmed by the representation of a similar tree upon the side of one of those Egyptian earthen flasks which are (when hollow) supposed to have contained oil from the shrine of St. Menas, or were tokens of that Saint, and which generally bear his figure with arms extended between two camels, with an inscription surrounding or on the other side.<sup>1</sup> That bottle, the Christianity of which is manifest, was brought over by the Revd. Greville Chester and is now in the British Museum; it has not the figure of the saint, but the usual inscription

(Του ἁγίου Μηνᾶ) ΤΟΤΑ  
ΓΙΟVM  
ΗΝΑ

is on one side: and the tree on the other.

Another instance of the tree occurs in intaglio on a small *plasma* gem, which I subsequently procured in

<sup>1</sup> An example was exhibited.

Rome; on it is a wide spreading tree having on either side an ear of corn.

It seems to me that, however we may differ on the precise significance of these representations, there can be little doubt that they are of Christian symbolism and that the principal figure is intended for the tree of life. In the one case the palm may refer to victory over sin and death unto eternal life—the tree—which can hardly be intended for a vine, or the explanation would be manifest. The ears of corn on the smaller stone must have reference to the bread, the typical of body of the Lord.

The tree occurs on gems together with the Good Shepherd, as on some we have described, but it is of different form and character of growth, (see also Bull. Arch. Ch. 1879, T. vii) and painted in the catacombs (Bull. 1876, T. ix). The persea tree or Sebestene plum (*Cordia Myza*), wreathes of whose branches were ordered by Alexander to be used as prizes in the games he instituted at Alexandria, and the leaves of which frequently adorn the head of Horus, could hardly be that figured upon the S. Menas bottle, nor upon the two gems under consideration. If not the tree of life, as I believe, it might rather be intended for that tree at Matareyeh by Heliopolis under which the Holy Family are said to have reposed on their flight into Egypt, but if so the reference is Christian.

No. 8 on the engraving (No. 20 of our list) is a stone which would seem to be a mottled brown jasper, on one face of which an anchor is incised of the form usually found on Christian gems, and probably intended as a Christian emblem; on the reverse however is the inscription honouring Serapis METAC CAPANIC, a curious record of the intermingling of the two Cults, Serapis being honoured as a type of Christ. Merivale (History of Rome) states that Serapis and Christ were, in the time of Hadrian, equally worshipped as being nearly identical. Mr. King (Gnostics, p. 68) refers to "the curious letter of Hadrian to Servianus" from which he quotes "Those who worship Serapis are also Christians; even those who style themselves the bishops of Christ are devoted to Serapis. The very patriarch himself when he comes to Egypt is forced by some to adore Serapis, by others to adore Christ."

"There is but one God for them all, him do the Christians, him do the Jews, him do all the Gentiles also worship."

Noble sentiments worthy of that enlightened Emperor.

The execution of this inscription is sharp and clean, and the work may be of the later second or earlier third century. The gem was found in Egypt.

Figure No. 6 (21 of our list) is a very pale oval amethyst, on the slightly convex face of which is incised what is doubtless intended to represent a lamb holding a cross—an *Agnus Dei*. It is interesting as an early representation of the subject on a gem, being probably of the fifth or sixth century, and for the very rude manner in which the intaglio is executed, probably by some local artist. As seen in the impression the lamb is walking to the right; the head surmounted by the nimbus being turned over the back; the cross is of the form known as potent, an elongated stem being attached to the lower limb.

No. 9 on the engraved plate, No. 22 of my list, represents a gem of the genuineness of which I could hardly feel quite assured, but on submitting it to the careful examination of three of the best judges of antique gems at Rome, all were satisfied of its antiquity. It is an amethyst of oval form, on the slightly convex face of which is incised the figure of a fish, swimming, and holding in its mouth what seems to be intended for a spray of olive rather than an ear of corn or a palm, as it will be noticed that the leaves alternate and are not one opposite the other. A curious representation which I do not recollect to have seen recorded, but can hardly have other than Christian significance. Could it be intended to convey that the fish—the Christ—brings peace and happiness to the believer—"peace be unto you," "my peace I give to you"? Or is it the disciple who has received and holds that emblem of his peace in Christ?

The work of the intaglio is fairly good, and may be of the third or early fourth century. It was procured at Rome.

In my last paper (*Arch. Journal*, vol. xxxvii, p. 362) on Christian rings and gems I figured and described under No. 11 a circular *intaglio* on garnet, on which is incised an erect draped figure with laterally outstretched arms,

beneath each of which is an animal, I believe to be intended for a lion, with head down as crouching beneath the central figure. This I concluded was no other than a representation of Daniel in the lion's den; but some learned antiquaries have thought that S. Menas and his camels, rather than Daniel and the lions, was the subject of the intaglio. On showing the gem to the Padre Garrucci he quite agreed with my view, and considers the representation of importance as typical of Christ; the attitude denoting the crucifixion and the scared lions His persecutors the Jews. See also De Rossi, Bull. Inst., 1872, tav. II., who agrees in my opinion, as to the subject being Daniel and not S. Menas.

For other representations of Daniel on gems see Garrucci, (Storia, plates 478 and 492), one of these is in a reliquary at the Duomo in Cividale; the other at Vienna.

Mr. King (Gnostics, p. 142) refers to a sard gem formerly in the Hertz collection having the Good Shepherd between two tigers (or lions?) looking up at him with the legend ESIVKEV which he writes "evidently cloaked the, at the time no doubt, dangerous confession KE (for *Kυριε*) IESV 'Lord Jesu help.'"

This representation bears a curious analogy to that upon our garnet, and would seem to confirm the opinion that the Daniel on my gem was typical of Christ, who is figured as the Good Shepherd on the Hertz sard.

No. 10 on the engraved plate represents an interesting Gnostic gem, a green jasper with some red spots (blood-stone) the intaglio, of fair workmanship, and the inscription on which, I have Mr. King's authority for stating, are important; being "an unpublished legend of much interest identifying Isis with the Moon, as Osiris was with the Sun, according to Plutarch. In this case, therefore, the adjunct *IAΩ* is very appropriate that being, properly in the Greek form *IAOΣ*, merely a title of the autumnal "Sun."

On the face of the gem is incised an erect figure of Isis wrapped in the *peplum*, in the act of advancing to the right (in the impression) and holding the "cup of libation," in Mr. King's opinion, but which looks equally, from the indefinite workmanship of the intaglio, like a globular fruit, while along and up the arm is a straight line indicating portion of some instrument, but which two objects

taken together may, not improbably, represent the *simpulum* or, more correctly, the *cyathus* by which libations were offered to the Gods. Before and at her feet is a gryphon, apparently holding some object beneath its right fore foot, (this I regret to see is not correctly rendered on the copper-plate). Beneath and around is the inscription already referred to, and which Mr. King, the first authority on Gnostic lore, reads—

ECICHKYPIA MEFAA HNEM,

and translates 'Isis the mighty Lady of the moon.' In section the gem is a much truncated oval cone, on the reverse and smaller face is incised the ΙΑΩ. I purchased this stone at Naples, but have reason to think that it may have been brought from Sicily.

I have ventured to publish this *intaglio* with the others, although it is not to be numbered among the Christian gems which are the special subject of the present paper, but I have done so firstly by reason of the interesting nature of its inscription, as pointed out by Mr. King, and secondly because there was an unoccupied space at the bottom of the engraved plate which I thought it would not too unworthily occupy.

I may here refer to some interesting notices of "Christian Gem-Types" by Mr. King and by Mr. S. S. Lewis, published in the "Communications" of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, accompanied as they are by much learned comment and valuable reference. There also are described some Gnostic stones of curious interest.

I may also here record the following, which are preserved in the Museum at Parma, where I noticed nine coarsely executed early Christian gems, the subjects of which are :—

1. Carnelian—anchor, fish and ΙΧΘΥΣ.
2. Yellow jasper—palm and wreath.
3. Carnelian—dove and palm incised on the reverse of an older pagan gem, the subject of which is nearly ground down.
4. Red jasper—*Pastor bonus* and two sheep below.
5. Plasma—dove and palm.
6. Fish and some letters.
7. Wreath and palm.
8. Anchor.



## 9. Dove and palm.

They are, for the most part, unimportant.

In the collection of objects which belonged to Carlo Morbio, and which were dispersed by auction at Munich in Sept. 1883, were some gems and finger rings of which, judging from the description in the catalogue, some were of early Christian character, others probably mediæval.

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While occupied in revising proof of the foregoing, I have received from my friend the Rev. Greville J. Chester, the oval bezel of a bronze ring from which the apparently simple hoop has been broken away. On it, figured in intaglio, is a boat extending across the field, in which three figures are seated; the centre one, in full face, draped and nimbed is, doubtless, intended for Christ; one sits at the prow, the other at the stern, Simon, probably, and another disciple; while from the depth below three fishes are rising toward the boat. This may be intended to represent the miraculous draught of fishes; or, with equal probability—Christ being in the boat and not on the shore—His preaching from the ship to the assembled multitude (Mark iv, 1) here typified by the fishes. The workmanship is rude, probably of late fourth or early fifth century. It was found at Smyrna.

## THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF SWITZERLAND.

By BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A.

Many persons, well-informed in other respects, think that there are no Roman antiquities in Switzerland. This mistake results from various causes. Most people travel there to enjoy the scenery, and recruit their health. The Romans have not left behind them in that country vast monuments of their power, like the temples, theatres and aqueducts, which in regions farther south are still to be seen; but, speaking generally, we must be content with smaller objects stored in museums, sometimes unprovided with catalogues.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, no English writer, as far as I know, has discussed this subject at any length; attention has been directed almost exclusively to pre-historic remains made known by Dr. Keller's book on Pfahlbauten (lake-dwellings), of which an excellent translation has been published.<sup>2</sup> However, I hope to show that the classical antiquities of Switzerland, though inferior to those of some other countries, ought not to be passed over with contemptuous neglect, and that they deserve study quite as much as similar relics of the olden time in Britain,

<sup>1</sup> A very good account of the Collections at Bâle has been written by Professor J. J. Bernoulli, author of *Römische Ikonographie*; it is entitled, "Museum in Basel. Catalog für die Antiquarische Abtheilung," 1880. Compare *Kurzer Bericht über die für das Museum in Basel erworbene Schmid'sche Sammlung von Alterthümern aus Augst*. Von Prof. Wilhelm Vischer. 1858, 4to, with one Plate containing eight figures.

The Catalogue Descriptif of the Musée Fol at Geneva is an elaborate work in four volumes, of which the first and second are devoted to Antiquities. Among the illustrations, some coloured plates of *Vases Antiques* deserve special notice.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Keller gives only three references to Roman remains—key, tiles and amphora—pp. 121, 133, 183, English translation by J. E. Lee. Victor Gross's book may be regarded as supplementary to Keller's: on account of its importance I add the title in *extenso*, "Les Proto-helvètes ou les premiers colons sur les bords des lacs de Bienne et Neuchâtel. Berlin, 1883, 4to, avec 33 Planches en phototype figurant 950 objets trouvés pendant les fouilles."

See also Sir John Lubbock's *Pre-historic Times*, chap. v, *The Lake-Habitations of Switzerland*, pp. 119-170, ed. 1865.

which our own local antiquaries have so carefully investigated.

I. The Roman inscriptions are replete with interest, but they have been scarcely noticed by our countrymen, with the exception of the forgery relating to Julia Alpinula, which Lord Byron has immortalised.<sup>1</sup> A few specimens will suffice to show the importance of these historical monuments. A block of marble, nine feet high and thirty inches wide, found in the baths at Avenches and now preserved in the museum there, exhibits the following characters,

i u l i a e  
DOMINAE AVG  
MATRI CASTRORUM  
HEL PVBLCI///

*Juliae Dominae Augustae Matri Castrorum Helvetii publice.* The Helvetians have officially erected this monument in honour of Julia Domna Augusta, mother of the camp.<sup>2</sup>

I have selected this inscription on account of the title Mater Castrorum, which was first conferred on Faustina Junior, wife of Marcus Aurelius. Accordingly, the empress is represented on her coins with this legend and three military standards in front.<sup>3</sup> Her example was followed by Julia Domna, Mamaea and other princesses.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Julia. alpinula. hic. isceo | infelicis. patris. infelix. proles | deae auent. sacerdot. exorare. patris. necem. non. potui | male. mori. in. fatia. illi. erat | uixi. annos. xxiii.*

These words are derived partly from Tacitus, *Histories*, I, 68, In Julium Alpinum e principibus ut concitorem belli Caecina animadvertit: partly from inscriptions, Nos. 154, 155, containing *Dea Auentia*, found at Münchweiler; and No. 241, where *Alpinula* occurs, found at Wettingen, near Baden in the Canton Aargau. See Orelli, note on Tacitus, loc. citat., insc.: . . . *conficta a Paulo Gulielmo, and Collectio Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. i, p. 123, No. 400; Mommsen, in *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*. Zehnter Band, 1854, *Inscriptiones Confoederationis Helveticae Latinae*; *Falsae*, No. 15. Byron, *Childe Harold*, III, 66, And there—oh! sweet and sacred be the name!—

*Julia*—the daughter, the devoted—gave Her youth to heaven, &c.

The numbers of inscriptions in this

Memoir are Mommsen's, unless otherwise specified. I have used the edition of Orelli, which appeared in 1828.

<sup>2</sup> No. 169. Baron de Bonstetten, *Carte Archéologique du Canton de Vaud accompagnée d'un texte explicatif*, 1874, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, vol. ii, p. 577. *M. Aurèle . . . lui (Faustine Jeune) avait donné le titre de mère des camps qu'on voit sur les médailles 24, 60, 145 et 194, parce qu'elle l'avait suivi à la guerre.* Cf. Pl. XIX, Grand Bronze, 194; and p. 599. Eckhel, *Dock. Num. Vet.*, vol. vii, p. 79. *Capitolinus in the Augustan History, M. Antoninus Philosophus*, chap. 26, *quam secum et in aestivis habuerat, ut matrem castrorum appellaret*: see the note of Casaubon. *Dion Cassius, Hist. Rom.*, LXXI, 10 fin. *ἡ μέντοι φανερὴν μητέρα τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐπεκλήθη.*

<sup>4</sup> *Julia Domna*, wife of *Septimius Severus*: Cohen III, 339, Nos. 67-70: Eckhel, VII, 196. *Mamaea*, mother of *Alexander Severus*: Cohen IV, 83, Nos. 54-56; Eckhel VII, 282.

The monuments corroborate the statement of Tacitus, who, in his account of the appearance of Caractacus before Claudius and Agrippina, mentions it as a novelty, at variance with ancient usage, that a woman should preside over Roman standards.<sup>1</sup> As might be expected, the wives of provincial governors imitated the empresses; Plancina, daughter of Munatius Plancus, in Syria, and Cornelia in Pannonia are censured because they assisted at the military exercises of the legions.<sup>2</sup> This interference of Roman ladies in politics and war, which is indicated by our inscription, forms the subject of a debate in the Roman senate recorded by Tacitus, and has a special interest now, as history is repeating itself, and a tendency to exceed the limits of nature is spreading amongst ourselves.<sup>3</sup>

GENIO  
PAG. TIGOR  
P. GRACCIUS  
PATERNVS  
T.P.I.  
SCRIBONIA  
LVCANA  
H.F.C.

*Genio pagi Tigorini P. Graccius Paternus testamento (aram) poni iussit, Scribonia Lucana haeres faciendam curavit.* P. Graccius Paternus has ordered by his will that this altar should be erected to the Genius of the Tigurine Canton, Scribonia Lucana his heir has carried his wish into effect.<sup>4</sup> This inscription was found at

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, Ann. XII, 37, Novum sane, et moribus veterum insolitum, foeminam signis Romanis praesidere.

<sup>2</sup> Plancina, wife of Cn. Piso: Tacitus, Ann. II, 55, Exercitio equitum, decuribus cohortium interesse. Cornelia, wife of Calvisius Sabinus: Dio LIX, 18, καὶ γὰρ δούλην, ὡς φέρεται το ἐφοβήσαντο καὶ τοὺς στρατεύτας ἀσθενέστερα ἰδούσα, αἰτίαν ἔσχευ.

<sup>3</sup> Tacitus, Ann. III, 33, 34, Caecina proposed that provincial governors should not be accompanied by their wives, Messalinus and Drusus took the opposite side. The discussion affords a curious parallel with the case of English officials going to India. In the latter chapter the expressive phrase *modum excedere occurra*. Juvenal, Sat. VI, 399,

Et coetus possit quam ferre virorum,  
Cumque paludatis ducibus, praesente marito,

Ipsa loqui recta facie, strictisque mamillis.  
Chat with great generals, though her lord be there,

With lawless eye, bold front, and bosom bare. Gifford's Translation.

See Rupert's Commentary.

Friedlaender (to whom I am indebted for some of the preceding references), Sittengeschichte Roms, 2<sup>nd</sup> edit., 1865, vol. I, chap. V, Die Frauen, p. 338 sq. Ehrgeiz der Frauen und Theilnahme an der Politik. It would be well to compare the 4<sup>th</sup> edit., 1873, vol. I, p. 478.

<sup>4</sup> No. 159; Bonstetten, Op. citat. p. 5 Orelli, No. 366, gives the inscription less correctly; after *Paternus* he reads CVR. COL. ET. for T.P.I., and after *Lucana* V. FEC. for H.F.C., which he explains as equivalent to *vivi fecerunt*; but V might stand for *uxor*. The form *Tigorinus* for *Tigurinus* should be observed. For the

Münchweiler near Morat, and about five miles from Avenches. The word *altar* for which there is no equivalent in the Latin text may be supplied from a similar monument at Hasparren, near Bayonne, where we find the phrase, *genio pagi hanc dedicat aram*.<sup>1</sup> Combined with evidence from other sources, our inscription leads to the conclusion that Aventicum was the capital of the Canton, and therefore agrees with the description of Tacitus, *gentis caput*.<sup>2</sup> But it more directly illustrates Cæsar, who in his Gallic War, Book I, chap. 12, relates the victory he gained over this Canton near the river Arar (Saône), and probably in the neighbourhood of Macon. In the same passage he bears witness to the valour of the Tigurini, for he speaks of the signal disaster which a former generation of them had inflicted on the Roman people, when they killed a consul and sent his army under the yoke.

Letters, almost identical with those quoted above, were said to have been found on a marble column at Kloten in the Canton Zürich; for a long time a forgery was suspected, but the recent discovery of a fragment has caused them to be received as genuine.<sup>3</sup>

The importance of Aventicum can be traced back to a period preceding the Roman domination, and consequently much earlier than that to which this monument belongs. From a very curious die (Münzstempel) found there it may be reasonably inferred that gold coins were issued from the mint at this city about two hundred years before the Christian era. The device is a laureated head of Apollo, imitated from the Macedonian *statèr*. It deserves our attention, because the type passed from Greek to Gaul and thence to our own country, where it shows itself, in a

extent of this canton see Smith's Dictionary of Classical Geography, vol. i, p. 1041, s.v. *Helvetii*, article by Mr. George Long. Pagus Tigurinus is not to be confounded with Turicum (Zürich).

<sup>1</sup> My Paper on Antiquities in the South-west of France, *Archæol. Journal*, vol. xxxvi, p. 11: *Pagi Magister* occurs in the first line *ib.* Monsieur Henry Poydenot published subsequently Note sur La Date Probable de L'Inscription Romaine de Hasparren (Lue au Congrès Scientifique de Dax en Mai, 1882) with fac-simile. See esp. *Revue Archéologique*, Nouvelle Série, vol. xlv, pp. 23-27, July 1882, Inscription d' Hasparren, par

M. E. Desjardins, with a more accurate copy, Pl. XII. The forms of the letters are particularly noticed, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Histories I, 68, Cumque dirutis omnibus Aventicum gentis caput justo agmine peteretur, missi qui dederent civitatem, et deditio accepta.

<sup>3</sup> The pulling down of a wall in August 1862 led to this discovery, and to the correction of the mistake made by Mommsen and others: Zürich Mittheilungen, Erster Nachtrag zu den Inscriptiones Confoederationis Helveticæ Latine von Theodor Mommsen, 1865, p. 210, sec. xiv, No. 28.

degraded form, on the earliest national coins. However this subject has been so ably treated by Dr. Ferdinand Keller and Mr. John Evans that I forbear to enlarge upon it.<sup>1</sup>

C. VALER. C. F. FAB. CA  
MILLO. QVOI. PVBLIC\*  
FVNVS. HAEDVORVM  
CIVITAS. ET. HELVET. DECRE  
VERVNT. ET. CIVITAS. HELVET  
QVA. PAGATIM. QVA. PVBLICE  
STATVAS. DECREVIT  
IVLIA. C. IVLI. CAMILLI. F. FESTILIA  
EX. TESTAMENTO.

In honour of Caius Valerius Camillus, son of Caius of the Fabian tribe, to whom the Aeduians and Helvetians decreed a public funeral, and the Helvetians decreed statues at the expense of the Cantons and of the state: Julia Festilia, daughter of Caius Julius Camillus, by her will ordered the erection of this monument.<sup>2</sup>

The preceding inscription was found at Conches-Dessus in 1809, but since that time has disappeared. It should be compared with Nos. 143 and 179 in Mommsen's collection.<sup>3</sup> We may remark here the juxta-position of the Helvetii and Ædui, *i.e.* the Swiss and Burgundians. These two nations were neighbours; hence their history, both ancient and modern, is closely intertwined.<sup>4</sup> The Helvetians who invaded Gaul penetrated the Ædian territory, and were defeated by Cæsar near Bibracte (Mont Beuvray); on the other hand, Charles the Bold was

<sup>1</sup> See an excellent memoir by Dr. Keller in the *Archæol. Journal*, vol. xix, pp. 253-258, "Notice of a die for striking Helvetian or Gaulish gold coins found at Avenches," and remarks by Dr. Birch appended thereto. Evans, *Ancient British Coins*, p. 24 *sq.*, Pl. A. Nos. 1, 2; and p. 312, Pl. X, No. 10, Apollo citharæus on a coin of Cunobeline. Chabouillet, *Catalogue général et raisonné des Camées et Pierres gravées de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, p. 541, *Coins de monnaies impériales romaines*, Nos. 3173-3180. M. Chabouillet explains the legend S M A N as meaning, *Sacra moneta Antiochena*, but I am inclined to think that S stands for *signata*: comp. my Remarks on Coins found at Suttou, near Woodbridge, Suffolk, *Archæol. Jour.*, xxviii, 37, "SMANTB, struck at Antioch (*Signata moneta Antiochiæ*; B, second issue)." Eckhel, however, gives examples of *Sacra Moneta*, *Doct. Num. Vet.* VIII, 10, 107;

he also refers to Spanheim *Tom. i.*, p. 29. Lelewel, *Etudes numismatiques et archéologiques*, type Gaulois ou Celtique, Atlas, Tableaux VI, *Eléments du type Gaulois*, ou explication de la Planche X, Nos. 19-26, 28, 29, *Famille laurée*; 19, imitation de la tête d'Apollon.

<sup>2</sup> No. 192; Bonstetten, *Op. citat.* p. 9; Orelli, No. 360.

<sup>3</sup> Conches Dessus and Conches Dessou are marked in the large map of Aventicum, which accompanies Professor Conrad Bursian's *Memoirs on that city* in the Zurich *Mittheilungen*, Band XVI, Abtheilung I, Heft I, Taf. II.

No. 143, in honour of Julia Festilia, was found at Yverdon in extending the cemetery; No. 179 at Avenches.

<sup>4</sup> The connection between the Ædii and Helvetii is shown by a remarkable coin engraved in Hucher's *Art Gaulois*, Pl. LXXII, and described, Part I, p. 27. On the obverse is the bust of Diana wearing

vanquished at Morat almost within sight of Avenches, and at Granson on the lake of Neuchâtel.<sup>1</sup>

The most important monument relating to the history of Helvetia is not to be found in the country itself, but far away in Italy. On the mausoleum of Munatius Plancus at Gaeta the following words are still legible :—

L. MVNATIVS. L. F. L. N. L. PRON  
PLANCVS. COS. CENS. IMP. ITER. VII. VIR  
EPVLON. TRIVMP. EX. RAETIS. AEDEM. SATVRNI  
FECIT. DE. MANIBVS. AGROS. DIVISIT. IN. ITALIA  
BENEVENTI. IN. GALLIA. COLONIAS. DEDVXIT  
LVGDVNVM. ET. RAVRICAM.

Lucius Munatius Plancus, son of Lucius, grandson of Lucius, great-grandson of Lucius, Consul, Censor, Imperator twice, one of the Septemviri Epulones, triumphed over the Rhætians, erected a temple to Saturn with the spoils, allotted lands at Beneventum in Italy, founded Lugdunum and Raurica, colonies in Gaul.<sup>2</sup>

Plancus is the person to whom Horace addressed the seventh Ode of the first Book. Milman truly describes him as a restless and adventurous politician, throughout the turbulent period of the civil wars engaged in almost every contest and on every side ; but he gives the text of the inscription incorrectly, and misunderstands the word *Septemvir*.<sup>3</sup> Raurica was called Augusta, and hence the modern name of Augst is derived, as Augsburg represents Augusta Vindelicorum.<sup>4</sup> Even now it ranks next to Avenches, as exhibiting vestiges of Roman occupation.

a collar, and carrying a quiver on her shoulder, with the legend EDVIS ; on the reverse is an Alpine bear walking, with the name of the Helvetian chief ORGETIRIX (*sic*) in the exergue.

<sup>1</sup> Not only did the Swiss gain these famous victories, fighting in defence of their own country, but they also contributed powerfully to the success of René, Duke of Lorraine, in the battle of Nancy, where Charles le Téméraire was defeated and slain. Kirk, *History of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy*, vol. iii, chap. v, pp. 446-472 ; see also chap. vi, pp. 484-491 : *Memoirs of Philip de Commines, The scandalous Chronicle*, vol. ii, p. 385 *sq.*, Bohn's edition.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen, *Op. citat.*, p. 105, *Tituli externi male relati inter Helveticos*, No. 22. Observe DE MANIBVS for *de manubiis*, which is more common. *Cf.* *Livy X*, 46, *s.f.*, *De reliquo aere aedem*

*Fortis Fortunae de manubiis faciendam locavit* (Carvilius Consul).

<sup>3</sup> Illustrated edition of Horace, *Personae Horatianae*, pp. 140-143, *s.c.* Munatius, "To his titles it adds Imperator twice, Septemvir and Epulo," as if the last two words indicated separate offices. The meaning is that Plancus was one of the seven members of a college of priests who superintended the sacrificial banquets to the gods : Smith's *Latin Dictionary*, *Epulo* ; and the *Dictionary of Antiquities*, *Epulones*. *Cf.* *Inscription, Archæologia*, vol. xlviii, p. 12, note a, and *C.I.L.*, iii, 1741.

<sup>4</sup> *Augusta* takes various forms in modern languages—*Aosta* in the Department of Drôme (France) ; *Agosta* between Catania and Syracuse ; *Aosta* in Piedmont ; Zaragoza (Caesaraugusta) in Spain : see Grassie, *Orbis Latinus*.

The tomb of Plancus is among the most remarkable that remain from antiquity on account of its great size, its good preservation, and its commanding position, which has caused it to be used as a telegraph-station.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription appears in the collection of Gruter with introductory remarks, vol. i, p. 439, no. 8; in Montfaucon's *Antiquité Expliquée*, Tome v, Pl. cxiii;<sup>2</sup> and in Bruckner's *Versuch einer Beschreibung historischer und natürlicher Merkwürdigkeiten der Landschaft Basel*, xxiii Stück, p. 2669 (1763); but I have followed the edition of Mommsen, *Insc. Regni Neapolitani Lat.*, presuming it to be the most accurate. This sepulchre, which is comparatively little known, closely resembles that of Caecilia Metella, "the wealthiest Roman's wife," upon the Appian way; both are circular in form, and decorated with a frieze of ox-heads.<sup>3</sup>

II. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the importance of the roads as a part of the organization of a Roman province, but we may observe that they are connected with the preceding subject, because they may in some cases be traced by inscribed milestones. (1) For example, we do

<sup>1</sup> Swinburne's *Travels in the Two Sicilies*, vol. ii, p. 499, "That city (Gaeta) appears full in front upon a peninsula; and above it stands the tomb of Munatius Plancus, which is a conspicuous object from every side." Cf. *Ibid* p. 502.

<sup>2</sup> Gruter's account will be rendered more intelligible by studying Montfaucon, *Op. citat.*, Tome v, première Partie (vol. 9), chap. xi, pp. 127-131, Pla. CVII-CXVIII. 1. Mausolées de Caecilia Metella, 2. de Munatius Plancus, 3. des Plantiens, 4. Autres Mausolées. The engravings consist chiefly of elevations and plans by Bartoli.

<sup>3</sup> There is a good coloured Plate of Caecilia Metella's sepulchre in Rheinhard's *Album des Classischen Alterthums*, No. 28, described in the text, p. 20. A bas-relief over the inscription on this monument represents a trophy, and commemorates the warlike achievements of Metella's father, who subjugated Crete.

*Torre di Orlando* is the modern name of the tomb of Plancus. The best engraving of it which I have seen will be found in Luigi Rossini, *Viaggio Pittresco da Roma a Napoli*, fol. 1839. He describes it thus: "Coronato da una cornice dorica con triglifi, e nelle metope vi sono corazze, elmi, scudi, ed altre armi guerresche

antiche." The inscription is placed over the door, half way between it and the cornice.

The coins of Munatius Plancus present various points of interest. Some of them have for their device the *præfericulum* (a vessel used in sacrifices), and therefore illustrate the title *Epulo*, mentioned above. The legend PR.VRB. (*præfectus urbis*) refers to the appointment of Plancus as *Praefect* of Rome made by Julius Caesar, when he left the city to fight against the Pompeians in Spain. The winged thunderbolt corresponds with his proconsulate in Asia under Mark Antony; according to Borghesi it is the mint mark of Seleucia in Pieria, on the Mediterranean coast west of Antioch. Cohen, *Médailles Consulaires*, s.v. Munatia, p. 221 sq. *Eclaircissements*; Pl. XXVIII. Bruckner, *op. citat.* p. 2675, appends to his account of the inscription at Gaeta a coin which is not mentioned by Cohen; on the obverse is a laureated head of Julius Caesar with the legend DIVVS IVLIVS; the words on the reverse are L. M<sup>A</sup> T I P L A N C V S. PRAEF.VRB. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. v, p. 257, summarizes the eventful career of Plancus.



not find in the Antonine Itinerary any notice of a route between Aventicum and Sedunum (Avenches and Sion); but that such a line of communication existed in ancient times, seems to be proved by two stones of this kind, one at Sion, the other at Amsoldingen about three miles west of the lake of Thun.<sup>1</sup> They cannot be called milliaries, because the distance is marked not in thousands of paces (*millia passuum*), but in *leugae*, a Gallic measurement, which need not cause surprise if we take into account that the road began in Gaul. The *leuga* was 1,500 paces, and considerably less than the English mile and a half; it must therefore not be confounded with the modern league, a mistake into which Mr. Wright appears to have fallen.<sup>2</sup> According to Muratori, quoted by Forcellini, the word occurs in an inscription of Antoninus Pius for the first time. The former of these *lapides leugarii* contains the words AVEN LEVG XVII, and the latter AVENT LEVG VII, but the figures do not correspond with the distance from Aventicum, and have not been satisfactorily explained hitherto. They both belong to the reign of Gallus Trebonianus and Volusianus, i.e. A.D. 251—254.

The Roman Antiquities of Switzerland present many analogies with those of our own country; we also can show some milliaria, the best preserved being at Leicester (*Ratae*); an imperfect copy is given by Mr. Wright in his "Celt, Roman, and Saxon," but the deficiencies may be supplied from Hübner.<sup>3</sup> Lancaster is a station rich in

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 309, 310. This road was probably connected with the ancient way over the Simplon, also known from an inscription on a rock near Vogogna in the Val d'Ossola, of the year A.D. 196, Mommsen, *Insc. Confoed. Helv. Lat.* p. 64. But see a better copy in the *Zürich Mittheilungen*, Band XV, Heft 5, p. 214, XXI, *Meilensteine*, Oscella Sedunum, No. 47.

The Antonine Itinerary mentions Aventicum under the heading, A Mediolano per Alpes Penninas Mogontiacum (from Milan to Mayence, over the Great St. Bernard); it is the station between Minnodunum (Moudon) and Petinesca (Biel?), and is called Aventiculum Helvetiorum; edit. Wesseling, p. 352; ed. Parthey and Pinder, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> The Celt, the Roman and the Saxon, 2nd ed. p. 185 sq. Mr. Wright translates SVES LEVG VII on a milestone, discovered near the town of Vic-sur-Aisne,

"at the distance of seven leagues from Soissons," and adds "that in ancient Gaul, as in modern France, they reckoned by leagues." These expressions may mislead the reader. *Lieue* is of course derived from *leuga*, but the meaning is different.

<sup>3</sup> Wright *ib.* The words NER NEP (grandson of Nerva) are omitted, and PONT, which is unintelligible, is written

for POT; in the original we find TRIB POT IV (holding the tribunician power for the fourth time), which fixes the date A.D. 120-121. Hübner, *Insc. Brit. Lat.* No. 1169, describes the stone, states the circumstances of its discovery, copies the inscription carefully (showing the ligatures), and gives copious references. Compare the account of a Roman milestone found in Carnarvonshire, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of*

monuments of this kind, dedicated to the Emperors Hadrian, Philip, and Decius; they have been engraved and described by Mr. Thompson Watkin in his valuable work entitled *Roman Lancashire*.<sup>1</sup>

2. There was a road from Summus Poeninus (Great St. Bernard),<sup>2</sup> through Octodurum (Martigny), Tarnaiæ (St. Maurice), Penneloci (Villeneuve), and Viviscus (Vevey) to Lousonna, also called Lacus Lausonius (Lausanne). The milestones on the route bear the names of Claudius I, Diocletian and Maximian, Licinius and Constantine the Great (colleagues); in round numbers the interval between the first and last includes a period of three hundred years, A.D. 47—337. From the letters AVGG and CAESS we learn that the Caesars were associated with the Augusti in the government; and in DD NN, the abbreviation for Domini Nostri, as well as in the pompous epithets, INVICTVS and NOBILISSIMVS, we see the servility of a degenerate race.<sup>3</sup>

London, Second Series, vol. ix, No. 3, p. 263, March 8, 1883. This report identifies Caerhun with Canovium by means of the same kind of evidence as that which proves Ratae to have been on the site of Leicester. See also Mr. Thompson Watkin on Roman Inscriptions discovered in Britain in 1883, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xli, p. 173 sq.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 181-183. Mr. Thompson Watkin translates IMP. C. M. IVLIO PHILIPPO, by the Emperor Cæsar Marcus Julius Philippus. This version would require the preposition *a* or *ab* to express the person *by whom*. I think IMP may stand for Imperatore, in which case the construction would be the ablative absolute—Philip being Emperor, *or* when Philip was Emperor. If we explain IMP=Imperator (Dative), it would mean in honour of the Emperor. For the milestone formerly at Ribchester (Bremetonacum) v. *ibid.* pp. 140-142.

<sup>2</sup> We find a similar name in the ancient geography of the Pyrenees: my paper on the South-West of France, in the *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xxxvi, p. 2, where the road from Asturica (Astorga) to Burdigala (Bordeaux) is traced. "It crossed the frontier at Summus Pyrenæus (Roncevaux), and was carried through Imus Pyrenæus (St. Jean Pied de Port), &c.

<sup>3</sup> I have heard that one of our Universities addressed the Prince of Wales as *Dominus futurus*, meaning *our future*

*Sovereign*. The word was incorrectly applied, because it signifies a master of slaves or a despot, not a constitutional monarch; Cicero, *De Re Publica* II, 26, *Hic est enim dominus populi, quem Græci tyrannum vocant*. Tacitus calls the Emperor *Princeps*; *Ann.* I, 1, *Qui (Augustus) cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa nomine Principis sub imperium accepit*. Mr. Horton, *History of the Romans*, p. 319, note 4, refers by way of illustration to the title of First Citizen, which Napoleon assumed.

With INVICTVS on the milestone, we may compare the following legends on the coins of Constantius II; VICTOR SEMPER AVG, Cohen *Méd. Imp.* vol. vi, p. 276, No. 8; TRIVMFATOR GENTIVM BARBARARVM, *ib.* p. 283, No. 39; DEBELLATORI GENT. BARBARR, *ib.* p. 301, No. 156. See also Arneth, *Monumente des K.K. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinetes in Wien*. The same title was taken by Valens, in whose reign the Goths crossed the Danube and occupied Thrace. I suspect that the money which bore these vain-glorious appellations was often employed as tribute to buy off the barbarians.

In No. 311 FA=forum Augusti. No. 312 is given very imperfectly by Orulli (223). On No. 319 Mommsen remarks that he has not found the *Dative* case of the Emperor's name in inscriptions before Trajan. *Op. citat.* pp. 65-68.

The importance of such records can hardly be exaggerated, and it has been truly remarked that, if all the ancient histories of Rome had perished, the loss might be to a great extent repaired by inscriptions on bronze or stone and legends on coins. In the case of Trajan a misfortune of this kind has happened; scarcely any written account is extant, but the events of his glorious reign are known to us from the Epigraphy which still remains. On the other hand, where the old authors have come down to us, the monuments confirm and elucidate their statements; though silent, they seem to speak to us like living witnesses, and prove that we have not believed "cunningly devised fables."

3. Mommsen mentions a road on the south side of the lake of Geneva, sometimes called the left bank, I presume with reference to the river Rhone which flows through it. Only two milestones have been found, one at Hermance, marked VII, the other at Messeri marked IV; and it should be observed that the column further from Geneva bears the lower figure. This circumstance causes a doubt as to the existence of the road; the Swiss antiquaries conjecture that the stones were originally placed between Geneva and Nyon, and removed to be used as building materials—a supposition which is corroborated by the discovery of some milliaria collected near the latter place, on the shore of the lake, apparently with the view of transporting them by water-carriage to their respective destinations.<sup>1</sup> We must not too hastily jump to the conclusion that a Roman road passed through a place, because we find a milestone in it. Moreover, at the present time there is much less traffic on the Savoy than on the Swiss shore of the lake; and the same was probably the case in antiquity, so that

<sup>1</sup> Zurich Mittheil. Band XV, Heft 5, p. 215 sq. *Equestri Genavam*. Nyon. Nos. 52-54. An inscription, nearly identical with No. 52, was found at St. Paulien, Haute-Loire: Orelli *Insc. Lat.* vol. iii. Supplement by Henzen, p. 29, No. 5220.

Guichenon, *Histoire de la maison de Savoie*, Tome. i, p. 42, reads in the second line of No. 54 SABADIA, supposing it to be an ancient name of Savoy. His mistake was corrected by Spon, the greatest of French epigraphists, *Histoire de Genève*,

ii, 343, who substituted ARAB ADIAB—words which occur in full (ARABICUS, ADIABENICUS) on many monuments of Septimius Severus, and, on his triumphal arch, in the Roman Forum, correspond with the bas-reliefs representing his Oriental campaigns. Cf. Gruter, vol. i, p. 1, No. 1, *Inscriptions on the front of the Pantheon, Rome, literis digitalibus*. Sabaudia, Sabogia and Saboia are the Latin names for Savoy: Graesse, *Orbis Latinus*.

there would be little need for the route which Mommsen has imagined.<sup>1</sup>

4. On the other hand, there is no doubt about the line of communication between Geneva and Lousonna, through Colonia Julia Equestrum, also called Noviodunum (Nyon).<sup>2</sup> We have here four examples of the phrase VIAS ET PONTES VETVSTATE COLLAPS RESTITV occurring in the inscriptions with slight variations, the earliest belonging to the reign of Caracalla, A.D. 213.<sup>3</sup> This is an interesting proof of the pains taken by the Romans to keep their highways in good repair; as a military nation they were well aware that the security of the empire depended on the facility with which they could march their legions from one province to another, and the roads in Switzerland would require special attention on account of their proximity to the Rhenish frontier.

The way from Lousonna to Vindonissa (Windisch) was carried through Aventicum; the milestones upon it exhibit the names of Trajan (A.D. 99), Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Tacitus and Galerius (A.D. 292-304). It would be instructive to examine the lettering of these monuments. We should probably find that the earliest characters, being of a good period, are carefully incised, and that the

<sup>1</sup> The railway on the south side of the Lake of Geneva extended only as far as Evian-les-Bains, which is nearly opposite Ouchy, in the autumn of 1883, when I visited Switzerland. This place is marked as a station for steamers in the Swiss Indicateur.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the town in Switzerland, three places in Gaul, one in Pannonia Superior, and one in Moesia Inferior, bore this name, so that there is danger of confusion. See Smith's Dictionary of Classical Geography s.v., but the article is incomplete. The last-mentioned town is noticed by Mr. Bunbury in his History of Ancient Geography, vol. ii, p. 698, note 6; it was within a few miles of the mouth of the Danube, and probably near Tultcha.

Like many other railways, that between Geneva and Lausanne follows the Roman road closely, as may be seen by comparing an ancient with a modern map of Switzerland.

<sup>3</sup> No. 322. My paper on the South-West of France, *Archaeol. Journal*, xxxvi, 9; Inscription on the natural rock by the wayside, at Pène d'Escot in the Pyrenees, near Oloron, IIVIR BIS HANC

VIAM RESTITVIT. Both the synonyma, *reficio* and *restituo*, occur in our Romano-British inscriptions; *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, Index xi, Forms of expression, Nos. 94, 646, 743, and 22, 62, 121. REF, REFE, REFEC in England are analogous to REST, RESTIT, RESTITV in Switzerland, Mommsen, *Op. cit.* pp. 69, 70; cf. Bruce, *Roman Wall, Restoration of Decayed Temple*, p. 160.

From No. 322 we may supply the *lacuna* in an inscription on the pediment of the Temple of Minerva at Bath; VETVS (tate collapsam aedem Minervae sua pec) VNIA REFICI ET REPINGI CVR (arunt), which is the reading adopted by Lysons: *Prebendary Scarth, Aquae Solis* pp. 19-21; Hübner, *Insc. Brit. Lat.* No. 39, p. 25; and Indices, *Res Epigraphicae*, ii, *Tituli sacri*, s.v. *restituit*, p. 340, cf. No. 542, 563.

In No. 329, Levade thought he had discovered the name of Cornelia Salonina, wife of the emperor Gallienus, who reigned A.D. 253-268; but this seems to be a mistake, for as Mommsen truly remarks, non facile imperatorum uxores in cippis miliaris nominantur.

deterioration increases as we proceed down the series, corresponding with the inferior style observable in the legends of the later medals. I beg to suggest this enquiry to learned travellers.

There were other Roman roads at least equal in importance to those already mentioned, but on which no milliaria have been discovered, viz.—(1) from Augusta Rauricorum to Argentoratum (Strasburg), to Salodurum (Solothurn), and to Brigantia (Bregenz) on lake Constance, passing through Vindonissa (Windisch), Aquæ (Baden), and Ad Fines (Pfyn); (2) from Mediolanum and Comum to Curia (Coire) and Brigantia; (3) on the side of Gaul, from Geneva to Equestrium, Lousonna, Urba (Orbe), Ariorica (probably Pontarlier) and Vesontio (Besançon); this road crossed the Jura, leaving Switzerland at some point south west of the lake of Neuchâtel.

For this subject the Antonine Itinerary<sup>1</sup> and the Table of Peutinger should be consulted, as they are our only ancient authorities besides inscriptions. In segments II and III of the map, Helvetian towns, roads and distances are marked, but unfortunately they do not correspond with the road-book. The reader who is not accustomed to the Table will scarcely recognize the country at first sight, because the space from west to east is so greatly exaggerated.<sup>2</sup>

III. As in Britain, so in Switzerland, the mosaics rank among the most interesting relics of antiquity. Several

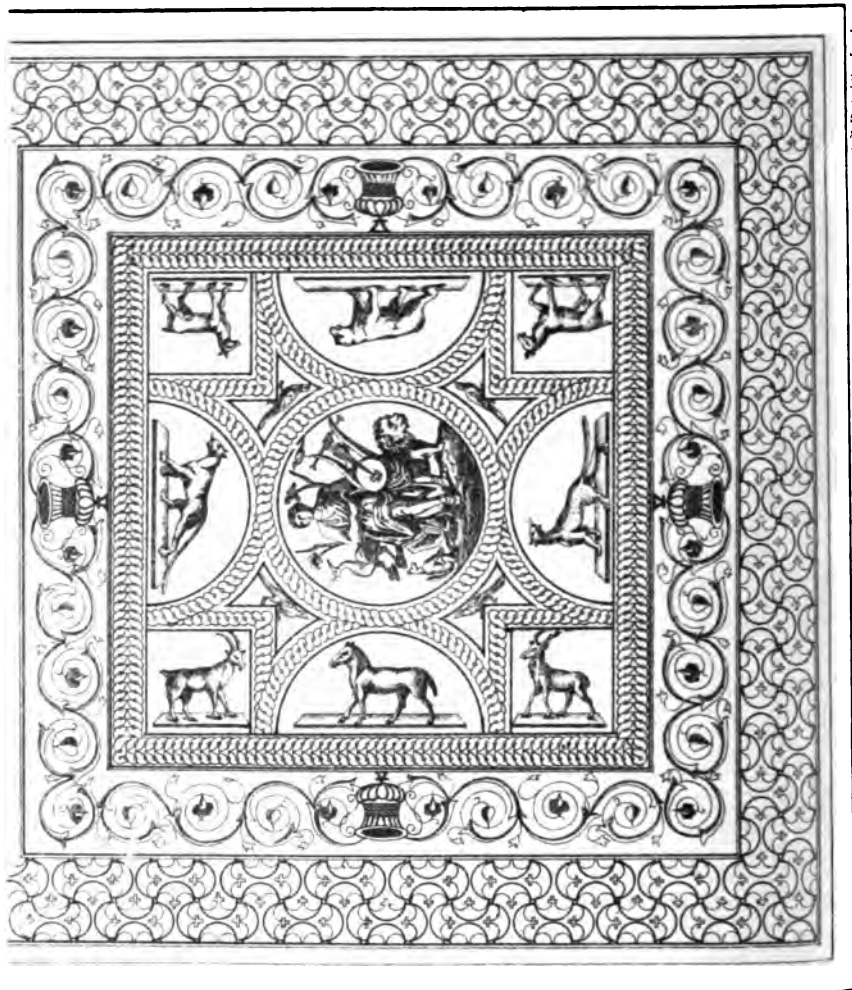
<sup>1</sup> Itinerarium Antonini edit. Wesseling, p. 237, Brigantia; p. 238, Ad Fines, Vindonissa (*cf.* p. 251); p. 347, Genava; p. 348, Equestribus, Lacu Lausonio, Urba; pp. 361-363, Summo Pennino, Octoduro, Tarnaias, Pannelocoe, Vibisco, Bromago, &c.

<sup>2</sup> We find in Segment II both Avenches and Augst—Auenticum Helietiorum and Augusta Rvracum (*sic*). Conrad Mannert prefixes to his edition an Introduction, which is a copious dissertation on the date, history and various details of the Tabula: *cf.* Dr. Bryan Walker, *Camb. Antiq. Soc. Communications*, vol. v, pp. 237-264. Mr. Bunbury gives a more concise account, but explains its leading features sufficiently; *Op. citat.* vol. ii, p. 697 *sq.*, chap. xxxi, sec. 15. He remarks in a note that the whole of Spain is wanting; this is the case with

the western corner of the South of France also—a deficiency which was pointed out to me by the late Mons. Paul Raymond, Archiviste des Basses Pyrénées.

Burdigala (Bordeaux) and Tolosa (Toulouse) are included; but the part containing Lapurdum (Bayonne) has perished. Some have doubted whether Bayonne corresponds to Lapurdum; but, besides other evidence, an argument in favour of this opinion may be derived from the Basque name Pays de Labourd, which is enclosed within the rivers Adour and Bidassoa: Basque Legends collected chiefly in the Labourd by the Rev. Wentworth Webster, Lond., 1877, p. 237. Being deprived of aid from the map towards discovering ancient localities, we can only fall back on the Itinerary and Notitia (Army-List) as our chief authorities.





have been discovered at Aventicum; some have disappeared, and others are still to be seen in the local museum. The Baron de Bonstetten gives a meagre account of six tessellated pavements at this place in his *Carte Archéologique du Canton de Vaud*.<sup>1</sup> Professor Bursian describes more fully a larger number of them, with good illustrations, in the *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, Band xvi, Abtheilung i, Heft 5.

One of these mosaics, No. 23, exhibits a subject well known to Art students, but there is a peculiarity in the treatment which deserves attention. Orpheus, with the plectrum in his right hand, and the lyre in his left, occupies the central medallion; he is seated on a bench; a lion, peacock and squirrel are grouped around him; a small bird, probably a raven, is perched on the top of the lyre. The remaining figures fill up a quadrangular space, being arranged in squares and semicircles alternately. There is some difficulty in identifying them, which arises partly from the original having been destroyed; but they appear to be a panther repeated twice (possibly one may be a lynx), hart and hind, horse and mare, goat and bear. The border consists of a foliated pattern, whose graceful curves contrast well with the straight lines enclosing the design. In the middle of each of the four sides is a large vase, like the cantharus sacred to Bacchus.<sup>2</sup> Orpheus usually wears the Phrygian bonnet; so he appears in the mosaics at Cirencester (Corinium), at Palermo, and in Algeria;<sup>3</sup> but here he is bare-headed, as Polygnotus,

<sup>1</sup> P. 12. Pavés de Mosaïques: two are inscribed; one represents different animals, with the words POMPEIANO ET AVITO CONSVLIBVS KAL. AVG.: the other has a man's head in the centre, and dolphins at the four corners, with the proprietor's name, PROSTHASIVS FECIT: De Schmidt, *Recueil d'Antiquités de la Suisse*, tome i, Avenches et Culm, p. 15, sq.

<sup>2</sup> Silenus, the companion of Dionysus, also has the cantharus. Virgil says that the handle was worn by the drunkard's frequent use, *Eclogue VI*, v. 17, *Et gravis attrita pendebat cantharus ansa*. See the note in Professor Yonge's edition. Comp. C. O. Müller, *Denkmäler der Alten Kunst*, Pt. II, pp. 42-45, Taf. XLI, XLII, Nos. 494-517, esp. Nos. 500, 503, 506, 517; *Handbuch der Archäologie*, sec. 386; English translation, *Ancient Art*

and its Remains, pp. 499-501. Museo Borbonico, vol. xi, Tav. XI, pp. 7-9, *Incisione in lastra di argento*.

<sup>3</sup> Millin, *Galerie Mythologique*, Pl. CVII, No. 423, who follows Laborde, *Voyage pittoresque de la Suisse*, No. 197. Buckman and Newmarch, *Corinium*, p. 32, "Orpheus habited in a Phrygian cap," Pl. VII, coloured. My Paper on Antiquities in the Museum at Palermo, *Archæol. Journal*, xxxviii, 151-153, and notes, where the subject is treated at length: cf. Heydemann in *Archäologische Zeitung*, *Antiken in Palermo*, 1869; a good photograph of this mosaic has been published. *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1883, pp. 319-322, engraving at p. 320. Memoir by M. Héron De Villefosse on the mosaic at Cherehell: he mentions many others, and among them one found at Blanzly,



according to the description of Pausanias, painted him on the wall of a Delphic colonnade.<sup>1</sup> This figure is one of those which Christian art borrowed from paganism. The disciples of the new religion saw in Orpheus a symbol of the Faith subduing and refining barbarous natures; but I think they also adopted it for another reason,—because the Thracian bard in a pastoral scene, charming the birds and beasts who listened to his music, was not unlike the Good Shepherd amidst the flock, an aspect of our Lord's character which the early church seems to have preferred to every other.<sup>2</sup> It may also be observed that Orpheus was represented as a young man, and that in the catacombs the figure of Christ is youthful, a type derived from classical antiquity.

We have in the subject before us a good example of the close connexion between art and literature. The chapters

which I remember to have seen in the Museum at Laon. Dr. Appell reminded me that there is a very fine example at Rottweil in Württemberg, on the route from Stuttgart to Schaffhausen: Berlepech, Schweiz, ed. 1882, p. 17, Schon zu Römerzeiten war Rottweil eine bedeut. Kolonie (Fundestelle interessanter Antiquitäten, darunter ein Mosaik-Boden, Orpheus darstellend).

<sup>1</sup> To the left of a person entering the Lesche at Delphi there was a series of paintings upon the wall representing the infernal world, and Orpheus was a conspicuous figure: Pausanias, x, 30, 6 ed. Schubart and Wals, *Ἐπὶ λόφου τυτῶς* 'Ορφεὺς καθέζομενος, ἐφάπτεται δὲ καὶ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ κιθάρας, τῇ δὲ ἐντέρᾳ χειρὶ ἱεῖας κλῶνές εἰσιν ἀνψαίνει (locus turbatus). . . 'Ελληνικὸν δὲ τὸ σχῆμα ἐστὶ τῷ 'Ορφεῖ, καὶ οὕτε ἡ ἐσθὴς οὕτε ἐκίθημά ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ θράκικον. On the other hand Philostratus Junior describes Orpheus as wearing a head-dress, edit. Kayser, *Ἐκδύες*, p. 10, 'Ορφεὺς ἀρτίχρουν μὲν ἐκβάλλων ἱούλων ἐπιψέοντα τῇ παραῖτι, τυτῶν δὲ χρυσανγῇ ἐπὶ κεφαλῇς αἰσώων.

<sup>2</sup> Aringhi, Roma Subterranea, vol. i, p. 547: Garrucci, Storia dell' Arte Christiana, vol. ii, Tav. 4, Parve utile il dipingere l'immagine di Orfeo, quasi ponendolo a confronto col vero restauratore e rigeneratore dell' umana famiglia. . . In questa pittura le fiere selvagge sono trasformate in agnelli mansueti. Appell, Monuments of Early Christian Art, pp. 46-48, with woodcut.

The Good Shepherd, as we see Him in Christian Art, carrying the lost sheep on

his shoulders, is a type said to be derived from the Hermes Kriophoros of Calamis at Tanagra, cf. omn. Pausan, ix, 22, 1; and coin of Tanagra in the British Museum, Reverse, Hermes Kriophoros with the legend ΤΑΝΑΓΡΑΙΩΝ; Catalogue of Greek Coins, Central Greece, p. 64, Pl. X, No. 12 (photograph): Aringhi, Roma Subterranea, vol. i, p. 531: C. O. Müller, Denkmäler, Pt. ii, Taf. xxix. No. 324, Hermes in alterthümlicher Gestalt einen Widder auf den Schultern tragend; cf. Pt. i, Taf. xlv, No. 210\*, vase-painting of the gods assembled at the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis; and id. Taf. lxxiv, No. 431, from Aringhi ii, 101, Good Shepherd surrounded by Scriptural subjects in compartments: Westcott, The Epistles of St. John, Appendix III, The Relation of Christianity to Art, p. 335, and notes. This Hermes is Κριόφορος, carrying the ram (see examples in the collection of casts formed by Mr. Perry at the South Kensington Museum); but sometimes he is Κριόφορος, carried by the ram, or riding on it, Denkm. Pt. II, No. 323, from an engraved gem. For the Good Shepherd in an unusual attitude, v. Archaeologia, vol. xlviii, p. 49, Fig. 18.

The lamb in the bosom is a Semitic idea, Isaiah xl, 11; but modern artists sometimes introduce confusion, mingling the Jewish with the early Christian treatment of the subject.

Like the Bonus Pastor, another Christian symbol, the Chi-Rho (XP), may be traced back to a Pagan origin; it appears on the coins of Ptolemy III, Euergetes I: Archaeologia, vol. xlviii, p. 242

on Orpheus in Philostratus Junior and Callistratus would serve for descriptions of the mosaics mentioned above.<sup>1</sup>

In No. 24 we see Bellerophon in a square compartment mounted on Pegasus and holding a lance; his attitude, like that of St. George fighting with the dragon on our own coinage, suggests the idea that he is attacking Chimæra, but the lance is a more suitable weapon than the short sword with which Pistrucchi has armed the saint.<sup>2</sup> The square is surrounded by four circular medallions, each containing a youth who blows a straight trumpet (*tuba*), instead of a horn formed in spiral twists (*buccina*), which is more usual when the winds are personified.<sup>3</sup> All the figures have a mantle (*chlamys*) for their garment; one of them also wears a broad-brimmed hat, a protection against heat and rain which seems to indicate the south wind. All four are beardless; in this respect the mosaic now under consideration differs not only from another at Avenches, but also from the well-known reliefs on the Horologium of Andronicus Cyrrhestes at Athens.<sup>4</sup> Lozenges, each enclosing a single animal, alternate with the medallions; these rectangles are ornamented, like the central square, with a kind of chess-board pattern on the borders. The remaining space is filled up with dolphins or fish in semicircles, and thunderbolts in pointed ovals. Outside this composition, at the top and bottom, hunting scenes are represented, and a forest is conventionally denoted by a few trees, one of which is the Alpine fir.

*sq.* Memoir by Mr. Alfred Tylor on New Points in the History of Roman Britain, as illustrated by Discoveries at Warwick Square, City of London. Comp. Catal. of Greek coins in Brit. Mus., The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt, pp. 48, 51, 53, 55, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Philostratus, loc. citat.; Callistrati Descriptions ('Εκφράσεις) edit. Kayser, p. 30, 'Εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ὀρφέως θῦμα.

<sup>2</sup> The same subject "treated in the highest style of art" occurs in a mosaic found at Autun; Roach Smith, Collectanea Antiqua, V. 225.

Pegasus is a very frequent device on the coins of Corinth; Catalogue of Hunter's Collection, Tab. 20; Leake gives an example of Bellerophon mounted on Pegasus, Numismata Hellenica, European Greece, p. 38.

Mr. Sainthill, Olla Podrida, I, 49 *sq.*, criticizes Pistrucchi's design; he says it

was derived from the Parthenon frieze and reproduced "one of the cavalry in the Panathenæan (*sic*) procession." St. George's sword is so short that he might fall off his horse in attempting to pierce the monster.

<sup>3</sup> So Shakspeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act ii, sc. 2,

"The winds *piping* to us in vain":

Milton, *Il Penseroso*,

"While rocking winds are *piping* loud."

<sup>4</sup> In this monument the costume of each figure is appropriate to the nature of the wind that it represents: Rheinhard, *Album des Classischen Alterthums*, Pl. VII, p. 5 text, Lips and Zephyros haben nackte Beine, die übrigen sind mit Halbtiefeln bekleidet; cf. Hirt, *Bilderbuch für Mythologie, Die Dämonen der Luft*, S. 143-146, Taf. xvii; and Stuart, *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. i, chap. 3, Pl. XXI.

Here also a symmetrical arrangement prevails, a large vase being placed in the centre, and a drinking-cup at each extremity. This mosaic has been destroyed.

No. 25 has an unusual border made to imitate regular masonry; in the lower part there is a frieze consisting of Ionic volutes and palmetti. The general design is a maeander, in which the ordinary cable pattern (*torsade*) alternates with flowers. Upon the field five small squares are placed in a quincunx, like the marks for this number on a die; the central one contains the head of the Sun, and each of the others had an animal in it. It should be noticed that there is a double row of rays around the face; the inner short and straight, the outer long and resembling leaves with the point bent upwards.<sup>1</sup> The ancient artists portrayed the Sun-god in two ways; sometimes with a radiated head, as in the Palermitan mosaic, sometimes, as on the earlier coins of Rhodes, with flowing locks disposed so as to resemble his beams.<sup>2</sup>

No. 26 is a swan standing on the edge of a large two-handled vase, and drinking water therein. This subject is enclosed in broad concentric bands, the interior being a cable, and the exterior like crested waves. The design forcibly reminds us of the famous mosaic in the Capitol, called the doves of Sosus, from Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, where four birds are sitting on a *cantharus*. It has been so often reproduced in the round that we are in danger of forgetting the flat surface of the original.<sup>3</sup> Between the inscribed circle and the square, the spaces at the four

<sup>1</sup> A very fine example of this double radiation is supplied by a relief from Hissearlik (4th century, A.C.), representing Helios in a quadriga; casts of it may be seen in the British Museum, at South Kensington, and in the Museum of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge. Schliemann, *Troy and its Remains*, 1875, pp. 32-34, Pl. III. facing p. 32, Block of Trigllyphs, with Metopé of the Sun-God. From the temple of Apollo in the Ruins of Grecian Ilium: "one of the most glorious masterpieces that have been preserved from the time when Grecian art was in its zenith." Schliemann, *Ilios*, 1880, chap. xi, The seventh city, the Grecian Ilium, or Novum Ilium, No. 1479, pp. 622-625. Cf. *omn.* gold obolus of Alexander I, King of Epirus, brother of Olympias, and therefore uncle of Alexander the Great: Brit. Mus. Catal. of

Greek Coins, Thessaly to Ætolia, p. 110, Pl. XX, Nos. 2 and 5 (photographs).

<sup>2</sup> Leake, *Numism. Hellen.*, Insular Greece, Rhodes, Aegæan Sea, p. 35, Beardless head, *adv.* towards r, with hair divided into locks, and radiating (Apollo as the Sun); Hunter's Catalogue, Tab. 45. This arrangement appears on the earlier coins, which are remarkably fine, and was continued down to the siege of the city by Demetrius Poliorcetes, B.C. 305. A stater of Philip II, struck at Rhodes, has a minute head of the Sun radiated, as its mint mark: Müller, *Numismatique d'Alexandre*, p. 324.

<sup>3</sup> Müller, *Denkmäler*, Pt. I, Taf. lv., No. 274; Murray's *Handbook for Rome*, Sect. I, sec. 26. Mus. of the Capitol, Hall of the Doves, No. 101, where Pliny's description is quoted, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi, 25, s. 60, sec. 184, ed. Sillig.

corners, corresponding to spandrils in architecture, are filled up with birds and fishes. One cannot speak with certainty where there is so much conventional treatment, but if I may offer a conjecture, these creatures were probably meant for inhabitants of the lakes in whose neighbourhood the mosaic was discovered.

No. 27 is a floral pattern which does not call for any special remark, but in two of the angles we see an interlaced ornament, like the Runic knot which occurs in Irish and Scandinavian art.<sup>1</sup> This pavement was found in 1863 at Conches Dessous, adjoining the high road from Berne to Lausanne which passes through Avenches; two-thirds of it are preserved in the Museum there.

No. 28 contains a winged boy, seated and playing a lyre with his hands, not using the plectrum like Orpheus. A vase is placed on the table before him. Each of the four corners is ornamented with a medallion that reminds us of kaleidoscopic figures. The principal features in the border are stars and cubes marked with the quincunx, seen in perspective. It has been conjectured that the central figure is an emblem of a musical contest (ἀγών), and that the vase represents the prize. This mosaic has disappeared.

No. 29 was discovered, in the year 1830, at Cormerod, one league south-east of Avenches. As the former place is in the Canton Freiburg, the mosaic has been removed to the capital, and deposited in the museum there.<sup>2</sup> The subject is the Cretan labyrinth said to have been con-

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Buckman and Newmarch, *Corinium*, Pl. VI, p. 36, "Endless knot" of a more complicated pattern; Pl. VII, p. 32, another more like those at Avenches; Roach Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*, Pl. IX, p. 55. Mr. W. T. Watkin, *Roman Lancashire*, p. 163, gives a good example of interlaced ornament. It is a very beautiful bronze boss, found at Breintonacum (Ribchester), and now preserved in the Mayer Museum, Liverpool. See also my Paper on *Scandinavian Antiquities*, *Archæol. Journal*, vol. xxxiv, p. 260 sq., with the footnotes; Plates accompanying J. C. C. Dahl's *Denkmäler einer sehr ausgebildeten Holzbaukunst aus den frühesten Jahrhunderten in den innern Landschaften Norwegens*; and *Nordiske Oldsager i Det Kongelige Museum i Kjöbenhavn*,

ordnede og forklarede af J. J. A. Worsaae, *Jernalderen II*, pp. 98-100, 114.

<sup>2</sup> Catalogue du Musée Cantonal de Fribourg, p. 72, No. \*44.

Avenches itself is in the Canton de Vaud, but the town with its adjacent territory is almost surrounded by the Canton Fribourg, as in England we sometimes have part of a county separate from the rest; see Bonstetten, *Carte Archéologique*, Canton de Vaud, or Keller's *Reisekarte der Schweiz*, where the boundaries are shown by different colours.

The German name for Avenches is Wifisburg; it is said to be derived from Count Wivilo, who built the feudal castle in the seventh century; Murray's *Handbook for Switzerland*, Route 43.

structed by Daedalus, at the order of Minos, for the residence of the Minotaur. It is surrounded by a circular embattled wall, with four towers at equal distances from each other. One of them has an arched entrance into the maze. The whole space is divided into eight wedge-shaped compartments, like the *cunei* of a Roman theatre, containing severally nine concentric paths, and communicating by the lines that radiate between them. In the centre we see Theseus conquering the Minotaur; with his right hand he brandishes a club, from his left arm a *chlamys* in two folds hangs down. His adversary, a man with a bull's head, is falling on his knees; he partly supports himself on his left arm, and raises his right in a suppliant attitude.<sup>1</sup> Birds are perched on the battlements, one on each side of the towers, perhaps to indicate that the monster's carcass would be devoured by the fowls of the air.<sup>2</sup> The border is ornamented with a chess board pattern; five points are marked on the squares, as in the last example, but arranged differently, so as to form a Greek cross.

There has been much discussion about the maze figured here; some writers regard it as mythical, but others identify it with a cavern near Gortyna. Admiral Spratt, one of the best and most recent authorities, adopts the latter opinion, explaining his views at considerable length in chapter IV of his work on Crete. It may be objected that Herodotus, who describes the Egyptian labyrinth fully, is silent about the Cretan, that Pausanias positively says it was at Cnossus, and that it appears on the coins of this city alone. However, the argument from silence is generally weak, and in this case especially so, because the father of history does not profess to give a complete account of the island; Pausanias does not assert that he had seen the labyrinth, and might be mistaken: lastly, it

<sup>1</sup> In a metope of the Theseum at Athens we see the same subject, but the posture of the figures is different. There Theseus places his left arm round the Minotaur's neck, and the latter presses the knee of Theseus with his foot. The group is in high relief, and forms part of a series representing the battles of the Athenian hero: Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. iii, chap. 1, Pl. XIII, 7. The Marlborough Gems supply a modern example, perhaps by the hand of Natter,

described by Mr. Story-Maskelyne. "Theseus, having slain the Minotaur, rests on his club; the dead monster lies in a window of the Labyrinth:" *Catalogue*, p. 58, No. 331.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. the words of Goliath, I Sam., xvii, 44, "And the Philistine said to David, Come to me, and I will give thy flesh unto the fowls of the air, and to the beasts of the field," and the reply of David, *ibid.*, v. 46.

might be figured on the coinage at Cnossus, at one time the chief city in Crete, not on account of its proximity, but because it was a national type recalling to mind the great king Minos and the glories of his reign.<sup>1</sup>

No. 30 is partially preserved. The central design consists of a head with wavy locks, probably Neptune or Ocean, surrounded by the four wind-gods blowing blasts; Eurus and Boreas are bearded, Notus and Zephyrus beardless. A similar variety occurs in the so-called Temple of the Winds at Athens, as may be seen by reference to the plates of Stuart's *Antiquities*.<sup>2</sup> The remaining space was occupied by round and square compartments containing many devices;<sup>3</sup> amongst them are birds of different kinds, a pomegranate, a roll half open with strings and a stylus, also a labyrinth bearing a general resemblance to No. 29, but having only four wedge-shaped divisions, and a cornucopiæ in the centre.

No. 31 was fully exposed to view in the year 1751, and

<sup>1</sup> Pashley positively denies that the caverns at Haghius Dheka, the ten saints (Gortyna) are the same as the ancient labyrinth, and says there is no sufficient reason for believing that it ever had a real existence. He has engraved several coins of Cnossus, showing the Labyrinth; in one it is circular, in the others rectangular; *Travels in Crete*, vol. i, chap. xii, pp. 202, 208; chap. xviii, pp. 295 *sqq.* Cf. Hunter's *Catalogue*, Tab. 18, Figs. XI-XXIII.

Boulé, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, *Les Bronzes de l'époque Impériale*, p. 398, gives six figures of coins. "Thésée tuant le Minotaure, est encore la copie d'une œuvre de l'Ecole attique. . . Les monnaies donnent des variantes très-marquées. . . Tantôt Thésée saisit le Minotaure par les cornes et engage le combat; tantôt il le renverse d'un premier coup de massue; tantôt il l'achève, en le pressant du genou contre le sol." Note 2. Le sujet est fréquent sur les vases. See *Catalogue of Vases in British Museum*, vol. ii, *Mythological Index*, s.v. Minotaur.

Leake has a long note s.v. Cnossus, *Numism. Hellen.*, Supplement, Islands, p. 156 *sq.* Basing his opinion on the descriptions of the excavation near Haghius Dheka given by Tournefort, Pocock and more recently by Cockerell, he concludes that it is the renowned Cretan labyrinth.

Gori, *Gemmae Antiquae Musei Florentini*, vol. ii, p. 81, Tab. xxxv; cf. Catullus, *Carmen* lxiiv, *Epithalamium Pelei et Thetidos*, v. 73 *sqq.* The Minotaur here is represented as a centaur; the labyrinth is oval, with a border of beading around it.

Admiral Spratt, *Travels and Researches in Crete*, vol. ii, pp. 43-57; plan of the labyrinths and sketch of the entrance, p. 49. The author's statements are specially interesting, because he explored "this subterranean quarry."

The *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xv, pp. 216-235, contains an important article by the Rev. Edward Trollope, *Notices of Ancient and Mediaeval Labyrinths*, with many illustrations.

A mosaic similar to that described above was found at Bosséaz, but seems to have disappeared: Otto Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge*, S. 271; Bonstetten, *Carte Archéol. du Canton de Vaud*, p. 15, No. 3. Bosséaz is for the classical archaeologist one of the most interesting places in Switzerland; its situation is accurately described by Bursian in his *Monograph, Mosaikbild von Orbe*, p. 1, grösstentheils mit Weinbergen bedeckten Anhöhe, nördlich von dem waadtländischen Städtchen Orbe, an der von da nach Yverdon führenden Strasse.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. citat., v. supra note 45.

<sup>3</sup> The former are for the most part ornamented with kaleidoscopic patterns, like those in the corners of No. 28.

is described at length by De Schmidt, *Recueil d'Antiquités de la Suisse*, a work which is now to a great extent obsolete, but should be consulted for information about monuments which have disappeared since its publication.<sup>1</sup> This mosaic was equally remarkable on account of the beauty of its designs and their symmetrical disposition. The discovery of Ariadne by Bacchus is the chief subject here; accordingly it occupies a prominent place in the central band between groups of compartments on the right and on the left. Ariadne is asleep and a Satyr unveils her charms; Bacchus crowned with vine-leaves and holding a *thyrsus* is lost in wonder at the sight, another Satyr, in attendance on the god, shows astonishment by his uplifted hand.<sup>2</sup> Immediately above there are two dolphins with their heads turned towards an anchor which is placed between them. On either side of the band we see five octagonal medallions decorated with pictures of Bacchanalian revellers. Their nude forms and flying drapery recall the scenes portrayed in Pompeian wall-paintings. Nearly the whole of the right hand portion of this design had perished, but the left was better preserved. The central compartment contains two figures, while the others have only one. A Satyr crowned with vine-leaves carries off a Bacchante who puts her arm around his neck: to the right of this group a Satyr wearing a panther's skin strikes cymbals together held by strings; to the left another Satyr, similarly clad, or rather unclad, holds a *patera* in one hand, and a long ribbon (*tænia*) in the other. Above, a Bacchante carries a drinking-horn (*rhyton*); below, another Bacchante a tambourine with projections round the rim where we should expect rings.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For this mosaic see pp. 16-24 and Planches I-XIII. The notes also deserve perusal, as they supply some curious details together with quotations from Roman authors and references to modern writers on classical antiquities, Montfaucon, Bellori, Spon, Ciampini, Caylus, &c.

<sup>2</sup> De Schmidt appositely cites Catullus, *Epithalam. Pelei et Thetidos*, vv. 252 *sqq.* At *parte ex alia florens volitabat Iacchus, Cum Thiaso Satyrorum, et Nysigenis Silenis, Te quaerens, Ariadna, tuoque incensus amore.*

Sir W. Gell, *Pompeiana*, vol. i, Pl. XLIII; vol. ii, Pl. XLIX. Xenophon in the Banquet of Socrates insinuates that Bacchus and Ariadne were favourite subjects for eating rooms; *ib.* vol. ii, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> This work of art is so interesting that Bursian repeats some of the figures on a larger scale, *Taf. XXXII, Avenicum Helvetiorum, Fünftes Heft*. His plates are derived from drawings in the Library at Bern, the pavement having been destroyed by the French cavalry who were encamped at Avenches in the year 1798.

Lastly, a mosaic found at Conches Dessus in 1868 represents Hercules contending with Antæus—a subject treated by the ancient sculptors and gem-engravers, but not very often.<sup>1</sup> Hercules, nude, bearded, and crowned with the white poplar (λέυκη), grasps his adversary closely above the hips, raising him from the ground that he may not derive new vigour from his mother Earth. The latter who wears a torque round his neck, in sign of barbarism, struggles with hands and feet to escape. We have here an apt illustration of Juvenal's third Satire, v. 88 sq.

Et longum invalidi collum cervicibus aequat  
Herculis, Antaeum procul a Tellure tenentis.

And equals the crane neck and narrow chest  
To Hercules, when, straining to his breast  
The giant son of Earth, his every vein  
Swells with the toil, and more than mortal pain.

There are also accessories which enable us to identify the wrestlers; the club, bow and quiver of Hercules hang on the bare trunk of a tree, while a lion, facing the spectator, indicates that Antæus was by birth a Libyan.<sup>2</sup>

But the mosaics at Bosséaz, about a mile and a half from Orbe, far surpass those which are to be seen at Avenches. The larger one, discovered in 1862, consists of thirteen octagons, each  $22\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, surrounded by a framework in which the guilloche alternates with a triangular pattern. De Bonstetten calls the latter imbricated, but I do not perceive that it overlaps anywhere. The whole of the design is enclosed in a broad border on

<sup>1</sup> Stuart designated a metope in the Theseum at Athens (No. 156) as Hercules and Antæus, but Mr. Combe considered it to represent Theseus overcoming Cercyon, king of Eleusis, in a wrestling match: Sir H. Ellis, *Elgin Marbles*, vol. ii. p. 51, and engraving p. 56. C. W. King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, vol. ii. p. 59, Description of Woodcuts, Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 9: an early Cinque Cento work. Gori, *Mus. Florent.*, vol. i, Tab. LXII, Fig. 4. *Hercules cum Antæo luctans*, but the group may perhaps be better explained as *duo pugiles*.

<sup>2</sup> Lucan, *Pharsalia*, book iv, vv. 589-655, inserts the contest of Hercules with Antæus as an episode in his account of Curio's expedition to Africa. The passage may be regarded as a *locus classicus* for this legend. In many particulars the

poet agrees with the artist at Avenches; e.g.

v. 612. Ille Cleonæi project terga leonis,  
Antæus Libyci.

v. 625 Jam terga viri cedentia victor  
Adligat, et medium, compressis ilibus,  
arctat:

Comp. Pindar, *Isthmian Odes*, IV, 83-89; Philostratus, *Imagines*, edit. Kayser, ii, 21 (p. 845 sq.), καταπαλάει δὲ αὐτὸν ἄνω τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἡ γῆ τῇ Ἀνταίῳ συνεπάλει κυρτομένη καὶ μετοχλίσουσα αὐτόν, ὅτε κινῶντο. Maaskelyne, *Catal. of Marlborough Gems*, p. 54, No. 301. Spence, *Polymetia*, pp. 121-123, Pl. XIX, Fig. 1, Statue in Palazzo Pitti, Florence. *Archæologia*, vol. xv, p. 393, Pl. XXX, Roman utensil in silver found in Northumberland, probably an *emblemata*: v. Letter from R. P. Knight.



which various animals are figured; on three sides we see the bear, lion, panther, bull, and horse; the fourth alone contains a human figure. A huntsman with three dogs is chasing a wild boar; he wears a short tunic with sleeves reaching to the elbows, and long boots (*peronatus*);<sup>1</sup> in his left hand he holds a spear (*venabulum*), and in his right a leash attached to the collar of a dog.<sup>2</sup> Of the four corners two are ornamented with female busts, two are now vacant. Seven of the octagonal medallions are devoted to the heavenly bodies that preside over the days of the week. Beginning with that on the left of the central one, we have figures in the following order; 1, Saturn on a *pulvinar* carried by two winged genii; 2, the sun in a *quadriga*, with radiated head, and holding a whip, 3, the moon in a *biga*, nimbated;<sup>3</sup> 4, Mars with his usual attributes, helmet, lance and shield, in a chair supported or rather pushed by two winged genii; 5, Mercury holding a *caduceus*, and riding on a ram;<sup>4</sup> 6, Jupiter with eagle

<sup>1</sup> *Pero*, a boot made of untanned leather, was worn by shepherds, ploughmen and agricultural labourers; Rich, Companion to the Latin Dictionary, s.v. with engraving. Virgil, *Aeneid*, VII, 690, *vestigia nuda sinistri*

*Instituere pedis, crudus tegit altera pero.* Juvenal, XIV, 186; Persius, V, 102. Boots of this kind are called *caligae mulionicae* sive *rusticae* in an edict of Diocletian; Bursian, *Mosaikbild von Orbe*, p. 5, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> A very interesting illustration of the chase, as an entertainment in the Circus, is supplied by the Mosaic of the Baths of Pompeianus, one of the largest known, found at Oued-Athménia, 42 kilometres west of Constantine (Algeria). It has been published by the Société Archéologique of that city: Recueil, tome xix, pp. 431-454, art. by A. Pouille, with atlas of plates in folio. The pavement, however, is not in the perfect condition that might be supposed from these chromolithographs: M. de Villefosse, *ἀντιστοιχίαι*, informed me that it was "*abîmé*." Among the inscriptions we read SEPTVM VENATIONIS, and the names of horses, DELICATVS, TITAS, SCHOLASTICVS, &c., just as they are written now over stalls. Cf. Corp. Insc. Lat., vol. viii, Pt. II (Africa), edit. Wilmanns, Adittamenta, LX, Nos. 10889-10891. I have not met with any account of this remarkable mosaic by an English antiquary.

A similar one was found at Chercshell, also in Algeria: Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France, 1881, Tome xlii, Cinquième Série, Tome ii, Bulletin, pp. 189-191, and woodcut of one compartment, showing a horse with inscriptions—M V C C O S V S, that has the glands; PRA, *prasinus* or *prasinianus*, of the green party in the circus (v. Gibbon, Decline and Fall, chap. xl, sec. ii), and CL SABINI, name of owner.

<sup>3</sup> Both the sun and the moon occur in a Gnostic gem: King, The Gnostics and their Remains, Pl. VI, Fig. 5; Description of the Plates, p. 214. Sol in his quadriga above, Luna in her biga below, traversing the star-spangled heavens: as Manilius sings—

"Quadrijugis et Phoebus equis et Delia biga."

Astronomica, lib. V, v. 3. Pl. IV, Fig. 1. Sol with radiated head, mounted on a camel, holds a whip. Pl. I, Fig. 7, Abraxas also brandishes a whip.

Lucan, Pharsalia I, 78, mentions the biga of the Moon.

—obliquum bigas agitare per orbem Indignata.

<sup>4</sup> *Ἐπιφάνης Κριόφορος*, v. sup. note 41. So in the worship of Cybele the ram appears, serving as a steed for her devotee Atys: see an ivory relief figured by Müller, Denkmäler, pt. II, No. 812: Rev. S. S. Lewis, on a Bronze Ram now in the Museum at Palermo, Journal of Philology, vol. iv.

and sceptre; 7, Venus semi-nude, and looking at herself in a mirror. She occupies the central space, as the chief personage in this composition, perhaps to express her benignant influence over mankind and inferior animals;<sup>1</sup> perhaps because the tessellated floor decorated the boudoir of some Helvetian beauty. The two subjects immediately above and below Venus at first sight appear to have no connexion with planetary influences, viz., the rape of Ganymede carried off by an eagle, and Narcissus admiring the reflection of his person in water. A group consisting of two marine deities is placed at each of the four angles. Possibly Ganymede and Narcissus may refer to the beginning of the week and the repetition of days, but this is only conjectural. The marine deities may be symbolical of water considered as the source of life, with allusion to some ancient theory of cosmogony—an explanation which I have noticed in my paper on the Gallo-Roman Monuments of Reims.<sup>2</sup>

De Bonstetten infers that the mosaic belongs to the period of the decadence, partly from the style of execution, partly from having found near the site coins of Constantine, Valens, Valentinian and Gratian.<sup>3</sup>

This pavement, representing the great heavenly luminaries, may also be considered in connexion with many passages in Roman authors who flourished under the

<sup>1</sup> Lucretius, I, 1-21, especially the last two lines.

Omnibus incutiens blandum per pectora amorem,

Efficis, ut cupide generatim sæcula propagent.

Pliny, Nat. Hist. lib. II, cap. VIII, sect. 6, sec. 38, edit. Sillig, Namque in alterutro exortu genitali rore conspergens non terræ modo conceptus implet, verum animantium quoque omnium stimulat. This passage is inaccurately quoted by Bonstetten. Cf. Lucan I, 661, Venerisque salubre Sidus hebet; Juvenal, VI, 570, quo læta Venus se proferat astro.

<sup>2</sup> *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xli, p. 126 sq.; Lorient, Reims pendant la Domination Romaine, p. 180 sq., and note 2, p. 181, Travaux de l'Académie Impériale de Reims, vol. xxx, 1861.

<sup>3</sup> Bonstetten, Second Supplément au Recueil d'Antiquités Suisses, appends to the text explanatory of Pl. XV, Mosaïque de Bosséas (Vrba), a dissertation on the

Deities presiding over the days of the week, and the adoption of this division of time by the Romans. It contains much curious information, but would be more useful, if the author had given references exactly.

Comp. Museo Borbonico, vol. xi, Tav. III, I Giorni della Settimana—Dipinto Pompeiano. Seven busts of deities are fully described; in the original they are placed horizontally, in the Plate vertically. Sol here is like the figures mentioned above; p. 4 *s.f.*, il dipintore aggiunse il flagello che proprio è degli aurighi; ed in abito di cocchiere, &c.

Murray, Handbook for Southern Italy, p. 165: in the Museum at Naples there is an ink-vase with seven faces, found at Turricium (Terlizzi, province of Bari) which has on it the deities presiding over the days of the week. It has been assigned to the time of Trajan, but this seems doubtful.

empire.<sup>1</sup> For example Tacitus says that astrologers were a class that would be always forbidden, and yet would always remain in Italy. Juvenal in his sixth Satire describes a lady who cannot go anywhere without consulting her almanac,<sup>2</sup> and in his tenth, Tiberius sitting on the rock of Capri, surrounded by a Chaldean troop.

The smaller mosaic, distant fifty paces from that just mentioned, was originally the larger; all that remains is only a fragment of the border. It has been explained briefly by De Bonstetten in his *Carte Archéologique du Canton de Vaud*, s.v. Bosséaz, p. 14 sq. and more fully in his *Recueil d'Antiquités Suisses*, Pt. I, p. 40 sq., Planche XIX;<sup>3</sup> but the best account is given by Professor Bursian in the *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, Band xvi, Abtheilung 2, Mosaikbild von Orbe, with coloured lithograph.

To left, a bare-headed man wearing a cloak, and seated in front of a four-wheeled waggon, with a long stick guides a yoke of oxen. A tree divides this group from a young man dressed in a tunic with short sleeves, who carries in his right hand a bucket (*situlus*) suspended by three cords, and under his left arm a bundle of rods. According to De Bonstetten, the objects in his hands are a cage containing a decoy-bird and a net rolled up: the former may be somewhat uncertain, but the latter is out of the question.<sup>4</sup> Then follow two smaller trees, and a

<sup>1</sup> The Mosaic illustrates Tacitus, Hist. V, 4, seu quod de septem sideribus, quis mortales reguntur, altissimo orbe et præcipua potentia stella Saturni feratur.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus, Hist. I, 22, genus hominum (mathematici) potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur. Comp. Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, vol. i, chap. v, pp. 178-180, edit. 8vo, and see the notes—Oriental impostors at Rome and in the Provinces. Juvenal vi, 569-581.

v. 573, In cuius manibus, ceu pinguis suocina, tritas

Cernis ephemeridas.

v. 577, Ad primum lapidem vectari quum placet, hora

Sumitur ex libro.

X, 92.

Tutor haberi

Principis angusta Caprearum in rupe sedentis

Cum grege Chaldaeo.

<sup>3</sup> De Bonstetten's quotations must be read with caution. Besides typographical errors, passages are attributed to authors erroneously: in Part I, p. 3, we find Lucian for Lucretius, and p. 41, Tacitus for Plautus.

<sup>4</sup> Bursian offers various explanations of the object carried by the left arm. It may be a rectangular wooden vessel for holding olives that had been crushed in the press; or a bundle of pipes used by bird-catchers (*calami aucupatorii*, Martial, XIV, 218, in lemmate); or poles with which olives, chestnuts or walnuts were beaten down from trees. The second interpretation may be illustrated by a lamp representing the fable of the fox and crow (*Phaedrus*, I, 13), figured in Roach Smith's *Illustrations of Roman London*, Pl. XXX, No. 3, p. 110; cf. Birch, *History of Ancient Pottery*, II, 286. The gathering of olives is a subject that appears on an amphora at Berlin, engraved by Panof-ka, *Bilder*

hunter blowing a horn, and carrying a club in his left hand; another tree terminates what is left of the composition.<sup>1</sup> These figures form a frieze which is bounded by a foliated scroll above, and a cable pattern below. From the magnitude of this border, we may form approximately some idea of the extent of the design when it was entire.<sup>2</sup>

Augst and Avenches are the places most abundant in vestiges of the classical period. The former is very accessible from Bâle, and provides the traveller with a pleasant excursion that only occupies a morning or an afternoon. Basel-Augst, which is about ten minutes' walk from the railway station, contains the ruins of a Roman theatre near the river Ergolz which flows into the Rhine. Its contour can be easily traced, and remains of buildings behind the cavea are popularly called The Nine Towers, but I was unable to discover the whole number, probably because some part had disappeared since the

Antiken Lebens, Tafel XIV (Landleben) No. 8. If we take this view of the design in the mosaic, we must suppose it to be a copy from some Italian original, as the olive cannot grow in Switzerland.

Rows of *tessellæ* are placed so as to follow the outline of the implement whose use has been disputed; they might, at first sight, be mistaken for a net wrapped round it; but this cannot be the case, because a similar arrangement appears in other parts of the mosaic, where such a supposition would be inapplicable.

<sup>1</sup> The separation of one group from another by means of a tree frequently occurs in classical and mediæval Art: one example may suffice here; La Colonne Trajane décrite par W. Froehner, p. 97. See my Paper on Reims, *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xli, p. 142, Note 2, where Kriegsbegebenheiten should be read for Kriegsbegenenheiten. So in Roman inscriptions, a leaf often precedes and follows a word, e.g. Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France, 1881, loc. citat., p. 190 (*feuille de lierre*), MVCCOSVS (*feuille de lierre*).

<sup>2</sup> Orbe is near Chavornay, and connected with it by a *service postal*. The latter is the station next but one to Yverdon, on the railway from that place to Lausanne: v. Indicateur Général des Chemins de Fer Suisse.

Urba is marked in the Antonine Itinerary on the road a Mediolano per Alpes Graias Argentorato, from Milan to Stras-

burg over the Little St. Bernard: v.p. 348, ed. Wesseling; p. 166 ed. Parthey. and Pinder, Equestribus, Lacu Lausonio, Urba, Ariorica, Viscontione (Nyon, Lausanne, Orbe, Pontarlier probably, Besançon).

From Urba some derive Urbigenus, the name of one of the four districts (*pagi*, *pays*), into which Cæsar says Helvetia was divided; Bell. Gall. I, 12, 27. But in the latter passage Oudendorp gives the various readings *Verbigenus*, *Virbigenus*, *Verbiginus* (see Davis's note); the first of these is preferred by some recent editors, and Moberley explains this *pagus* as corresponding to Soleure, Lucerne, Aargau, and part of Berne. Perhaps the termination *genus* may be identified with the German *Gau*, a district, so that Urbigenus is a compound word like Rheingau. Comp. Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, vol. i, p. 1041, art. Helvetii by Mr. George Long.

Yverdon is only Eburodunum modernized: the termination *dunum* means a hill; and, as might be expected in a mountainous country, we find at no great distance from this place the similar names Minnodunum (Moudon) and Noviodunum (Nyon). The map of Gaul supplies many examples, Augustodunum, Uxellodunum, Melodunum, Segodunum, &c. Thirteen Roman inscriptions have been discovered at Yverdon: Mommsen, *Insc. Confoed. Helv.* pp. 23-25, Nos. 136-148.

name was given. The local antiquaries have come to the conclusion that this theatre was originally erected for dramatic performances, and that it was altered in ancient times with the view of adapting it to exhibitions of a different character: shows of gladiators, hunts of wild beasts and the like. For the investigations on which this theory is based, I must refer to an elaborate essay by Burckhardt-Biedermann entitled "*Das römische Theater zu Augusta Raurica*;" it gives many measurements, and is accompanied by five plates showing ground-plans according to Amerbach's drawings (16th century) and recent investigations, changes made in the construction, restorations, sections, and a view of the ruins as they existed in Amerbach's time.<sup>1</sup>

In the annexed engraving, the right hand half of fig. 1 is a restoration of the rows of seats and flights of stairs in the first building; the left hand half is a similar view of the second building: fig. 2 is the ruins, nearly as seen 1587-1590, soon after their discovery.

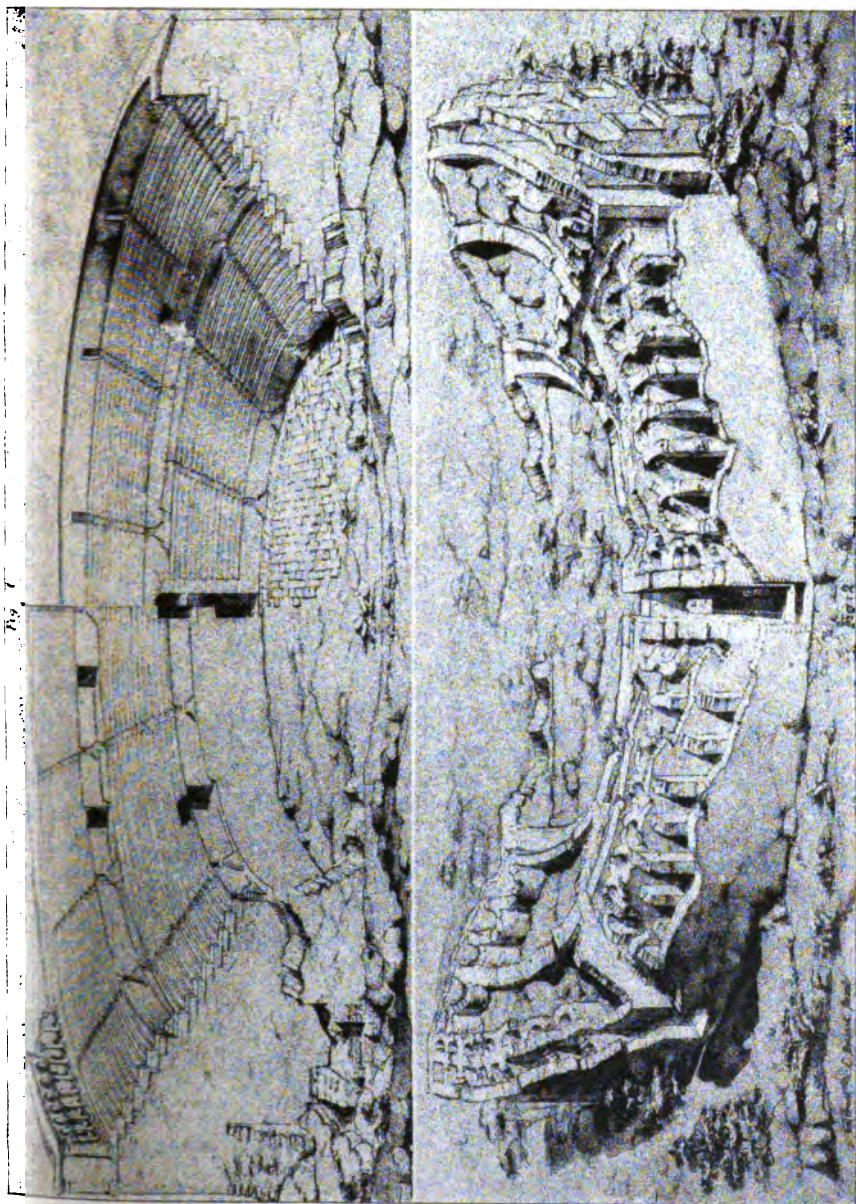
Those who wish to make a complete study of the remains at Augst should consult Professor W. Vischer's Report on the Schmidt collection now deposited in the Museum at Bâle, Professor J. J. Bernoulli's detailed catalogue of the Antiquarian Department in the same Museum, and Dr. K. L. Roth's Roman Inscriptions of the Canton Bâle.<sup>2</sup> The reader of the last-mentioned work will soon perceive that Augst has contributed to epigraphy far more than any other place in the district.

Kaiser-Augst has no important buildings like the theatre at Basel-Augst, but its walls are distinctly visible from the railway station. When Bruckner published his *Merkwürdigkeiten der Landschaft Basel*, there were considerable ruins of a tower on an island in the Rhine, but a flood has carried them away. Their relative position and actual

<sup>1</sup> With Burckhardt-Biedermann's recent publication (1882) comp. Bruckner's volume cited below (1763), *Römische Altertümmer von Augst, Von dem Schauplatze*, pp. 2772-2806; many woodcuts are inserted in the text; see also the Plates at the end of the book, *Antiq. Tab. II. A. Schauplatz von Morgen anzusehen. B. Schauplatz von Abend anzusehen*, and *Antiq. Tab. IV. Plates V-XXVI exhibit statuette, domestic utensils, specimens of pottery,*

rings, fibulae, engraved gems, spoons, keys, &c. Mommsen in his list of *Auctores præcipue Adhibiti*, prefixed to the *Inacc. Helveticæ*, justly praises Bruckner as *Diligentissimus rerum antiquarum investigator*.

<sup>2</sup> This treatise contains five chapters under the following heads:—1, Inscriptions on stone; 2, Potters' names; 3, Legionary tiles; 4, Smaller monuments; 5, Foreign inscriptions relating to Raurica.



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ROMAN THEATRE AT AUGST.  
FROM THE BASEL MITTHEILUNGEN.



condition at that time may be seen in the *Antiquitatum Tabulæ* appended to Vol. xxiii of his book: I, Lage von Augst; II, Überbleibseln von Augst, E, as seen from the south, F, from the north.<sup>1</sup>

Many architectural fragments have been removed to Bâle, and arranged in the quadrangle of the University. They are, for the most part, drums and capitals of columns, or portions of cornices and entablatures. The ordinary tourist will turn aside from these blocks of stone, or bestow on them only a careless and momentary glance; but the antiquary will linger here, for to him they are full of interest.<sup>2</sup> With their aid and a little effort of imagination, he re-builds and re-peoples Augusta Rauricorum; for he knows that Roman colonists were no horde of destroying conquerors, but that they brought with them the spirit of their ancestors, and renewed the outward manifestations of it with which their eyes had been familiar, marking out their forum, and erecting temples, basilica, and theatre, thus producing a copy more or less complete of their imperial home.

Avenches can show much more than Augst to reward

<sup>1</sup> Kaiser and Basel-Augst are included in Dr. Ferdinand Keller's excellent map of Eastern Switzerland, which is on a large scale—*Archäologische Karte der Ostschweiz*, 1874. An Introduction is prefixed, sub-divided as follows: I, Pre-historic times, Stone and Bronze Periods. II, Historic times, Gallo-Helvetic, Roman, Alemannic Periods. Good classification and copious references make the Catalogue of localities very useful to the inquirer.

I have mentioned the contents of these books because they are but little known in England.

<sup>2</sup> Museum in Basel. Catalog für die Antiquarische Abtheilung von J. J. Bernoulli, 1880; *Architectonische Reste und Inschriftsteine*, pp. 1-7. Bruckner, Op. citat, pp. 2855-2861, relates the discovery of important buildings at Augst in the year 1586, and on various occasions in the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. He notices particularly marble columns, and the remains of *pièces* (reservoirs) that belonged to an aqueduct.

In 1736 near The Nine Towers, and a little below the surface, arches were uncovered, which seemed to belong to a bathing establishment. At p. 2860 Bruckner gives woodcuts of two capitals

of pillars and one base, with measurements. Lastly he mentions that several large sheets of gilt copper were found; they probably decorated the roof of some magnificent building. This circumstance reminds us of the bronze tiles on the cupola of the Pantheon, which were stripped off by the Byzantine emperor, Constans II: Gibbon, chap. xlviii, edit. Dr. Wm. Smith, vol. vii, p. 75, Milman's note; Nibby, *Roma Antica*, Parte Seconda, p. 702, who gives references to authorities.

During a long period the ruins at Augst were used as a quarry; fragments from them re-appeared in a bridge, and in the doors and window-frames of private houses. The Swiss were as destructive as the Romans who converted the Coliseum into a fortress, and built palaces with the materials which it supplied: Gibbon, chap. lxxi, ed. Smith, vol. viii, p. 284; Murray's *Handbook for Rome*, pp. 18, 47, 7<sup>th</sup> ed<sup>n</sup>.

Bruckner's volume on Augst is a work of original research, and even at the present time held in great esteem by the local antiquaries; one can only regret that the district did not provide him with a more copious theme on which to exercise his learning and industry.



the visitor. Its situation is picturesque; mediæval towers of different forms crowning the hill on which the modern town is built, lake Morat, the range of the Jura beyond, and a well-wooded undulating country in the nearer distance, compose a prospect which, if not sublime, is varied and pleasing. But we must now occupy ourselves with the ancient city, ten times as large as its degenerate successor. The Italian peasants said to Lord Byron "*Roma non è più come era prima*," and these words may be fitly applied to Avenches. The circuit of the Roman walls was nearly four miles, and they were fortified with towers at intervals of 200 paces.<sup>1</sup> One remains nearly entire, on the north side; it is a most conspicuous object in the scenery, and faces the traveller as he walks down the principal street. It presents a peculiarity which I have not met with elsewhere; the part turned towards the interior being convex, and the part towards the country a flat surface. The portion of the walls still existing is considerably larger than that which has been destroyed; for about 100 yards parallel to the railway they are well preserved.

Some of the most important antiquities at Avenches have been previously noticed, but I beg leave also to invite attention to the local Museum of which Mons. Caspari is director. This gentleman, who has made valuable contributions to Swiss archæology, will afford the inquirer assistance in studying the monuments and the literature connected with them.

I have already mentioned a mosaic here as illustrating Juvenal; another object, apparently unimportant, will answer the same purpose; viz., a Roman brick that still bears the impression of nails on it. Describing the crowded streets of Rome, the satirist says—

*Planta mox undique magna  
Calcor, et in digito clavus mihi militis hæret.*

While the rude soldier gores us as he goes,

<sup>1</sup> For the walls of Avenches see the large map accompanying Burman's *Memoir, Aventicum Helveticorum*, in the *Zurich Mittheilungen d. Antiq. Gesellschaft*, No. XXXI, Taf. II. The Mur

d'enceinte is coloured red, the position of each tower is marked, and the *Tour existante* is at the extremity on the left side. Taf. I shows the environs, including part of the lake Morat (Murtensee).

Or makes in blood his progress on our toes.<sup>1</sup>

And again :

Cum duo crura habeas, offendere tot caligas, tot  
Millia clavorum ;

With ten poor toes

Defies such countless hosts of hobnail'd shoes.<sup>2</sup>

The Museum contains architectural fragments of the same class as those at Augst. They are in the Corinthian style, as it prevailed under the empire from Vespasian to Diocletian, and exhibit the decline of art in a profusion of overloaded ornaments, which contrasts unfavourably with the simplicity of earlier ages.<sup>3</sup>

The following objects, found at Avenches, seem worthy of special notice :—

1. Colossal head of the Sun, radiated. Compare the mosaic above mentioned and the coins of Rhodes. Perhaps it was originally an *akroterion* on some public building, and visible from a distance : it may have been intended to denote that the god averted coming evils (*ἀπορώπαιος*, *averruncus*).

2. Wolf and Twins. This device is very frequently repeated in marble reliefs, armour, gems, and coins ; but the present example is remarkable on account of its size and some unusual accessories. The wolf suckles Romulus and Remus, and at the same time licks them with her protruding tongue, so that the group corresponds with the well-known passage in the *Æneid*,

Tereti cervice reflexam

Mulcere alternos, et corpora fingere lingua.<sup>4</sup>

The grotto where this action takes place is enclosed on either side by a laurel tree, not the *ficus ruminalis*, as might have been expected. Above, to the spectator's left, is a nest with two young birds in it, who open their beaks to receive a worm which the parent is bringing : at the

<sup>1</sup> Sat. III, v. 248, Gifford's translation.

<sup>2</sup> Sat. XVI, v. 24. The nails, of which the marks are visible here, seem to be those mentioned by Pliny, Hist. Nat.-lib. xxiv, cap. xiv, sec. 41, sec. 143. *Clavis fugiendum ferrum fragile et acreum, contra aliud ferrum brevitatem placet clavique caligaria.* I have quoted

the passage as it is abridged in Sillig's Index.

<sup>3</sup> Bursian, Op. citat., Zweites Heft, Taf. V-VIII. The cornices and capitals at Avenches are superior to similar remains from Augst. It is most probable that the workmen (*fabri tignarii*) were directed by Italian sculptors.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. VIII, vv. 630-634.

opposite end we see an owl amidst foliage, and another bird not easy to identify, because only a part is left.<sup>1</sup>

3. Statuette of a Paniska or female Pan. The male deity is common enough in works of art, but the female is rare.<sup>2</sup> The upper part of the figure is human; the lower, animal. It has the hair parted in the middle on the crown of the head, and plaited in a tail at the back, and wears a wreath of ivy leaves and berries. From the position of the hands, and from the fact that lead was found on them, apparently to solder some object, it has been conjectured that this personage was playing double flutes of unequal length, the left one being the longer.<sup>3</sup>

4. Hercules strangling the Nemean lion. While the hero grasps him with the left arm, the beast with failing eyes and at the point of death turns his head away from his victorious foe. This bronze group has unfortunately been lost.<sup>4</sup>

5. The judgment of Paris represented on an Etruscan mirror. To left Paris is seated, semi-nude; Mercury erect, wearing a *chlamys* and *endromides* (boots), with wings on his broad-brimmed hat, offers him the prize of beauty which he is to award; to right Venus is seated holding a

<sup>1</sup> So at Vaison (Department of Vaucluse), near Orange, a Roman frieze was discovered, where an owl is figured in rich foliage, and two birds flying to it. This place is rich in antiquities; hence came the Diadumenus, now in the British Museum, purchased from M. Raspail for £1,000. It is a copy of the famous statue by Polyclethus, which represents a youth binding a fillet on his head, in sign of victory (not wearing, as Smith's Latin Dict. incorrectly translates the word): Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. XXXIV, cap. viii, sec. 19, sec. 55, ed. Sillig. For an account of Vaison, Vasio Vocontiorum, and objects of archaeological interest found there, see Dictionnaire géographique, historique, archéologique et biographique des communes du département de Vaucluse; par Jules Courtet, esp. pp. 841-844, 351 sq., 1877: Guides-Joanne, grand format, Provence, Alpes Maritimes, Corse, p. 180 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Müller, Archäologie der Kunst, sec. 388, Anmerk 2, Eng. transl. p. 503, says, Female Satyrs rarely occur: he gives examples of the female Pan. Denkmäler, Part II, Taf. XLIII, No. 536, Pan und Panin in Begriff ein Opfer darzubringen oder einen Schmaus zu halten; Taf. XLIV, No. 548, die vor ihm (Pan)

knieende Panin. Hirt, Bilderbuch für Mythologie, p. 163 sq., Taf. XXI, No. 3, engraved gem.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Percy Gardner remarked that the position of the forefinger of the left hand, which is nearly straight, does not suit this action: Comp. the following figures in the Third Vase Room of the British Museum, No. 740, female playing the *tibiae pares*; No. 788 Satyr, No. 880, the poet Anacreon; the latter two have the *tibiae impares*. Cf. Catalogue of Vases, vol. ii, p. 325, Index, Auletae, Auletrides.

<sup>4</sup> This action, which occurs very frequently in Ancient Art, may be well illustrated by the coins of the city of Lucania that bore the hero's name: Rollin et Feuillant, Catalogue de Médailles de la Grèce Antique, No. 882, Rev. Hercule debout, étouffant le lion; and No. 893 bis: Hunter's Catalogue, Tab. 29, figs. XIV-XXV, sinistra leonem comprehendit, leonem suffocans: but see esp. Numi Italiae Veteris by Cavedoni and Carelli, Pl. CLX. figs. 2-16, explained p. 85 sq., Pl. CLXII, figs. 31-41, and p. 87. Cohen, Médailles Consulaires, Genes Publicia, Pl. XXXIII, No. 7. Gori, Mus. Flor. vol. i, Pls. XXXVI, 9; XXXVII, 1, 2, p. 82.

speculum, as in the mosaic at Orbe; two winged females stand behind Mercury, each familiarly placing an arm on his shoulder; they may perhaps be goddesses of fate, as there are no distinguishing attributes to indicate Juno and Minerva, who would naturally find place here. A symmetrical arrangement pervades the whole composition, and in this respect it resembles the groups on the pediments of Greek temples.<sup>1</sup>

The material of Nos. 1 and 2 is stone; of 3, 4 and 5, bronze.<sup>2</sup>

The most recent archæological discovery in Switzerland, as far as I know, was made last winter at Geneva, and described by a correspondent of the Times newspaper. In the course of operations for utilising the water-power of the Rhone, the bed of the river was laid bare, and the

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Gerhard *Etruskische Spiegel*, *Urtheil des Paris*, Band II, Taf. CLXXXIV-CLXXXVII. For the *Lasseæ* (Fates) see Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. i, pp. lv, lxxv; vol. ii, p. 68.

The Judgment of Paris has been a favourite subject with modern artists, who generally introduce emblems as accessories—Cupid for Venus, the peacock for Juno, and the owl for Minerva. The most famous example is a picture by Rubens, formerly in the Escorial, now in the Museum del Prado at Madrid, No. 1590, with life-size figures: Smith Catalogue Raisonné of Works of Dutch, Flemish and French Painters, Part 2, p. 208; Pt. 9, pp. 315, 322; Bartsch, *Le Peintre Graveur*, vol. xiv, p. 197, No. 245, and *Les vieux Maîtres Allemands*, Table Générale.

<sup>2</sup> The above-mentioned antiquities are all engraved in Bursian's *Aventicum Helvetiorum*.

The following objects found at Avenches deserve notice:—

1, a Roman bronze pen, Bursian, Taf. XVIII, Fig. 8. As in the case of discoveries at Herculaneum and Pompeii, so here at Avenches we have proof that an invention, supposed to be modern, was known to the ancients. This pen closely resembles those now in use, consisting of a thin plate of metal formed into a tube, with a split point at the end (*fasces*), which was gilt, to prevent the writing-fluid from corroding it. Slight traces of gilding still remain, and lines have been incised on the outer surface by way of ornamentation. The pen (*calamus*) and pen-case (*theos calamaria*) are engraved,

orig. size, as an illustration of Dr. Keller's Memoir, in the *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xxii, pp. 134-136.

2, A bronze vase, on which Bacchanalian orgies are represented, *ibid.*, Taf. XIX. There are two scenes, divided by a tree in the centre—an arrangement we have already remarked in the smaller mosaic at Orbe. To the left we see a temple on a rocky elevation; in front of it a seated Satyr plays the flute, a naked boy dances, and a woman adores a Hermes-figure of Dionysus (perhaps Priapus). The second group is well composed; a woman falls exhausted by Bacchic frenzy, another supports her, and a third strikes cymbals, behind them a Satyr plays the flute, as before. The vase was used to hold a salve or perfume, and though the ornamentation is of an indelicate character, it may have stood on the toilet table of some lady of rank. Comp. Musée de Naples, Cabinet Secret, Paris, 1857, p. 61, *Deux Hermès en Bronze*. "Nul doute que ces petits bronzes ne fussent les dieux lares d'une maison romaine." Mr. Cecil Smith showed me a similar vase in the Bronze-Room of the British Museum.

3. Fragments of a coat of mail, found in the ruins of the Theatre, 1847. The scales are fastened together by wire. The Rev. C. W. King, in his Memoir on the Lorica trilix of Virgil, *Archæol. Journal*, vol. xxxii, p. 52, quotes Aeneid XI, 770.

"Quem pellis ahenis

In plumam squamis auro connata tegebat. On this passage he remarks, "In this case the bronze scales were sewed upon the leather coat with gold wire, exactly as the steel scales in certain mediæval jazerines are with wire of brass."

upper part of a Roman altar was exposed to view. It bore the following inscription :—

DEO NEPTVN C. VITALINIV VICTORINVS MILES LEGI XXII  
ACVRIS V.S.L.M.

which may be thus expanded :—

*Deo Neptuno, C. Vitalinius Victorinus, miles legionis XXII,  
a curis, votum solvit libens merito.*

This altar was doubtless erected by some soldier to express gratitude for his escape from shipwreck in the Lake of Geneva.<sup>1</sup> The phrase *a curis* seems to denote some special mission on which he was employed. Such a use of the preposition is common enough in Latin, and we have an example of it in our word *amanuensis*.<sup>2</sup>

Many names of places in the modern map of Switzerland are derived from the Latin, and therefore prove the Roman occupation, e.g. Olten (the chief railway junction in the country), *Ultinum*,<sup>3</sup> Ober Winterthur *Vitudurum*; Windisch, *Vindonissa*; Zürich, *Turicum*; Zofingen, *Tobinium*. It would be easy to multiply examples from Mommsen's map of Switzerland, in which the sites are marked where Latin inscriptions have been found. To this Map another is appended, showing the *provenance* of bricks and tiles made at *Vindonissa*.<sup>4</sup> The great number of these localities proves the importance of the Roman station there. At first sight one might be inclined to read C. VI. on the *tegulae Vindonissenses* as equivalent to *cohors sexta*, but another interpretation has been proposed which seems very plausible, viz., *Castra Vindonissensia*. It is illustrated by a Roman brick found under the General Post

<sup>1</sup> "By a singular chance the whole stone of the Jura, which testifies to the fulfilment of his vow, has been preserved by falling into the very waters from which he was saved.... There is still in the harbour of Geneva a huge erratic block, known as the Pierre de Niton (Neptune), on which, according to tradition, sacrifices to Neptune were made, and traces of the *culte* may yet be found in song and story." Art. in the "Times," about May 24, 1884.

<sup>2</sup> This soldier might have been employed in inspecting a custom-house, levying taxes, or surveying roads : *Ibid.*

The use of the preposition *a* with the ablative case to denote an office is chiefly post-Augustan, as may be seen in Forcellini's Lexicon, s.v. ; he gives one example from Cicero, the rest being from later

authors : Cf. Key's Latin Grammar, p. 292 sq. first edn. "Ab epistolis et libellis et rationibus (Tac.), Secretaries, registrars, accountants." Such an expression, therefore, induces us to place the date of the inscription after Augustus. On the other hand as the characters are very well executed, they are probably not subsequent to the reign of Septimius Severus.

<sup>3</sup> The Roman name *Ultinum* is doubtful ; it is not mentioned by Mommsen in his art. *Olten*, *Inscoc. Confoed. Helv.* cap. XVII, p. 44 ; but it occurs in Berlepsch, *Schweizer Führer*, p. 309, ed. 1870, with a note of interrogation.

<sup>4</sup> These maps are placed at the end of Mommsen's *Inscriptions*.

Office in London, which is stamped with the inscription :—

P.P.BR.LON

perhaps meaning *primipilares Britannici Londini*. Similar instances might be cited from Vienna and Hungary.<sup>1</sup>

For the most part Swiss antiquities are to be studied not *in situ*, but, as I have hinted, in the Cantonal Museums at Bale, Berne, Lausanne, Geneva, Zürich, and other towns of less consequence. That at Fribourg may serve as a specimen. We see there, besides the great mosaic described above, fragments of frescoes, cement from the aqueduct at Avenches, leaden pipes, a bronze bell, statuette of Minerva, fibulæ, a glass bracelet, and a lacrymatory so called, but improperly, because it was used to hold perfumes sprinkled over the incinerated body.<sup>2</sup> With the catalogues of such collections the student should compare Mommsen's 27th chapter entitled *Instrumenti Domestici Inscriptiones*. His list, which occupies 28 quarto pages, includes tessellated pavements, weights, diptychs, spoons, ladles, amphoræ, lamps, bowls, &c. All these objects are of course inscribed.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This brick is now deposited in the Anglo-Roman Room of the British Museum : see an article by Mr. Franks, with engraving in the *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. x, p. 4; he refers to vol. iii, p. 69 *sq.*, where it is said that the initials P.P. BR. probably indicate the name of the manufacturer. The analogy of other examples may seem to favour this conjecture, but I think it inadmissible here.

Mr. Roach Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*, p. 31 *sq.*, observes that "Tile-stamps are among the most useful of Roman Inscriptions, as they prove the presence of the legions and cohorts at particular places," &c.; cf. p. 116 and Pl. VIII, Figs. 3-6, inscribed tiles found at Chequer's Court, Bush Lane, Bloomfield street, Finsbury, and Lambeth Hill. The inscriptions are PRB.LON.—P.BR.LON.—P.P.R.LON.—PPBR.LON, &c., which Mr. Roach Smith expands, *Prima (cohors) Brittonum Londini*. The word *cohors* will not account for the second P in the last abbreviation. Mommsen suggests a probable explanation—*Publicani provinciae Britanniae Londinenses*: Hübsner, *Inacc. Brit. Lat.*, p. 21, Introductory Remarks, *s.v.* Londinium; and p. 227, *Tegulae*, No. 1235.

In support of the explanation of CVL Mommsen, *Op. citat.*, p. 78, mentions *tegulae Vindobonenses inscriptae Ant. Tib. Vindob.*; *Karnuntinae inscriptae C. Val. Const. Kar.*; in Hungaria reperta prope Quadriburgium inscripta *Quadribur*, *a.s.* (id est. *ala sagittariorum*). Cf. *omn. Von Sacken und Kenner, Die Sammlungen des K.K. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinetes. Inscrifliche Denkmäler*. IV. Zimmer, p. 99 and notes. In this room 113 stamped tiles are exhibited on the wall in four rows; we find here the names of legions quartered at Vindobona (Vienna), Carnuntum (Petronell), and Arrabona (Raab); also of private firms to whom brick and tile-kilns belonged. Birch, *Ancient Pottery, Stamps on Tiles*, ii, 241-243.

<sup>2</sup> *Archæologia*, Vol. xlviii, pp. 75-77.

<sup>3</sup> The local antiquaries in Switzerland might do good service by publishing catalogues of collections hitherto unedited. Judging from the learning and ability displayed in the *Transactions of the Bale and Zurich Societies*, I have no doubt that there are many *savants* in the country fully competent to perform this useful task.

Other, and less agreeable, duties have prevented me from expatiating as on some former occasions; my remarks have been only tentative and suggestive. But I shall be content if I have succeeded in proving that even Switzerland exhibits many traces of that wonderful civilization which no longer displays its grandeur and beauty as a whole, but which still survives in scattered fragments and in a permeating influence.

## APPENDIX.

I subjoin the titles of some works which may aid the student of Swiss antiquities in his investigations.

Heer's *Primæval World of Switzerland* with 560 Illustrations, edited by Heywood, 2 vols. 8vo. This book treats of a period antecedent to that which is the subject of Keller's *Lake Dwellings*.

*Revue des Deux Mondes*, Tome Soixante-Quatrième, pp. 162-195. *La Suisse Primitive*, par M. le Marquis de Saporta.

E. Desor, *Die Pfahlbauten des Neuenburger Sees* (Neuchâtel), Mit 117 in den Text eingedruckten Holzschnitten. The German edition is said to be superior to the French original. Fig. 81 is a Roman axe, engraved one-third of the actual size, p. 109 *Eisenzeit*.

G. Finlay, *Παρατηρήσεις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Ἑλβερίᾳ καὶ Ἑλλάδι προϊστορικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας* ὑπὸ Γ. Φινλάου.

Troyon. *Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société d'Histoire de la Suisse Romande*, Tome XVII, *Habitations Lacustres des temps anciens et modernes* par Frederic Troyon. XVII Pl<sup>ts</sup>, 380 Fig<sup>s</sup>. 1860. A comparison of this work with the *Proto-Helvètes* of Victor Gross will show how much photography has contributed to the illustration of pre-historic archæology.

Le Baron G. de Bonstetten, *Recueil d'Antiquités Suisses*, folio, 1855 accompagné de 28 Planches Lithographiées. The following passages are those most closely connected with the statements made in the preceding Memoir—*Époque Helvète et Helvète-Romaine* (Âge de bronze et de fer), pp. 9-20, and *Époque Romaine* (Tombes à ustion et à inhumation), p. 21 sq.; Planche XIX, *Mosaïque d'Orbe*, p. 40 sq. *Supplément*, 1860, Pl. XX, *Hercule étouffant le lion*, p. 26 sq. *Second Supplément*, 1867, Pl. XIV, *Mosaïque découverte à Yvonans* (canton de Vaud); *Orphée entouré d'animaux qu'il charme aux sons de sa lyre*. Pl. XV, *Mosaïque de Bosséaz* (Urba), pp. 16-18. Notwithstanding some mistakes and a want of that minute accuracy which we usually find in German writers, this work must be regarded as highly meritorious, and even indispensable.

Gottlieb Emanuel von Haller, *Bibliothek der Schweizer-Geschichte*, IV Theil, Sect. 6, *In Helvetien gefundene Alterthümer*. 1, Ueberhaupt. 2, Insbesondere. 3, Untergeschobene.

*Anzeiger für Schweizerische Alterthumskunde*, Zürich.

Neujahrsblätter von der Stadt-Bibliothek in Zürich.

Le Roy, Une visite aux Mosaïques d'Orbe. This book is very scarce : I was unable to find it in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, though a diligent search was made.

S. Lysons, Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ, vol. III, p. 6, Mosaic at Bignor, Pl. VI., Nos. 1, 2. He says that at Avenches (vide supra, No. 31) is like it. Each of them has a cistern of about the same size. So Bursian, Aventicum, Heft I. p. 23, In der Mitte des Fussbodens, welcher einen Saal von 55 Fuss Länge und 36 Fuss Breite zierte, befand sich ein achteckiges Bassin (*labrum*) von weissem Marmor von 6 Fuss Durchmesser und  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Fuss Tiefe, woraus man schliessen muss, dass der Saal als Baderaum diene. Both pavements show similar defects in drawing; and at Avenches there appears a blue nimbus round the head of Bacchus, as at Bignor round the head of Venus. The resemblance being so close has naturally led to the conjecture that the same artist was employed in both cases. See also the article by Lysons on a Roman Villa discovered at Bignor in Sussex, Archæologia, vol. xviii, p. 220 (1817).

Orelli, Collectio Inscriptionum Latinarum, ed. 1828, vol. I, cap. i, Geographica, sec. 5 Helvetia, pp. 101-135, professes to give all the inscriptions found in Switzerland. No one can dispute his eminence as a textual critic and expositor of classical authors, but he has failed as an epigraphist; and though his residence at Zurich must have given him great facilities, the section relating to his own country is specially defective.

Mommsen, Inscriptiones Confoederationis Helveticæ, has corrected the mistakes and supplied the omissions of preceding writers; later publications by Swiss antiquaries have, in their turn, improved upon his labours. The list of *Auctores præcipue adhibiti*, pp. xi-xviii, op. citat., contains many valuable suggestions. Mommsen has made a long stride in advance, but his work is not finished with the same care and completeness as the volumes of the *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* that have appeared at Berlin. Helvetia has not yet been included in this series.

Die Wappenrolle von Zürich, Ein heraldisches Denkmal des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts, 1860, coloured plates 4to.

The Rev. S. S. Lewis, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, possesses a model of a Lake-Hamlet built on piles, such as is supposed to have existed in the pre-historic age, executed by Max Götzing of Bâle, scale  $\frac{1}{100}$  of life-size. It is "constructed on materials carefully gathered by Professor F. Keller," and represents groups of inhabitants, male and female, engaged in various occupations. Mr. Lewis exhibited this model at a meeting of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, and read a Memoir in which he explained it fully. He also remarked that it illustrated Æschylus, Persæ v. 865, and Herodotus, book v, chap. 16. The latter passage is particularly interesting, because it supplies an historical parallel. Herodotus describes at length habitations in Lake Prasias (Macedonia) upon planks brought from Mount Orbelus. Comp. the frontispiece of Dr. Keller's book quoted above, English translation; it is an "ideal sketch" of the *Pfahlbau* according to the latest discoveries. See also Baehr's edition of Herodotus loc citat., and Rawlinson's Translation, vol. iii, pp. 225-228, with notes containing many references.

The chief ancient authorities for Helvetia are the following:—

Caesar, De Bello Gallico, lib. I, cc. 2-29. This passage is our most im-



portant source of information, as it relates the migration of the Helvetii into Gaul, Caesar's war with them, and the defeat which they suffered near Bibracte (Mont Beuvray). We find in chap. 2 the dimensions of their country; in 12, 27 the *pagi* (cantons) into which it was divided; in 29 a statement that they recorded their numbers in Greek characters, *tabulae repertae sunt, literis Graecis confectae*; with which comp. the use of Greek letters by the Druids, *ibid.* VI, 14, and inscriptions in the same language on the borders of Germany and Rhaetia, Tacitus, Germ. c. 3.

Tacitus, Histories, I, 67-69: Slaughter of the Helvetii by Caecina in the civil war that followed immediately after Galba's death: C. 67, he relates that Aquae was plundered. The modern name of this place is Baden (Canton Aargau, Argovie), just as Aquae Sulis is now called Bath. The town is now resorted to on account of its sulphureous waters, so that the historian's description still remains applicable—*locus amoenus salubrium aquarum usu frequens*. C. 68, Mons Vocetius occurs; this is Boetzberg, a lofty hill in the north-eastern branch of the Jura, over which a Roman road is said to have been carried. Vocetius must not be confounded with Vogesus or Vosegus, the Vosges (Vogesen) in Alsace. Not far from these places, and guarding the German frontier, was Vindonissa, an important military station, as we have already seen, at the junction of the rivers Limmat, Reuss and Aar, on which the cities Zurich, Lucerne and Berne are situated respectively; the combined stream falls into the Rhine at Coblenz (*confluentes*), which reminds us of the town so called at the union of the Moselle with the Rhine. The Romans here showed their usual sagacity in choosing an advantageous situation for their camp: comp. the expression of Tacitus, Agricola c. 20, *loca castris ipse capere*; *ib.* 22, *opportunitates locorum*; and the position of their forts in the North of England: Bruce, The Roman Wall, edit. 4to., Stationary Camps, p. 60 sq.; *Borcovicus*, Housesteads, p. 180.

Ammianus Marcellinus was a contemporary of the Emperor Julian, and in his military career visited most parts of the Roman world. He informs us, lib. XV, c. 5, s. 22, that he was sent to Gaul on the staff of Ursicinus, as *protector domesticus*, officer in the life-guards (A.D. 354). Hence it seems very probable that he spent some time in Helvetia. Two passages in his history are interesting, because they refer to the localities which are now most remarkable for Roman remains. XV, 11, 12, *Alpes Graiae et Poeninae exceptis obscurioribus habent et Aventicum, desertam quidem civitatem sed non ignobilem quondam, ut aedificia semirutae nunc quoque demonstrant*. XXX, 3, 1, *Valentiniano post vastatos aliquos Alamanniae pagos munimentum aedificanti prope Basiliam, quod appellanti accolae Robur (Stronghold), offertur praefecti relatio Probi*. XV, 4, 1-5. Ammianus mentions Brigantia; he uses the word as the name first of a city (Bregenz), and secondly of the lake of Constance (Bodensee): he describes the latter as round in form, of vast extent, with impenetrable forests on its banks, *horrore squalentium silvarum inaccessum*.

But little additional knowledge can be gleaned from the ancient Geographers.

Strabo, p. 192, Lib. IV, cap. III, s. 3, says that the Rhine rises in Mount Adula, probably the Splügen, and in the country of the Helvetii; p. 208, IV, c. VI, s. 11, that the Leman lake, the plains of Switzerland and the Jura (*τὴν λίμνην τὴν Δημένναν, τὰ Ἑλουηττίων πεδία, Ἰόρα*) are on the way from the Pennine Alps (Great St. Bernard) to the Sequani and

Lingones (Franche Comté and Langres) ; and p. 271, VI, 2, 4, that the Rhone flows through the lake of Geneva and visibly maintains its current (*συμμένει τὸ ρεῖμα διὰ λίμνης ἰδν, ὁρατὴν σῶζον τὴν ῥύσιν*). P. 292, VII, 1, 5, he gives the dimensions of the Lake of Constance—more than 300 (perhaps we should read 600) stadia in circumference, and 200 in breadth. He also mentions an island in it, which Tiberius used as a *point d'appui* or base of operations (*ὀρμητήριον*) in his war against the Vindelici. This seems to be Reichenau in the Untersee, a few miles from Constance, as there is no island in the larger lake (Bodensee), Tiberius gained the victory in a naval engagement, surprising the enemy where he least expected to be assailed: Merivale, History of the Romans under the Empire, vol. iv, p. 202, edit. 8vo. The Parliamentary General Ludlow achieved a similar success on the Lakes of Killarney in the year 1652. Strabo also mentions that the Helvetii and Vindelici inhabit high table-lands. (*ὄροπεδια*)

Besides Bregenz, and Constanx where the Emperor Constantius Chlorus built a fort about A.D. 304, Romanshorn and Arbon testify to the presence of the Romans in these parts, both being on the shores of the Bodensee. The former is immediately opposite Friedrichshafen, and was formerly called *Cornu Romanorum*, on account of its situation on a tongue of land. So Cæsar uses the word with reference to the harbour of Brindisi ; Cicero ad Atticum, lib. IX, ep. 14, Ab utroque portus cornu moles jacimus. The latter was *Arbor Felix*, a station on the high road from Vindonissa through Aquæ (Baden), and Vitudurum (Ober Winterthur) to Brigantia.

Ptolemy, Geographia, lib. II, cap. 9, Gallia Belgica, s. 9, under the head Raurici mentions two cities, Augusta Rauricorum, and Argentovaria which appears in Ammianus Marcellinus as Argentaria, XXXI, 10, 8 ; the latter relates that a battle took place there in the war of Gratian with the Germans. Some suppose the modern name to be Elsenheim, and others Arzenheim. *Ibid.* s. 10 "Behind the mountain situated below them (the Lingones) and called Jurassus (*Ἰουρασσός*) are the Helvetii along the River Rhine, whose cities are Ganodurum and Forum Tiberii." Cf. Mommsen, Inscr. Confoed. Helv., p. 27, note. We cannot speak with certainty about these towns, because they do not occur elsewhere. Some have identified Ganodurum with Burg opposite Stein, where the Rhine issues from the Untersee. Cluverius proposed to read Salodurum, which seems probable. Several inscriptions have been found there, Mommsen, Op. citat., Nos. 218-233 ; amongst them one containing the words VICO SALOD, A.D. 216 ; it is in honour of Epona, for whom see my Paper on Autun, *Archæol. Jour.*, vol. xl, pp. 35-37 and foot-notes. The termination *durum* indicates that the place was near water ; it is common both in Gallic and British names, and comes from the Celtic *Dur*, *duir*, Armoric *dour* and *douar* (Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary, s.v.). *Dur* appears sometimes at the beginning, sometimes at the end of a word : comp. Durovernum, Durobrivæ, Durocornovium in Britain ; Durocororum, Divodurum and the river Adour (Atur or Aturus) in Gaul.

Walckenaer thought that Forum Tiberii was at Reichenau ; others have placed it at Steckborn between Stein and Constanx, or at Petinesca (perhaps Biel, Bienne.)

The edition of Ptolemy by Karl Müller, Didot, Paris, 1883, should be consulted, as it is a great improvement upon its predecessors ; the

notes contain many quotations from, and references to, recent authorities, e.g., Leake, Kiepert, Bertrand, Desjardins. At present only the first volume has appeared.

Pomponius Mela, who flourished in the reign of Claudius I, repeats the statement of Strabo about the Rhone passing through the lake of Geneva, II, 5, p. 51, ed. Parthey, *se per medium integer agens quantus venit egreditur*. He says that the Rhine descending from the Alps forms two lakes, Venetus and Acronus, by which he seems to mean the Bodensee and Untersee, III, 2, p. 67, ed. Parthey.

The Antonine Itinerary and the Table of Peutinger.

There were three great routes in Helvetia, one on the eastern and two on the western side. The former connected Brigantia with Comum and Mediolanum (Milan), passing through Curia (Coire, Chur); at this place it divided into two branches forming a loop, as they united again above the head of the lake of Como: Itinerary, pp. 277-279. Of the latter, one was carried over the Graian Alps (Little St. Bernard), and led from Mediolanum to Argentoratum (Strasbourg), through Augusta Praetoria (Aosta), Darantasia (Moutiers, capital of the Tarantaise), Geneva and Vesontio (Besançon), so that the course of the road was south and west of the Leman lake, and west of the lake Neuchâtel; *ib.*, pp. 346-350. On the other road, from Mediolanum to Mogontiacum (Mayence), over the Pennine Alps (Great St. Bernard), we find the stations, Aventiculum, Salodurum and Augusta Rauracum, so that this route took a more easterly direction, *ib.*, pp. 350-355. The pagination is Wesseling's, and is given in the margin by Parthey and Pinder in their excellent edition (1848), which contains a *Conspectus Itinerum*, pp. 291-296; a copious Index of ancient names with corresponding modern ones, pp. 297-403; Facsimiles of MSS., and a map of the *Orbis Romanus* showing the roads and chief stations.

The greater part of Helvetia appears in the Second Segment of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*; in the Third Segment we have a small part of eastern Switzerland, including *Ad Fines* (Pfyn), *Arbor Felix* and *Brigantia*.

There must have been important lines of traffic through Switzerland in ancient times, but I have not met with any direct statement by the Greek or Latin authors to this effect. From evidence of various kinds we know three trade-routes to the amber-coasts—the western, central and eastern: see my paper on Scandinavia, *Archaeol. Jour.*, vol. xxxiv, p. 245 *sq.* and notes; Professor Boyd Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain*, map, Fig. 168, p. 467. "The Etruscan trade passed also northwards through Switzerland into the valley of the Rhine as far as its mouth, and found its way also through various Alpine passes and by the Mediterranean into France."

I add two Inscriptions which deserve special notice—the one on account of its intrinsic interest and connection with Avenches, the other because our own country is mentioned therein.

NVMINI AVGVS  
T////VM  
VIA //VCTA PER M  
DVI/IVM PATERNM  
IIIVIR/I COL HELVEI//

Mommsen, *Insc. Helvet.*, p. 34, No. 181; Orelli, *Insc. Lat.*, vol. i, p. 124, No. 401, edit. 1828.

Numini Augustorum Via ducta per M. Dunium (or Durium) Paternum II Virum Coloniae Helvetiorum.

In the expansion Orelli has *facta* (for *ducta*) and *Dunnium* (*sic*), both of which are inaccurate.

This inscription is still visible at Pierre Pertuis, Pirreport—names evidently derived from Petra Pertusa and Petra Porta—in the Münster Thal (Val Moutiers), north-west of Biel (Bienne). The solid rock, in which there is a natural opening, probably enlarged by art (Murray's Switzerland, Route 1), here formed the boundary between the Sequani and Raurici, and the letters were cut on the side facing the latter, *i.e.*, towards Bâle. Savants of the last and of the present century have climbed up on ladders to decipher them.

DIVL · C · F FAB · CAMILLO  
 SAC · AVG · MAG · TRIB · MIL  
 IEG · IIII · MACED · HAST · PVRA  
 ET · CORONA · AVREA · DN̄XAO  
 ATI · CLAVDIO · CAESARE · AVG  
 ITER · CVM · AB · EO · EVOCATVS  
 IN · BRITANNIA · MILITASSE  
 COL · PIA · FLAVIA · CONSTANS  
 EMERITA ■ HELVETIOR  
 EX ■ DD.

Mommsen, *Op. citat.*, p. 33, No. 179; Orelli, *Op. citat.*, p. 119, No. 363. The inscription is given incorrectly by Muratori in his *Thesaurus*, from which it has been copied in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. cvi, No. 4, and again in the *Rev. H. M. Scarth's Early and Roman Britain*, Appendix IV, p. 241. It commemorates honorary rewards conferred on a veteran (*evocatus*), who had served under Claudius in his British campaign, A.D. 43; they consisted of a spear without a point, like a sceptre (*hasta pura*), and a golden crown. The monument is interesting, because it is one of the earliest in which the name of Britain occurs.

Gruter, p. ccccxv, No. 1, has a similar inscription relating to the same war, and containing the words, *Donis donato a Divo Claudio bello Britannico torquibus armillis phaleris corona aurea*. So Juvenal mentions bosses and neck-chains as decorations of soldiers; *Sat. xvi, v. 60, Ut laeti phaleris omnes et torquibus omnes*.

On this monument the Roman name of Aventicum appears in full, Colonia Pia Flavia Constans Emerita Helvetiorum, and here each word may be satisfactorily explained. We cannot doubt that the colony was planted by an Emperor of the Flavian dynasty, under which also it seems to have been most prosperous. Suetonius informs us that the father of Vespasian practised usury and died in Helvetia (*Vesp. c. i.*) The laudatory epithets Pia Constans were applied to the city on account of its fidelity to Galba (*Tacitus, Histories I, 67, Helvetii . . . Vitellii imperium abnuentes*), which caused it to be attacked by Caecina, the lieutenant of Vitellius (*Tac., id. c. 68, Aventicum...justo agmine*

peteretur). Lastly, the title *Emerita* implies that veteran soldiers were sent thither; the same word occurs in the ancient name of Merida, *Augusta Emerita*, on the river *Anas* (*Guadiana*): Ford, *Handbook of Spain*, pp. 260-62, edit. 1878: Heiss, *Monnaies Antiques de l'Espagne, Lusitanie, Conventus Emeritensis*, pp. 398-405, Plates LX-LXII; there are many types, but the most remarkable is a gateway with two arches, which has been adopted in the armorial bearings of the modern city. Like Avenches, Merida was once very flourishing, but has now shrunk into small dimensions. "Ses ruines seules attestent son ancienne splendeur." Heiss, *ibid.*, p. 399.

For the details of the Roman remains at Avenches, I must refer the reader to Professor Bursian, *Op. citat.* In the first Part (Heft 1) he will find a copious account of the walls, towers, gates, aqueducts and theatre; also a special notice of the Corinthian column, which is the most remarkable architectural feature in the scene, and immediately arrests the traveller's attention: See *Tafel III*, a view of two pillars, or rather half-pillars, together with a ground plan. The loftier one, called *Cigognier* from storks building a nest there, is 37 feet high, and has a diameter of rather more than  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet. Byron, *Childe Harold*, Canto III, Stanza LXV,

"By a lone wall, a lonelier column rears  
A grey and grief-worn aspect of old days," &c.

I traced the wall which Lord Byron mentions for about 30 yards, visible just above the ground. From this and other ruins we may infer that the column belonged to some important edifice, but its use is uncertain. Some think it was a *Cryptoporticus*, which was not underground, as might be supposed from our word *crypt*; but a gallery resembling a cloister, as distinguished from an open colonnade (*porticus*). Bursian suggests a comparison with the *Tabernae argentariae* (silversmith's shops) in the Roman Forum: Bunsen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom.*, Band III, Abtheil 2, p. 25 sq.

The topography and scanty vestiges of "levelled Aventicum" should be studied in connection with the Inscriptions. We find in the latter the word *Schola* descriptive of a building; foundations and jambs of a door that have been discovered seem to correspond with an account of a *Schola* erected in honour of the *Camilli*, *Insc.* 142, 192, edit. Mommsen. Another structure of the same kind, but much more important, had a façade 112 feet long, adorned with columns: it may probably be identified with that mentioned in *Insc.* 184, where the name *Q. Cluvius Macer* occurs. From the honours conferred upon him and the repeated mention of his family, it appears that they held a high position among the local magnates: *cf.* *Insc.* 185, 186. A third *schola*, not far off, was built by the *Nautae Aruranci Aramici* in honour of the imperial house (in honorem domus divinae). They seem to have been employed on a navigable canal between the *Murtensee* (Lake Morat) and Avenches, and derive their name from the river *Arula* (*Arola*), now *Aar*. In Bursian's plan of the town, we see on the outer side of the north wall, *Place d'une boucle d'amarré* (ring for mooring boats). This statement rests on the uncertain foundation of a local tradition.

The word *Schola* may often be translated a school, and sometimes it means a waiting-place in the public baths (*Smith's Dict. of Antiqq.*, pp. 180, 191; *Vitruvius*, V, 10), where people stood till their turn came

(σχολή, rest, leisure) ; but it is also used in a wider sense, answering to our *hall* and the French *salle*. Forcellini, in his *Lexicon s.v.*, gives a satisfactory explanation, *Dictae sunt etiam Scholae corpora sive ordines varii generis hominum, uni eidemque officio addictorum. . . . Eodem nomine appellata sunt aedificia, ubi ejusmodi corpora conveniebant.* Similarly there was a *Schola* at Rome, named *Xantha* from *Bebryx Drusianus A. Fabius Xanthus*, between the temples of *Vespasian* and *Saturn* in the *Forum*. It is described in *Murray's Handbook*, p. 23, edit. 1864, as a raised triangular space surrounded by the remains of a portico, under which were the statues of the 12 *Dii Consenti* (*sic*). Read *Consentes* i.e. *Conesentes*, those who are together ; cf. *ibid.* p. 44, and *Emil Braun*, *Ruins and Museums of Rome*, p. 13 ; *Dr. W. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, vol. ii, p. 788 sq. ; *Bunsen*, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, Band III, Abtheilung 2, p. 9, *Versammlungssaal der Genossenschaft der Schreiber und Ausrufer der curulischen Aedilen* (*librarium et praeconum aedilium*) ; cf. *Plan* at the end of the volume, *Fori Romani et Clivi Capitolini Vestigia*. *Xanthus* occurs frequently on pottery at *Autun*, *Mémoires de la Soc. Eduenne*. Tom. III, p. 394.

Some vaults and walls of the amphitheatre are still visible at the northern end of *Avenches*, close to a tower used as the local museum, and also adjoining the road from *Berne* to *Lausanne*. It was elliptical in form, having a greater axis of 314 feet, and a lesser of 282. The theatre was on the south-eastern side of the ancient city in a quarter where few Roman remains have been found, beyond the *Forum* and *Cigognier* column ; when *Bursian* wrote (1867), part of the substructions of the *cavea* (semi-circular tiers of seats for spectators), and of the eastern outer wall had been laid bare.

A steep ascent on the north side leads to the town of *Avenches*, and this circumstance points it out as the place where the *Capitol* was situated, which the colonists built in imitation of that of *Rome*. See *Daremberg* and *Saglio*, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, d'après les textes et les monuments*, s.v. *Capitolium*. Here too, were the temples of the tutelary goddess (*Stadtgöttin*) *Aventia* and of *Victoria* ; *Mommsen*, *Insec.* 154-156, 165 sq.

In the plan of *Aventicum*, above mentioned, the dates of discoveries are marked on the respective localities.

The Mosaic of *Orpheus*, No. 23, if *Bursian's* engraving may be trusted, presents another peculiarity ; the musical instrument which the *Thracian* bard is playing resembles a banjo, as it has a circular sounding board, and thus differs from the Greek lyre, which is shown with more details than usual in *Sir George Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. *Lyre*, Part viii, p. 181 sq. The illustration, copied from a drawing upon an amphora (B.C. 440-380) in the *British Museum*, represents *Apollo* holding a cithara : First Vase room, Case 53, No. 744 ; *Catalogue of Vases*, vol. i, p. 217. We see here seven strings, but there are only five in the "curious and rudely formed instrument," which *Orpheus* holds at *Corinium* : *Buckman* and *Newmarch*, Plate VII, opposite p. 32. *Sir J. G. Wilkinson*, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, pp. 234-237, 297-304, with woodcuts, gives many examples of the guitar, none of the banjo. *Millin's Plate of the Swiss Mosaic* has the lyre of the ordinary shape, *Galerie Mythologique*, CVII, 423 ; *Explication des Planches* p. 17 sq. *Millin* follows *Laborde*, *Voyage pittoresque de la Suisse*, No. 197.

In the arabesque border acorn-cups, for which Valonia is the commercial name, alternate with heart-shaped leaves (ivy ?).

M. Caspari, the local antiquary, recommended the following works as useful to those who would make a special study of Aventicum—Dobloff (Vienna), very recent, containing the Bibliography of Avenches; De Maudrot, *Voies romaines*; Hager, *Antiquities of Avenches*.

Basilia (Bâle) is said to be called *Basiliensium Civitas* in the *Notitia*; it must not be confounded with Basilias near Reims, from which the *Porte Bazée*, Bazeil and Bazel in old French, *Basilicaris* in Latin, derives its name. The latter place is marked thus in the Antonine Itinerary, p. 173, ed. Parthey and Pinder; p. 363 sq., ed. Wesseling.

Item a	Durocortoro (Reims)	Divodurum (Metz)	usque	mpm LXII sic.
1 Basilia	...	...	...	mpm X
2 Axuena	...	...	...	mpm XII.

Loriquet, Reims pendant la Domination romaine, *Travaux de l'Académie Impériale de Reims*, 1861, pp 278-285, esp. p. 284.

In reading abbreviations the Helvetii must be distinguished from the Helvii, a people who lived in Gallia Narbonensis, and were separated by the Cevennes from the Arverni: Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* VII, 7, 8; Strabo, IV, ii, 2, Ἑλλοῦοι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντες, Οὐελλάδιοι δὲ μετὰ τούτους, οἱ προσωρίζοντό ποτε Ἀρουέροις. Schmidt, *Antiquités d'Avenches*, p. 8, gives an inscription, in which the words GENIO COL. HEL. occur, and, by way of illustration, refers to a medal of the Emperor P. Helvius Pertinax with the legend COL. HEL. These letters have been variously explained as meaning Colonia Helvetica, Helvia and Heliopolitana (*sic*). One would expect Heliopolitana in accordance with the Greek words Ἡλιούπολις (Baalbec), Ἡλιουπολίτας, v. Pape, *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennahmen*. The coin was most probably a forgery; it is not mentioned by Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, or by Cohen, *Méd. Imp.*

De Bonstetten, *Carte Archéologique du Canton de Vaud*, concludes his Article on Bosséaz by noticing a Roman cemetery below *Urba*. "Il renfermait des assiettes en terre sigillée et des urnes cinéraires en verre dont l'une *en forme de poisson*." Comp. "the glass vessel in the form of a fish" at the Hôtel de Ville, Autun, described in my Paper on the Antiquities of that city, *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xl, p. 41 sq. and notes.

In the same work, p. 4, De Bonstetten mentions that an aqueduct brought water to Avenches from the mill at Prez, four leagues distant in a southerly direction, and two kilomètres from the little lake of Seedorf, which is marked in Keller's *Reisekarte der Schweiz*. It was a channel carried underground, and entered the city at the West gate. All that remains *in situ* is a fragment of arched masonry that has been walled up, 2½ feet high, nearly one mile from Avenches. There was another aqueduct, much shorter, from a spring on the west side of the Bois de Châtel, of which traces are visible; viz., a square piece of Jura marble with an opening in the centre, and vestiges of the fastening of a cover; and secondly, some hard cement on which water has left a solid deposit. Comp. *Catalogue du Musée Cantonal de Fribourg*, 1882, p. 76, No. 129, "Blocs de ciment de l'aqueduc romain Pré-Avenches,—Don des entrepreneurs de la ligne Fribourg-Yverdon, 1875."

Much curious information will be found in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London: vol. vi, Second Series (1873-1876), p. 49 sq., contains an account of drawings of Roman plate discovered at Wettingen, a village near Baden in the Canton Aargau, on the road from Mogontiacum (Mainz) to Vindonissa (Windisch). Amongst the objects found there was a highly-ornamented skillet, round which were represented, in relief and partly gilt, the deities who preside over the days of the week with distinguishing attributes. This vessel, therefore, illustrates the great mosaic at Orbe, described above. Comp. Keller's Arch-äologische Karte der Ostschweiz, p. 30, Wettingen under the heading Aargau, Römische Ansiedelungen; p. 31 Fund von römischem Silbergeschirr. Besides the large Map, this brochure of 34 pages is accompanied by the part of Peutinger's Table relating to Helvetia, a chart showing the Antonine Itinerary for the same country, the Castra Vindonissensia, and plans of Vitodurum (Ober-Winterthur), Turicum (Zurich), &c. For the treasure found at Wettingen see also Mommsen Insc. No. 241 sq. s.v. Aquæ Vicus Helvetiorum; and for Swiss archæology in general, Indices to vols. vi and viii, Proceedings Soc. Antiq. Lond. The most important object mentioned in the latter volume is an Etruscan War Chariot of Bronze from the Lake Dwellings, pp. 95-98: cf, Catalogue of the Fribourg Museum, p. 75, No. 121, Cercles en fer et fragment d'anneau, probablement d'un chariot de guerre.

See also Archæologia, vol. xlvii, pp. 131-136, and full-page Plate; The Grave-mounds of Lunckhofen, in the Canton of Aargau, by Dr. Ferdinand Keller, with a Translation by W. M. Wylie, Esq.

*Cf. omn.* The General Index to volumes i-xxv of the *Archæological Journal*, s.v. Switzerland: the references closely printed occupy nearly an entire column.

The pre-historic antiquary should not fail to visit the Glacier-Garden at Lucerne: a description of it in four languages—English, French, German, and Italian—may be obtained on the spot. These geological remains were discovered in the years 1872-75. "Unmittelbar angrenzend, neben dem Löwen-Denkmal, der Gletscher-Garten, eine Stelle, wo die Wirkungen d. einstigen Gletscherzeit (quaternäre Periode) in höchst merkwürdiger Weise sich zusammengedrängt haben. Man sieht grosse Fündlinge in a.g. Riesentöpfen v. 10 bis 18 F. Durchmesser u. 9 bis 15 F. Tiefe. Berlepsch, Schweiz, 1882, Luzern und Umgebung. This edition omits some names of places included in earlier guide-books.

The finest work of Greek sculpture in Switzerland is a Torso of Venus at Geneva. Mr. Talfourd Ely read a learned and exhaustive Paper upon it (which I regret to say has not been printed) before the Classical Society of University College, London, March 31st, 1881. There is an excellent cast in the Slade School of Art. The original was found in the Gardens of Sallust, which lay in the valley between the Quirinal and the Pincian (Dr. Wm. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, vol. ii, p. 831). *Cf.* Tacitus, Annals, III, 30, diversus a veterum instituto per cultum et munditias; and Orelli's note, *munditiae* magis ad supellectilem ac tabulas pictas signaque pertinent. This statue was bought by M. Etienne Duval for a Museum at Geneva, belonging, I believe, to the Municipality: see Univ. Coll. Lond. Calendar, Session 1883-4, p. 291.

It only remains for me to express my deep obligations in compiling this Memoir to the writings of Mommsen and Bursian; to bear my humble



testimony to the industry and acuteness of the Swiss Antiquaries ; and to return my cordial thanks to Dr. Sieber, Universitäts-Bibliothekar, and Professor J. J. Bernoulli of Bâle, and to M. Caspari of Avenches, for their kind co-operation during my visit to Switzerland in the year 1883.

P.S. — With the Inscription of Plancus above-mentioned comp. Caylus, *Recueil d'Antt.*, III, 251, Pl. LXVIII, 1, L PLANCVS|L.F.COS|IMP. ITER|DE MANIB. A statue of Plancus has been erected in the court-yard of the Town-hall (Rathhaus) at Bâle.

For a Mithraic altar found at Augst see Bulletin, Soc. of Ant. of France, 1883, p. 117, with engraving ; art. by the Abbé Thédénat.

Mommsen, *Insc. Helvet.*, No. 343<sup>4</sup> |HEC. GEMELLANVS P. M. Castan thinks the Inscription is votive, and reads AQVIS HEL(veticis) GEMELLANVS. *Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation du Doubs*, Séance du 14 février, 1880.

ON THE DIFFERENCE OF PLAN ALLEGED TO EXIST  
BETWEEN CHURCHES OF AUSTIN CANONS AND THOSE  
OF MONKS; AND THE FREQUENCY WITH WHICH  
SUCH CHURCHES WERE PAROCHIAL.

By the Rev. J. F. HODGSON.

(Continued.)

My direct and immediate answer to the first of the five propositions I undertook to refute, viz. :—that which alleges that the churches of Austin canons were always, or nearly always, parochial, being now complete; I have next, and conversely, to shew further that, “though some of them were undoubtedly of this dual or compound character, such was also the case with a considerably greater number of the Benedictine, and other churches of monks.” What that number—so far as I have been able to ascertain it—was, the following list, which will be found I think as complete and exact, perhaps, as can now be made out, may suffice to shew. The total number of Austin canons' churches, which were really parochial as well as monastic, was shewn, it may be remembered, to be just thirty-seven. I now proceed to describe no fewer than one hundred and nineteen churches of the various Benedictine orders which belonged to the same class; in other words to shew that, so far from it having been in any way a special or peculiar characteristic of—or, as would seem to be implied, one involving a certain stigma or mark of inferiority in—such Augustinian churches that they were parochial; those of the Benedictines which were so too, were not only, as I have stated, “considerably” more in number, but positively stood to those churches in the ratio of more than three to one. So much then for this comparative, or, as it may be called, “*tu quoque*” aspect of the case, the examples, in illustration of which I hereunder subjoin in—

LIST IV.—CHURCHES OF THE BENEDICTINE AND OTHER  
ORDERS OF MONKS WHICH WERE PAROCHIAL.

ABERGAVENNY BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, MONMOUTHSHIRE.—Hamelin Balon is said to have founded this house, temp. William the Conqueror or William Rufus. Among many other advowsons, it possessed that of the parish church of Abergavenny, which served also as that of the priory. The ruins still exist adjoining the nave, which, with the rest of the church remains, not only in use, but in very perfect preservation.

**ALDEBY BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.**—Agnes de Belfo, wife of Hubert de Rye, castellan of Norwich, at the request of Herbert de Losinga, the bishop, granted great part of the lordship of Aldeby to the priory of Norwich, together with the patronage of the church (the bishop appropriating it thereto), whereupon a cell, consisting of a prior and three monks, was erected in honour of S. Mary, closely adjoining the parish church. Dug. iv, 461.

The church, a picturesque, though plain and somewhat irregular building, remains perfect, and in use as that of the parish.

**ALLERTON MAULEVERER BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.**—The church of S. Martin here, having been given by Richard Mauleverer to the abbey of Marmoutier, a cell to that house was forthwith established on the spot. "*Henricus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, &c. . . . . Sciatis me . . . . . confirmasse monachis majoris monasterii in Alvertona, ecclesiam sancti Martini in Alvertona, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et decimis, et obventiones, et homines, et terras, et possessiones,*" &c. Dug. vii, 1028. For a translation of the original charter of the endowment, and of the conversion of the chapel of S. Martin into a parochial as well as conventual church, see York vol. of the Institute under heading, "*Holy Trinity Priory, York,*" pp. 27-8.

The church, a fine cruciform building, is still standing and in use.

**ANDOVER BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, HAMPSHIRE.**—Andover priory was a cell to the abbey of S. Florence, at Saumur, in Anjou. The buildings of the priory adjoined the church of S. Mary, at this place, which, with all its possessions, was given by William the Conqueror to that foreign house. It continued to exist as the church of the parish till its complete destruction by Dr. Goddard (head master of Winchester College), about forty-six years since.

"From the complete separation of the chancel and nave, I should conclude that the church must have been monastic and parochial. The tower was between the nave and chancel. The altar was in the chancel, and the inhabitants went through a door from the nave into the tower, and again by a door in a kind of screen into the chancel. There were signs of a large arch in the tower on the nave side."—

Letters of Rev. C. Collier, vicar, accompanied with drawing of old church from painting in the vestry.

**ARUNDEL BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, SUSSEX.**—"The case of the collegiate church of Arundel" has been already so amply and excellently set forth by Mr. Freeman in this Journal, xxxvii, 244-70, that all that need here be said concerning it is that, originally, and before its conversion into a collegiate church, it was not only the parish church of Arundel, but also that of a priory of Benedictine monks, established by Roger de Montgomery, as a cell to the abbey Sees, in Normandy.

**ASTLEY BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, WORCESTERSHIRE.**—Astley priory was a cell to the abbey of S. Taurinus, near Ebroux, and was founded by Ralph de Todenei, before A.D. 1160. According to Nash, a portion for the vicar was precisely set down about A.D. 1316. He had also, it seems, the liberty to fetch water from a certain fountain in the prior's garden. "This fountain still remains in the rector's garden. The

old rectory was to the south of the churchyard, and was very probably the priest's house before the Reformation. Being very dilapidated, however, it was removed about the beginning of the present century."—Letter of the Rev. H. W. Crocket, rector.

As the priory would seem from the facts above stated to have closely adjoined the churchyard in the usual way where the church was common both to the priory and parish, there can be little doubt, though positive proof be wanting, that such was the case also in the present instance.

**BARROW GURNEY BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, SOMERSETSHIRE.**—Tanner, following Leland, attributes the foundation of this priory to one of the Gurneys, at a date uncertain, but prior to A.D. 1200. It was endowed, *inter alia*, with the rectory of the parish church, which, closely adjoining it on the north-east served also as that of the convent. The priory, though much altered and rebuilt, is at present represented by a spacious mansion known as the "Court"; while the church, in spite of much mischievous rebuilding in 1820, retains generally, as it would seem, its original plan and dimensions.—Letter, with sketch ground plan, of the Rev. A. Wadmore, vicar.

**BENNINGTON, LONG, CISTERCIAN ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.**—Tanner says, the church and four carucates of land in this town being given by Ralph de Fulgeris to the abbey of Savigney, before A.D. 1175, here became an alien priory of Cistercian monks subordinate to that foreign monastery.—Dug. vii, 1024.

"The chancel" (of the ancient parish church) "is very large, but of good proportions. The prior's seat, as also the ends of other of the old chancel seats, remain. The church is cruciform, and the tower well preserved. A farm house, close to the churchyard, is said to be built on the site of the domestic buildings, and the fish ponds still exist."

"An old man told our parish clerk that the stalls" (of which there are five) "used to be under the north window in the chancel" (that is in the western half of that side) "and that the prior's seat was in the position marked on the plan" (that is, facing south in the angle formed by the north wall and the respond of the chancel arch). "This seems its natural position, as one side was originally built into a wall, and on the other side there is a mark of a plain bench having been fitted against it, and also a board for the back. It seems quite clear that this seat stood by itself, and that the other five stalls belong to a separate range." "With these exceptions, that it is slightly larger than the other stalls, and that it is a little more carved, there is nothing to distinguish this particular seat from the rest. Yet it has always stood by itself, and has always been known as 'the prior's seat.'"—Letters and plan, of the Rev. W. Barker, vicar.

**BINHAM BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.**—"Notum sit . . . quod ego Petrus de Valoniis et Albredda uxor mea, . . . dono et concedo Deo et sanctæ Mariæ et sancto Albano ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ de Binham totumque manerium meum &c . . . Quæ ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ de Binham eo tenore subicitur ecclesiæ sancti Albani in cella" &c. At the Dissolution, the choir and transepts of this large church were destroyed, or let go to ruin; the nave being retained as aforetime for the use of the

parishioners. Two good plates of Binham priory, with a plan, are given in Britton's Arch. Ant. of Gt. Britain, iii, 71.

**BIRSTALL BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, HOLDERNESS, YORKS.**—Birstall was a cell to the abbey of S. Martin de Alceis, near Albemarle. Stephen, earl of Albemarle, having given A.D. 1115, to those monks several tithes and churches in this part of Yorkshire and north Lincolnshire, they sent over a procurator with some brethren to look after the same. These fixed their cell in the chapel of S. Helen here, and so continued till the sale of their property to the abbot and convent of Kirkstall, 18th Richard II.

"Omnibus &c. Walterus Dei gratia Eboracensis archiepiscopus &c. . . Attendentes etiam quod non habuerunt hucusque in provincia nostra locum suæ habitationi congruum . . . capellan de Birstall, cum suis pertinentiis, et cum decimis de Skeflings . . . eidem imperpetuum concedimus . . . ita quod prædicta capella in nullo ecclesiæ de Esinton subjiçiat; sed prior de Birstall capellanum, quem parochiæ de Birsta duxerit præponendum, decano præsentet pro voluntate prioris amovendum; qui excessus parochianorum decano denunciaret et capitula sectetur." &c.—Dug. vii, 1019-20.

**BLYTHE BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.**—"Notum sit . . . quod ego Rogerus de Builly et uxor mea Muriel . . . dedi, concessi, et hac præsentî carta mea confirmavi Deo et beatæ Mariæ de Blida, et monachis ibidem Deo serventibus, ecclesiam de Blida, et totam villam integrè, &c."—Dug. iv, 623.

The eastern, or monastic part of the church of S. Mary is pulled down and destroyed; the western part, or nave, continues to be used as the parish church. There are also some slight remains of the adjoining priory. Plans and drawings of this interesting church have been published by Mr. Hodges, architect, Durham; reference to which may be seen in this Journal.

**BOXGROVE BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, SUSSEX.**—The church of S. Mary and S. Blase at Boxgrove was founded by Robert de Haye, and given by him to the abbey of Essay, which placed in it a cell of three monks. The western, or parochial portion of this fine and singularly interesting building is ruined; the eastern, or monastic church or choir, being now occupied as the parish church. An excellent historical and architectural account, with plan, view and details, may be found in the volume containing Prof. Willis's Architectural History of Chichester Cathedral.

**BRECKNOCK BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH.**—Brecknock priory was a cell to Battle abbey. The church, a fine cruciform building, perfectly preserved, was always, as at present, parochial. A long and interesting agreement between the vicar, and the prior and convent, may be seen in Dugdale, Mon. iii. 267.

**BROMFIELD BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, SHROPSHIRE.**—A college of secular canons who were established here from an early period, in A.D. 1155 yielded up their church and all their lands to the abbey of S.

Peter at Gloucester; whereupon a prior and certain monks were settled on the spot, and so continued till the dissolution.

"H. dei gratia rex Angliæ, &c., Sciatis me.....dedisse.....ecclesiam meam S. Mariæ de Bromfeld, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, priori et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, tenendum de me.....sicut nostram dominicam capellam.....salva tamen tenura prædictorum canonicorum quamdiu vixerint. Post mortem autem illorum liberè et quiete..... ad proprios usus.....revertantur," &c. Dug. iv, 154-5.

The ancient parochial and monastic church of Bromfield still exists, though badly "restored" in 1840. The remains of the priory buildings stood till lately—perhaps still stand—closely adjoining it towards the south.

**BUNGAY BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, SUFFOLK.**—The priory of Bungay was founded by Roger de Glanvill, and the countess Gundreda his wife, virtually by the latter alone, circa A.D. 1160, to the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Holy Cross; and endowed, *inter alia*, with the church of S. Mary, Bungay, to which it was attached. The church (near which the ruins of the house remain), though much altered and rebuilt, still remains in use as that of the parish.

**BURTON UPON TRENT BENEDICTINE ABBEY CHURCH, STAFFORDSHIRE.**—Founded by Wulfric Spott, temp. Ethelred, whose charter of confirmation is dated A.D. 1004. It was placed under the invocation of S. Mary and S. Modwenna, an Irish saint who lived as an anchorite for several years on an island in the Trent near the place, and was there buried. After the dissolution, king Henry VIII founded, according to Tanner, about Nov. 3, 1541, on the site, and in the church of this monastery, a college, consisting of a dean and four canons, but it lasted only for a short time, being dissolved before A.D. 1545. The ancient monastic and collegiate church of St. Mary and S. Modwenna continued to be used as that of the parish till A.D. 1720, when, being greatly dilapidated, it was taken down and the present church built in its stead.

**BURWELL BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.**—The priory of Burwell was founded, according to Tanner, by some of the Lords of Kyme, by whom it was given as a cell to the abbey of S. Mary Silvæ Majoris, near Bordeaux. "A Honorable homme et sage de seint religion l'abbé de Silve-Majour, Gilbert de Umframvill, count Dangos, et seigneur de Kyme, honeurs, &c.....vous priouns chèrement, que vous voillies mander un priour covenable.....pur la sauf gard de la priorie et pur servir la eglise parochial, car il ny ad chapelain pur servir la eglise ni ministrer les sacramentz au parochiens," &c.—Dug. vi, 1015.

The parish, and formerly conventual, church of Burwell—a small, aisleless building of Norman date—is still standing and in use. "The ruins of the priory (mounds and hollows) come close up to the east end of the church, and we have come upon some stone work when digging near the east end."—Letter of the Rev. C. A. Alington, rector of Muckton, Louth.

**CANNINGTON BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, SOMERSETSHIRE.**—Robert de'Curcy was the founder of the nunnery of Cannington, circa A.D. 1140; endowing it with the manor, and rectory and vicarage of the

place. Leland, speaking of Cannington, says, "There was a priory of nunnes, whose church was hard adnexid to the east of the paroch church." Dug., iv, 416-17.

By "hard adnexid" is to be understood—joined on to; the structural chancel having, in fact, formed the monastic chapel.

**CARDIGAN BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH.**—This was a cell to the abbey of Chertsey, of uncertain foundation, but existing prior to A.D. 1291. Leland says that in his time it was inhabited by only two monks. "Thomas Hore prior prioratus prædicti.....tenet prioratum domus et edificia prioratui..... ac ecclesiam parrochialem villæ Cardigan' cum capella de Tref Mayne, cum omnibus eorum emolumentis et profic'." &c.—Valor Hen. VIII.

The parish church of Cardigan, which was also that of the priory, stands to the east of the town, the site of the priory lying eastwards of it again. There still exists a "door leading to the priory from the south-east corner of the sanctuary."—Letter of the Rev. W. C. Davies, vicar.

**CARISBROOKE BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, ISLE OF WIGHT.**—William Fitz-Osbern, earl of Hereford, having founded the abbey of Lira in Normandy, endowed the same, circa A.D. 1071, with several possessions in England; among others with the church of S. Mary in Carisbrooke, wherein a prior and some other monks from that house were soon after settled.

"Sciant præsentēs, &c., quod ego Willielmus de Vernun, filius comitis Baldwini, dedi et concessi et hac carta confirmavi, ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ de Carisbroc, et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus," &c.—Dug. vii, 1040-1.

"The present church of Carisbrooke was the church of the cell of the Benedictines at Carisbrooke." 'The remains,' says Mr. Freeman, 'are worth studying as an example of monastic arrangements on the smallest scale.'

"The church is not cruciform, but with a double nave after a pattern common in the Isle of Wight. The choir was single, projecting from the northern body, but has been pulled down; on the north side stood a small cloister that did not take up the whole length of the nave, a gateway ranging with its west wall.

"I think there is every reason to suppose that where the present communion table stands, at the end of the nave, there was an altar for the use of the parishioners, and that there was a small choir beyond it for the use of the few Benedictine monks of the cell of Carisbrooke."—Letter of the Rev. E. B. James, vicar.

**CHEPSTOW BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, MONMOUTHSHIRE.**—Chepstow priory was founded as a cell to the abbey of Cormeilles, according to Coxe, soon after the Conquest. The church of St. Mary—a fine cruciform building—which was also that of the parish, retains yet, though much mutilated and rebuilt, several of its Norman features.

**CHESTER BENEDICTINE ABBEY, NOW CATHEDRAL, CHURCH.**—The abbey church of S. Werburgh, at Chester, was in its origin the ancient parish or mother church of SS. Peter and Paul, to which the relics of S. Werburgh were brought for safety, circa A.D. 875. In honour of her re-

mains, it was rebuilt on a much enlarged scale by Æthelred, earl of Mercia, and his wife Æthelflæd early in the tenth century, when it was served by secular canons. In A.D. 1095, Hugh Lupus, earl of Chester, at the persuasion of S. Anselm, expelled these seculars and introduced Benedictines in their stead. This history may serve to account for the fact of the church having been parochial as well as monastic to the last, and for the rebuilding of the south transept, on such an enormous and disproportionate scale—as the parish church of S. Oswald—late in the 14th century. In the Survey, temp. Hen. VIII, we read :—“ The p'sonage of Saynt Oswaldis w<sup>t</sup> a certeyn tythe barne w<sup>t</sup>in the seyd late abbey of Chest'r . . . . Is worthe by ze'ce lxxij *l*z, xij*s*, vj*d*. Whiche p'sonage was latelye in the abbotts hands to the use of his house,” &c. And :—“ Wagis of p'sts, that is to saye, . . . . the wagis of the p'rysshe pryste of Saynt Oswald's askethe vj*s*, viij*d*. for mete and drynk of a pryste helpynge hym in the tyme of Lente and att Easter, to here confessyon, as ytt hathe ben accustomed,” &c.

**COGGES BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, OXFORDSHIRE.**—Cogges was a cell to the abbey of the Holy Trinity at Fecamp, in Normandy, and was probably established by the ancestors of Manaser de Arsic, lord of the barony of the place, who added new donations to it in 1103 and 1107. Dug., vii, 1003.

“The church undoubtedly was that of the priory (in which I now live), and I imagine it must have been originally as now, parochial, as well as monastic, because the porch, the oldest remaining part (Norman), is on the south side, *i.e.*, furthest from the priory, as an entrance for the people, while there is another door (now closed) on the north side, which served as an entrance for the monks, and distant only a few steps—twelve yards or so—from the old doorway of the priory.” Letter of the Rev. I. Payne, vicar.

**CRANBOURNE BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, DORSETSHIRE.**—Aylward Snaw is said to have built an abbey for black monks here, to the honour of the Saviour, S. Mary and S. Bartholomew, circa A.D. 960 ; and to it, the ruined monastery of Tewkesbury, with the possessions of which it became endowed, remained as a cell for above a century. In A.D. 1102, however, the great body of the monks were removed by Robert Fitz Hamon, earl of Gloucester, the patron of both houses, to Tewkesbury, leaving at Cranbourne only two or three of their number, as a cell. Dug. iv, 465.

The conventual, which was also the parish, church of Cranbourne, still exists in its integrity, preserving many of its Norman features.

**CROYLAND BENEDICTINE ABBEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.**—This church, which is said to have been founded by Ethelbald, king of Mercia, in A.D. 716, was probably parochial from the first. Shortly after the dissolution, the choir and eastern parts were taken down ; the nave with its two aisles being left as the parish church. It so continued till the latter part of the seventeenth century, when the roof of the nave and south aisle falling in, the north aisle and north-west tower were enclosed to serve for that purpose, an arrangement which continues to the present day. The solid screen of stone, with its two doors, which separated the parochial nave



from the monastic choir and transept, may still be seen forming part of the terminal wall of the church as arranged when the eastern part was destroyed. Good views of Croyland abbey church are given in Britton's Arch. Ant., iv, 85-102.

**DEEPING S. JAMES, OR EAST DEEPING PRIORY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.**—Deeping priory, a cell to the abbey of Thorney, was founded A.D. 1139, by Baldwin, son of Gilbert de Wake, who gave the church of S. James, Deeping, to that house, for the purpose.—“Ego Baldwinus Wac ... ad usus monachorum quos abbas Thorneia, consilia capituli sui, sub obedientia sua mansuros ibidem voluerit collocare in ecclesia sancti Jacobi, &c. confirmo Deo et sanctæ Mariæ et ecclesiæ Thormensi omnia beneficia . . . . quæ avus meus Baldwinus, &c. eidem ecclesiæ dedimus in Deping, scilicet ecclesiam sancti Jacobi, cum pertinentiis suis,” &c. . . . “Memorandum quod anno Domini millesimo ccccxxij frater Ricardus Over tunc prior de Depyng habuit pro domino Thoma Berham ecclesiæ sancti Jacobi de Est depyng vicario equum suum cum sella et freno, nomine Principalis, qui obiit undecimo Kal. Januarii.”—Dug. v, 167-9.

The ancient monastic and parochial church of S. James—a very stately and remarkable, though mutilated building—still continues, as aforesaid, to serve as that of the parish. Letter of the Rev. I. George, vicar of Deeping S. James.

**DEERHURST BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.**—Of very ancient foundation, the house of Deerhurst is said to have been rebuilt A.D. 1056, by king Edward the Confessor, who gave it, with its lands and the advowson of the church, to the abbey of S. Denis. Thence it passed to Richard, earl of Cornwall, and in the 21st Hen. VI. was made denizen. The conventual, was all along, as it still remains, the parish church of Deerhurst.

**DUNSTER BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, SOMERSETSHIRE.**—A very full account of this church having already appeared in this Journal, xxxvii, 271-77, it is only necessary to say here that the priory was founded by William de Mohun the elder, temp. William the Conqueror, and endowed by him *inter alia*, with the parish church of S. George, which thereafter became also the priory church. In A.D. 1498, the monks and parishioners being unable to agree, the following division of the building was effected :—The monks retained to their private use the chancel, with its aisles or chapels, and most probably the transept which gave entrance thereto, and would thus serve as a sort of narthex or ante-chapel : the parishioners took the nave and its aisles ; and, constructing a ritual chancel by means of screen-work carried across its entire breadth, set up the parish altar in the deeply recessed space between the western piers of the central tower ; opening at the same time doorways in the blocked eastern ends of the aisles, so as to admit the joint processions of monks and parishioners which were ordained to take place on certain specified occasions.

**EASEBOURNE BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, SUSSEX.**—The small priory of nuns at Easebourne is said to have been founded by Sir John Bohun of Midhurst, towards the end of the reign of Henry III. In A.D. 1521, Joan Sackfylde, the prioress, is enjoined—“quod faciat clausuras fenestras capellæ, ex orientali parte infra (inter?) capellam prioratus et ecclesiam.”

The nunnery house is still existing; but the cloister, formerly connecting it with the south aisle of the parish church, which served as the chapel of the nuns—now in ruins, however, and roofless—is destroyed. Dug. iv, 423-4.

**EAST DEREHAM BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.**—"Est in provincia Nordfolca villa quæ dicitur Dereham. . . . Hic monasterium condere satagebat Withburga, sepelitur in cæmeterio Derhamensi. Illud originale monasterium in Derham, irruptione paganorum, ac tempestate bellorum, fugato choro sacrarum verginum, in vulgarem parochiam est destitutum."—Leland, Coll. ii, 154.

**EDITH WESTON BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, RUTLANDSHIRE.**—The priory of Edith Weston was a cell to the abbey of S. George at Banquerville, in Normandy, to which it was given by William de Tancarville, chamberlain to king Henry I. "If the site of the church is any guide, we may certainly infer that the parish church in this place was used as the church of the priory, for not only is the remnant of the priory *near* the church, but actually touches it, and until the year 1848, when the church was restored, there was a room connecting the priory with the church over the north aisle."—Letter of the Rev. C. H. Lucas, vicar.

**ELSTOW BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, BEDFORDSHIRE.**—The priory of Elstow was founded temp. William the Conqueror, by his niece Judith, wife of Waltheof, earl of Huntingdon. The church, which was also that of the parish, still remains in use.

**EVERDON BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.**—"There is no doubt the present parish church is the old priory church. The old fish pond is still traceable in the field below the church yard; and the southern porch, a fine decorated piece of Edward IV period, was the mode of access to the prior and his clergy from their grounds and buildings. . . There are monumental slabs of some of the priors in the floor of the church. I may add the last prior was appointed first rector. As to the priory buildings no trace remains of them near the church, but they are said to have extended from the church to the mill on the Nene, about a quarter-of-a-mile off, where a fireplace in the manor cottage claims to have belonged to the priory."—Letter of the Rev. W. L. Hardisty, vicar.

**EWENNY BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, GLAMORGANSHIRE.**—According to Leland, the priory of Ewenny was founded by Sir John de Londres, probably early in the 12th century. It was endowed, *inter alia*, with the rectory of the parish church of S. Michael there, and given A.D. 1141, by Maurice de Londres to the abbey of S. Peter at Gloucester, as a cell. The nave of Ewenny priory church still continues to be used as that of the parish; the originally conventual choir seems to be now set apart as a charnel-house for the owner of the monastic estate.

**EYE BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, SUFFOLK.**—The priory of Eye was founded, temp. William the Conqueror, by Robert Malet, one of the companions of his expedition, who endowed it, *inter alia*, with the parish church of S. Peter, and all its possessions there . . . . "Ego Robertus Malet, . . . ad usus monachorum apud Eyam monasterium construo, et

monachorum conventum in eo pono. Et . . . eidem monasterio . . . confero, . . . Imprimis ecclesiam Eye . . . cum omnibus terris et decimis eidem pertinentibus"—Dug. iii, 404-5.

"The ruins are distant about a quarter-of-a-mile from the church, and are on the opposite side of the small river Dove, a tributary of the Waveney. The church is not cruciform. It has aisles to the nave and chancel, but they do not extend as far east as the chancel. The south chancel-aisle was used, I believe, by the monks from the priory. According to the notes of Mr. Sewell, vicar of Yaxley: 'In 1410 *abbey chapel* or south-chancel aisle, and *abbey aisle* or south aisle were built.' These were formerly kept distinct (by a screen, I believe). The entrance to *abbey chapel* was through priest's door (now bricked up)."—Letter of the Rev. D. Campbell, vicar.

**FAREWELL BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, STAFFORDSHIRE.**—The nave of the ancient nunnery church of Farewell, which was also that of the parish, was taken down and rebuilt in brick, in A.D. 1747, the chancel being suffered to remain. A view of it as it appeared in 1744 is given in Shaw's History of Staffordshire.

"Ego Rogerus dei gracia Cestrensis episcopus . . . confirmavi sanctionalibus et Deo devotis mulieribus ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ de Faurewelle in perpetuam elemosinam cum omnibus appendiciis suis" &c.—Dug. iv, 110-11.

**FOLKESTONE BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, KENT.**—Folkestone priory was originally of very early Saxon foundation. At a later period it became a cell to the abbey of Lonlay, and later still, A.D. 1137, on account of the incursions of the sea, was removed by William de Abrincis to a site southwards of a new church which he had built, and which, with all its appurtenances, he made over to it. This church, which from the first was designed for parochial, as well as conventual uses, still continues as the parish church of Folkestone.

**FRAMPTON BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, DORSETSHIRE.**—This priory was a cell to the abbey of S. Stephen at Caen, to which the manor of Frampton was given by William the Conqueror. Dug. vii, 1000.

The site of the priory, now called Frampton Court, is about one furlong distant from the church, a fine cruciform building with aisles to the nave, and which served both as that of the parish and monastery.—Letter of the Rev. R. C. Macdonald, vicar.

**FRIESTON BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.**—The nunnery of Frieston was founded by Alan de Croun, "dapifer" to king Henry I, who, A.D. 1114, gave to the abbey of Croyland the advowson of the church of S. James with all its appurtenances; and shortly after, divers lands and other neighbouring churches, to be subject to the church of S. James at Frieston, as a cell.

"Ego Alanus de Creun, et uxor mea Muriel . . . donationem in elemosina de hiis rebus fecimus; ecclesiam scilicet Frestoniæ," &c. "Has omnes ecclesias, cum decimis . . . et terris predictis, concedimus esse subjectas ecclesiæ S. Jacobi Frestoniæ, cellæ S. Guthlaci, libertate qua pranotavimus, jure perpetuo."—Dug. iv, 124-5.

**HACKNESS BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, YORKSHIRE.**—The prior and

monks of Whitby having been compelled by pirates and other lawless persons, temp. William Rufus, to retire to Hackness, established, on their subsequent return to Whitby, in, or near the church of S. Peter at Hackness, the place of their temporary sojourn, a cell of three or four monks, which so continued till the dissolution. The church of S. Peter still remains as that of the parish.

**HALLYSTONE BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.**—This priory was founded for Benedictine nuns by one of the Umfravilles of Harbottle castle, who gave them the vill, impropriation, and advowson of the church of Hallystone.

"Ricardus episcopus Dunelmensis consolidavit et univit ecclesiam de Crossenset, et capellam de Harbotell, ecclesiæ de Halistan, et monialibus ibidem Deo servantibus," &c.—Reg. R. Kellawe, ep. Dunelm.

**HATFIELD PEVERELL BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, ESSEX.**—Ingelrica, wife of Ralph Peverell, sometime mistress of William the Conqueror, founded here, in expiation of her past life, a college of secular canons, previous to her decease circa A.D. 1100. This foundation was converted by her son William Peverell, temp. Henry I, into a priory of Benedictine monks, as a cell to the abbey of S. Albans. "Sciatis me dedisse ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ de Hatfelda, meam propriam mansionem, et omnes domos meas, ad componenda habitacula monachorum, quos ibidem constituo, cum omnibus ad eandem ecclesiam pertinentibus et quæ.....eidem ecclesiæ collata et data fuerunt et Drigo capellanus tenebat, et Radulphus," &c.

The parish church of Hatfield Peverell, which was also that of the priory, forms now its sole remains.

**HATFIELD REGIS, OR BROAD OAK, BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, ESSEX.**—The priory of Hatfield was founded circa A.D. 1135, by Alberic de Vere, father of Alberic, the first earl of Oxford, on a site closely adjoining the parish church, with the rectory and advowson of which it was endowed. "The prior and convent having the great tithes of the parish church of Hatfield Regis appropriated to them supplied the cure by their own members, till a vicarage was ordained, which was before 1370; and they were the patrons of it till their suppression." In an Inquisition taken concerning the benefactions of one Robert Taper and Milicent his wife to the monastery, the distinction between the eastern, or monastic "partem fabricæ novæ conventualis ecclesiæ," and the western, or parochial part, "fenestram magnam ad caput occidentale parochialis ecclesiæ," may be readily detected. The ruins of the priory still stand close to the church—now altogether appropriated to the parish. Dug. iv, 432-5.

**HERTFORD BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH.**—This priory was a cell to the abbey of S. Albans. The church of S. Mary is said to have been rebuilt A.D. 1638, by Thomas Willis (the then owner of the priory estate) under the invocation of S. John Baptist; and the parish to which it belonged is now united with that of All Saints. The following extracts relating to it are taken from the Register of S. Albans:—

"Radulfus de Limesey donavit ecclesiam, quam extruxit apud Hertford, ecclesiæ sancti Albani in cellam.....purè, pro redemptione animæ

suæ," &c. "Sciendum est autem quod, pro hoc beneficio, debet abbas sancti Albani, post primum annum providere sex monachos, de sua congregatione, ad serviendum Deo et sanctæ Mariæ in præfata ecclesia de Hertford," &c.—Dug. iii, 299-300.

**HINCKLEY BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, LEICESTERSHIRE.**—This was an alien priory for two Benedictine monks only, belonging to the abbey of Lira, and founded, according to Nichols, by Hugh de Grantmesnil the elder.—Dug. vii, 1030.

The parish church of Hinckley, which is a large and handsome cruciform building, with a magnificent western tower and spire, "was in connection with the priory, which stood quite close. There is a view of it in Nichols' History." Letter of the Rev. W. H. Disney, vicar.

**HOLLAND, OR UP-HOLLAND BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, LANCASHIRE.**—At first, this priory was founded for a dean and twelve secular priests in the church or chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr at Holland; but these, in A.D. 1319, were changed, on the petition of Sir Robert de Holand the patron, into a prior and Benedictine monks. The domestic buildings are now destroyed, but the church—a fine and most interesting building of three aisles, under a roof which is continuous and unbroken from end to end, with a low tower to the west—continues in its integrity as that of the parish. Dug. iv, 409-11; and view forwarded by the vicar.

**LITTLE HORKESELEY CLUNIAN PRIORY CHURCH, ESSEX.**—a cell to the priory of S. Mary at Thetford, was founded temp. Henry I. by Robert Fitz Godbold and Beatrix his wife, who gave all their churches to the priory of S. Mary, Thetford, on condition that as many monks of that house should be sent to the church of S. Peter at Horkeasley, as the place would conveniently hold.

"Ita videlicet, quod prior de Tefford, concedente toto conventu in capitulo, mittet monachos in ecclesia S. Petri de Horchesleia, quantum poterit convenienter sustinere locus ille." . . . . .  
"Confirmasse ecclesiæ S. Petri de Horkeisleia, et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus," &c.; "ecclesiam de Horkeisleia, ubi monachos Cluniacenses posuit ad serviendum Deo in perpetuum," &c.—Dug. v, 156-7.

The priory stood on the north side of the church of St. Peter, Little Horkeasley, which is still standing and in use as that of the parish.

**HORTON BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, DORSETSHIRE.**—"Orgarus, comes Devonie, primus fundator. Postea quidam Rogerus, episcopus de Shirburne, obtinuit ab Henrico primo, ut possessiones monasterii de Horton transferret ad monasterium de Shirburne."—Leland, Coll. i, 78. From the Domesday survey it appears that beside other possessions, the church held the village in which it stood, the lands being rated at seven hides. After its annexation as a cell to Sherbourne, one or more monks from that house resided in the priory, all traces of which are said to be now lost. The church, however—under the invocation of S. Wolfrida—which was also that of the parish, continued to be in use till A.D. 1720, when it is said to have been wholly, or in great part, rebuilt.

**HURLEY BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, BERKSHIRE.**—Geoffrey de Magna-villa was the founder of this priory, temp. William the Conqueror, as a cell to the abbey of Westminster. "*Sciant, &c. quod ego Godofridus de Magna-villa . . . donavi Deo et sancto Petro et ecclesiæ Westmonasteriensi necnon et Sanctæ Mariæ de Hurleia . . . eandem ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ de Hurleia in Berrochsira, cum tota prædicta villa de Hurleia,*" &c.

The church of S. Mary at Hurley above referred to, still continues, as before the foundation and during the continuance of, the priory, to serve as that of the parish.

**IPPLEPEN BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, DEVONSHIRE.**—This was a cell to the abbey of S. Peter, of Fulgers, in Britany, to which the patronage of the church of Ipplepen was given at an early period by the Felgheres family. The rector of the church, from holding his appointment immediately from the abbey, was called a prior. Dug. vii, 1046.

"The church is an ancient Gothic building, five or six hundred years old, having nave, chancel, and two side aisles, with a handsome tower a hundred feet high. The old priory is still standing, and is in a grand state of repair. It is but a short distance from the church which stands high, so that the chimneys of the priory are just below the church-yard at a little distance. There is a saying in the parish that some subterranean passage formerly connected the two. We have an old record that in 1274 Brother Luke resigned the priory and Brother Thomas succeeded him; and a list of the priors, rectors and vicars ever since." Letters of the Rev. R. Harris, vicar.

**KIDWELLY BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, CAERMARTHENSHIRE.**—Of this church Leland writes thus :—"In the new towne is onely a chirche of our Ladi, and by is the celle of blake monkes of Shirburne. Ther the prior is parson of our Ladi church."

"Ricardus . . . Menevensis episcopus . . . domino Johanni Griffith vicario perpetuo de Kidwelly," &c. "*Quia nos alias legitime procedentes . . . et emolumenta quæcunque ad ecclesiam parochialem beatæ Mariæ Virginis de Kidwelly, ac ad prioratum ejusdem villæ spectantes,*" &c.—Dug. iv, 64-6.

The church of S. Mary above referred to—a fine cruciform building with a western tower surmounted by a lofty spire—is still perfect, and in use as that of the parish.

**LANCASTER BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH.**—The church of S. Mary at Lancaster having been given by Roger, earl of Poitiers, A.D. 1049, to the abbey of S. Martin at Seez, in Normandy, a prior, five monks, three priests, and two clerks, with their servants, were thereupon established on the spot, as a cell to that house.

"Nos . . . priori, et monachis Lancastriæ, ecclesiam beatæ Mariæ Lancastriæ, cum omnibus terris, decimis, possessionibus, et capellis ad dictam ecclesiam spectantibus; . . . confirmamus." . . . "*dilecto nobis in Christo Johanni Innocent, priori ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ Lancaster' et successoribus suis prioribus loci prædicti,*" &c. — Dug. vii, 997-8.

"I have always understood that the monks *did* live on or near the site of this present house, and *did* serve the parish church and some of the

outlying chapelries. The chancel (of three aisles, and of the same breadth and height as the nave) is just exactly *half* the church. There *was once* a very massive and beautiful ebony (black oak ?) chancel screen (or rather it exists now, transformed into a book-case for the library at Copernwray), and I have always supposed that the shape of the church was due to its monastic origin." Letter of the Rev. J. Allen, vicar.

**LAPLEY BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, STAFFORDSHIRE.**—Lapley was a cell to the abbey of S. Remigius at Rheims, to which the manor of Lapley was given, temp. Edward the Confessor, by Algar, earl of Chester, or Mercia. Dug. vii, 1042.

"The church is, I think, certainly that of the Benedictines. It was originally cruciform, with a central tower. The transepts are now gone, but there are traces of their extent and proportion. The chancel is of unusual length, I think (about 45 ft.), in comparison with that of the nave (60 ft.) . . . . The priory has been a farm house, and is now occupied by the lord of the manor. It is situated about a hundred yards S.W. of the church, as is usual. To the best of my belief, all the evidence of site, &c., points to the conclusion that the church was both parochial and monastic." Letter, accompanied with large folio plans of the church, of the Rev. A. H. Talbot, vicar.

**LEOMINSTER BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, HEREFORDSHIRE.**—Of this well-known church, it will be enough to quote Leland's account :—"There is but one paroch church in Leominster, but it is large, somewhat dark and of antient building, insomuch that it is a grete lykelyhood that it is the church that was somewhat afore the conquest. The church of the priorie was hard joyned to the est end of the paroch church, and was but a small thing." Though wrong as to the age of the existing fabric, recent diggings have shewn that the worthy itinerant was quite right in calling the eastern or monastic church "hard joyned" to the end of it, a small (and it may be added, very unsymmetrical), thing. Beautifully engraved views of Leominster church may be seen in "Neale and Le Keux's Churches," vol. i ; and excellent accounts, with illustrations and plans, in *Archæological Journal*, x, 109 ; and *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, xxvii, 438 ; the latter accompanied with a very clever and ingenious restored elevation of the interior as originally designed, by the late Mr. Roberts.

**LODERS BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, DORSETSHIRE.**—The priory of Loders was a cell to the abbey of Mountsburch, in Normandy, to which the manor and parish church were given, temp. Henry I, by Benedict, or Richard de Redvers. Dug. vii, 999 and 1097.

"This church is said to have been the church of a monastery. . . . It has the usual receptacle for holy water in the south door of the chancel. The older portion of the vicarage—about 200 yards distant—is reported to be the former monastery, and the old framed roof of our kitchen conveys that impression." Letter of the Rev. J. S. Stewart, vicar.

**LYMINSTER BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, SUSSEX.**—Lyminster was a cell to the nunnery of Almenesche, in Normandy, founded by Roger de Montgomery, earl of Arundel, temp. William the

Conqueror. Hence, says Tanner, it is probable that that earl or one of his sons gave the church of this place and other lands hereabout to that monastery, which might occasion the fixing of a convent of those nuns here before A.D. 1178. Dug. vii, 1032.

"Lyminster church is the ancient priory church, and belonged originally to a nunnery of which traces have been found within memory on the south side of the building. The nunnery stood close to the churchyard, about thirty yards from the church, the nuns having a private entrance into the chancel, which they used more peculiarly as their own. The chancel is of remarkable length." Letter of the Rev. E. Durnford, vicar.

**LYNN REGIS BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.**—The priory of Lynn, together with the church of S. Margaret there, was founded circa A.D. 1100, by bishop Herbert de Losinga, as a cell to his cathedral priory of Norwich. Dug. iv, 462.

The magnificent church of S. Margaret, with its two western towers, still continues entire, as that of the parish.

**MALPAS CLUNIAN PRIORY CHURCH, MONMOUTHSHIRE.**—Malpas priory was a cell to the priory of Montacute. The church, which remains intact, is still in use as that of the parish, as it probably was from the first the cell containing only the prior and two monks. Dug. v, 173.

**MARRICK BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.**—The priory of Marrick in Swaledale, was founded for Benedictine nuns by Roger de Aske, either in the reign of Stephen, or beginning of that of Henry II. on a plot of ground adjoining the parish church of S. Andrew, with which, among other gifts, he also endowed it. The chancel is in ruins, but the tower and mutilated body of the church still serve as that of the parish. For a view of it, see Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, i, 220.

**MIDDLESBURGH BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.**—The church of S. John and S. Hilda at Middlesburgh, was given by Robert de Brus circa 1120, with all things thereto pertaining, and two carucates and two oxgangs of land in Newham, in perpetual alms to the church of S. Peter and S. Hilda at Whitby, to the intent that in the said church of Middlesburgh, there should be certain monks from that house serving God and S. Hilda.

"Notum sit . . . me dedisse . . . et confirmasse Deo et ecclesiæ sanctæ Hylde de Middlesburc, et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus," &c. Burton says that, at the time of the Dissolution, two or three monks only were resident in this cell.—Dug. iii, 361-2.

The present parish church of Middlesburgh is built upon the site of the ancient parish, and monastic, church or chapel of S. Hilda, now destroyed.

**MINTING BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.**—Ranulph de Meschines, earl of Chester, says Tanner, before the year 1129, gave the church of S. Andrew at Minting to the abbey of S. Benoit sur Loir; whereupon an alien priory of Benedictines was fixed in it.—Dug. vii, 1023.

The parish church of Minting consists simply of a chancel, nave, with



south porch, and north aisle of three bays with clustered columns; the latter, with the chancel arch, being of fine transitional Norman work, and from their superior character, most probably the work of the monks. "There are no remains of the priory," but the old vicarage, which, in all likelihood, occupied the site, was immediately adjacent to the churchyard towards the west; and a large field containing remains of the vivaria extends westward again of this.—Letter, containing sketch ground plans of church, and adjoining land and buildings, of the Rev. J. Bestforth, vicar.

**MINSTER BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, ISLE OF SHEPPY, KENT.**—Sexburga, widow of Ercombert, king of Kent, was the foundress of this priory, circa A.D. 675. Destroyed during the devastations of the Danes, it was reedified and replenished with Benedictine nuns in A.D. 1130, by William de Corbeuil, archbishop of Canterbury, who dedicated it in honour of SS. Mary and Sexburga.

"Rex omnibus &c. Sciatis nos concessisse ... ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ et sanctæ Sexburgæ de Scapeya, et sanctimonialibus ibidem Deo servientibus.....locum suum in Scapeya et ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ et sanctæ Sexburgæ," &c.

There can be little or no doubt that the existing church of Minster, both from its age and identity of dedication, is not only that of archbishop de Corbeuil's reconstituted monastery, but of its ancient Saxon predecessor. Hasted says it formed part of the endowment at the first foundation; and Weever, that—"Some part of it is now converted into a parish church." An interesting notice of this church—where some recent discoveries tend strongly to favour these conclusions—may be seen in vol. xli, 54, of this Journal.

**MONKLAND BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, HEREFORDSHIRE.**—Monkland priory was a cell to the abbey of S. Peter at Conches, to which the manor and church of this place were given by Ralph de Toni the elder, temp. William Rufus. The church, a small but very interesting building, dating from A.D. 1100, and which has recently been admirably restored, is still in use as that of the parish.—Dug. vii, 1026; and account by the Rev. Sir Henry Baker, Bart.

**MONMOUTH BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH.**—Wiheoc, of Monmouth, temp. Henry I, brought over certain monks from the abbey of S. Florence, of Saumur in Anjou, whom he placed, first in the church of S. Cadoc, near his castle there, and afterwards in the church of S. Mary.

"Wiheocus de Monemue &c. Notum sit.....quod ego.....construxi in castro meo de Monemue ecclesiam, eamque.....dedi monachis sancti Florentii de Salmuro.....et dedi eis diversas possessiones ..... ecclesiam sancti Cadoci juxta castrum meum sitam in fundo, et dominio meo, ubi primum monachi præfati, antequam ecclesia Monemue perficeretur, aliquandiu inhabitaverant," &c. Dug. iv, 595-6.

"The church of the priory," says Cox, "occupied the site of S. Mary's, the present parish church, and about sixty years ago was partly taken down and reconstructed. The tower and lower part of the spire are the only remains of the ancient edifice, which appears to have been built in the gothic style of architecture." The slight remains of the priory stand to the north of it.

**MORFIELD, OR MOMERFIELD BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, SHROPSHIRE.**—According to Tanner, this was a cell to the abbey of Shrewsbury to which the church of S. Gregory here, with all the lands belonging to it, was given by the founder, earl Roger. His charter describes it as :—“*ecclesiam de Mumerfield cum tota terra quam clerici tenebant.*” The editors of the *Monasticon* supply the following information respecting it in a note, iii, 516, e :—“*Anno iij of December xxxvij Hen. VIII, pro domino.....admirallo Angliæ. Revert. nuper cellæ sive grangiæ de Morefelde in com. Salop. parcell. possessionum nuper monasterii de Salopp. concess. cuidam Ricardo Marshallle clerico pro termino vitæ absque aliquo inde reddendo ultra vli, xvijs, ob. pro stipendio curati de Morefeld,*” &c.

**NEWTON LONGUEVILLE CLUNIAE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, BUCKS.**—Newton Longueville was a cell to the abbey to S. Faith at Longueville in Normandy, to which this, and several other churches and lands were given by Walter Giffard, earl of Buckingham, temp. Henry I.—Dug. vii, 1036.

“The church of S. Faith here was attached to the alien priory of Cluniae monks from Longueville in Normandy ; the priory being dissolved in 1444, and its property given to New College, Oxford.

“The present church has nave and north and south aisles, the north aisle being further extended into an aisle of the chancel, which is known locally as the New College chancel, to distinguish it from the Rector’s chancel.

“An old house (tenanted by a farmer in occupation of land belonging to New College) is still standing, traditionally associated with the priory, very near the south side of the church, and, in fact, connected with it (it is said) by a subterranean passage.

“The church has lately been restored with great care by Mr. Blomfield who has noticed some peculiar mouldings on the capitals of pillars as similar to what he had seen in Normandy.” Letter of the Rev. H. C. Blagden, rector.

**NUNKEELING BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.**—“*Omnibus, &c. Agnes de Archis salutem. Notum sit vobis me concessisse et dedisse ac præsentis cartæ meæ testimonio confirmasse Deo et sanctæ Mariæ et sanctæ Helenæ et monialibus de Killinge ecclesiam ejusdem villæ,*” &c.—Dug. iv, 185-6.

“*Md. that it (the conventual church) stondith at the nether (west) ende of the parish church of Nonnekelynge, and the walles and the rooffe are alle hole of one sturche, and the parish belles in their steepulle aforeseid, and there are ij doorys by the hygh alter for to go and come into the parish church.*” Survey, temp. Henry VIII. P. R. O.

The parish church of Nunkeeling was meandy rebuilt with brick in 1810, part of the old materials being re-used.

**NUN MONKTON BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.**—Henry Murdoc, archbishop of York, appropriated this church to the prioress and nuns of Monkton ..... and also ordained a perpetual vicar, who should reside personally in the church, and have the care of the parishioners’ souls, &c. Dr. Burton, Reg. Ebor. Melton, p. 181.

The nave, or parochial church of this fine, and, perhaps, unique building, is still standing and in use.

**OKEBURN, OR OGBOURNE ST. GEORGE, BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, WILTSHIRE.**—About the year 1149, Maud de Walingford, heiress to Robert D'Oiley, gave to the abbey of Bec in Normandy, the manors and churches of Great and Little Okeburn; at the former of which places a convent was not long after established, and became the chiefest and richest cell to it in England.—Dug. vii, 1016.

"I should say the church is cruciform, with a centre aisle right through to the baptistery at the west end door; it has two side aisles, each leading to what were two chapels. There is a large house next the church, evidently once the residence of the monks. The village was once around the church, now it is half-a-mile from it." Letter of the Rev. A. Pyre, vicar.

From the foregoing account, it seems tolerably certain that the parish church, though direct and positive proof of the fact may not be forthcoming, was also that of the closely adjoining priory of Ogbourne.

**OTTERTON BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, DEVONSHIRE.**—This priory was a cell to the abbey of S. Michael in Periculo Maris, in Normandy, to the monks of which house the manor of Otterton was given by the Conqueror. The priory, which seems to have adjoined the parish church—now, with the exception of the tower, entirely destroyed—towards the west, contained four monks only.—Dug. vii, 1033; and letter of Dr. Brushfield, containing sketch of original church from an old print taken before its destruction, kindly communicated by the Rev. J. B. Sweet, vicar.

**PENWORTHAM BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, LANCASHIRE.**—Warine Bussel having given the church and tithes of Penwortham, temp. William the Conqueror, to the abbey of Evesham, a priory was shortly afterwards erected on the spot as a cell to that house. "Ego Ricardus Bussell..... confirmo ecclesie de Evesham, omnem donationem, et totam elemosinam quam fecit pater meus Warinus prædictæ ecclesie, videlicet, ecclesiam de Peneverham, cum decimis et omnibus pertinentiis suis," &c.

The church thus bestowed upon the abbey of Evesham, and utilized up to the time of the dissolution, as that of its cell, remains still in use as the parish church of Penwortham.

**PERSHORE BENEDICTINE ABBEY CHURCH, WORCESTERSHIRE.**—This church is said to have been founded by Oswald, nephew of Ethelred, king of Mercia, A.D. 689. Leland, Itin. V, says:—"Oswaldus primum instituit canonicos sæculares apud Persore. Postea fuit ibidem chorus monachorum, rursus canonici inducti. Postea monachi per Edgarum." The convent possessed the rectory of the parish church of S. Cross, which was probably held in the nave of the abbey church, though the Monasticon—as so constantly happens in points of special interest—says nothing of it.

At the present time, and since the suppression, the parish, having by some means, not apparent, acquired the choir, central tower, and south transept of the abbey church, have used them as their parish church instead of the nave, which has been destroyed.

**PRESTON CAPES CLUNIAU PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.**—Hugh de Leycestre, about the end of the Conqueror's reign, placed in the church

of this place four Cluniac monks. Afterwards they were removed to the church of Daventry, where were four secular canons, two of whom took their habit, but the other two refused, and had food and clothing allowed them for the rest of their lives.

"Hugo de Leycestre, dictus vice comes, dedit nobis ecclesiam de Preston, ubi primo fundavit prioratum et monachos instituit. Sed post annorum paucorum—removit ad *ecclesiam* de Daventre, ubi secundo fundavit prioratum et monasterium construxit in honore beati Augustini Anglorum apostoli, juxta ecclesiam parochialem ejusdem villæ," &c.

From this it would seem clear that in the first instance at least the monks were established in the parish church, though how long they continued there is uncertain; all that can now be said for certain is, that at some considerable time before the dissolution, another and distinct building had been erected for their separate use, as witness the following:—"The church and chauncell of the late monastere of Daventre clerelie dekaied, and nothing there standyngs but the walls and litle ..... and div's wyndowes that be glased; which seid walls and glasse were taken down and the stone saved for the reedifiengs of the tenandries in the towne of Daventre," &c.—Dug. v, 184.

#### ROCHESTER BENEDICTINE PRIORY AND CATHEDRAL CHURCH, KENT.—

From a very early period, probably from the first, the cathedral church of Rochester was in part also parochial; since we find the famous Gundulf—under whom the original foundation of seculars was changed into one of monks—confirming to the latter by charter (1100-1108), the advowson of the altar of S. Nicholas "which was parochial in the church of the blessed Andrew." It appears that the site of this altar was changed by the monks early in the 14th century, against the will of the parishioners; but an arrangement was eventually come to by which the parish mass was to be celebrated "in altari existente in corpore ecclesiæ anteriori sub pulpito." Finally, on Dec. 18th, 1423, the parishioners removed to a separate and distinct church erected for them by the monks in the cemetery to the north of the cathedral church; solemnly renouncing before the altar of S. Nicholas, in the nave of the said cathedral church, all their rights thereto.—Notes on the architectural history of Rochester cathedral church, by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope.

**ROMSEY BENEDICTINE ABBEY CHURCH, HAMPSHIRE.**—Romsey abbey held the vill and rectory of the parish church at the time of the Domesday survey; facts which may help to account for the position of that building, subsequently to the erection of the nave of the abbey church, viz., in the eastern part of its north aisle. Later on, it was found necessary to increase these somewhat narrow limits by building another aisle towards the north, which opened to the original one by an arcade. After the dissolution, when the inhabitants acquired the whole of the conventual church, this additional aisle was pulled down, and the arcade built up, but it still remains distinctly visible in the north wall of the aisle proper. See plate by Coney in *Monasticon*, ii, 506.

**RUMBURGH BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, SUFFOLK.**—The priory of Rumburgh, originally founded by Agelmar, bishop of Elmham, and Thurstan, abbot of S. Benet at Holme, between A.D. 1064-1070, was given, some-

time in the reign of Henry I, either by Stephen, or his son Alan the third, earl of Richmond, as a cell to S. Mary's abbey at York. Rumburgh, at the time of the foundation of the priory, was a member of Wissett, in the church of which place, at the time of the Domesday survey, there were, it seems, twelve monks:—"In hac ecclesia xii monachi, et sub hac i capella." In a survey of the monastery made temp. Henry VIII. it is said:—"The township of Rumburgh clayne their churche to be a p'che churche, but it is none, and the proffytts thereof wyll not fynde a pryest." And again, after a description of the building, is added the following:—"The inh'taunts of Rumburgh clayme it to be their churche." Whatever its technical character may have been, it was, at least, used by the inhabitants as their church before the suppression, and served by one of monastic chaplains on their behalf, since it is further stated:—"The late monasterye there wern persons in p'sonye of Wysett, Rumburgh, and Saynct Michaelis in Elme'h'm, and have founde iij pryests in the same iij townes."

The church, which occupied the south side of the cloister, continues to be used as the parish church of Rumburgh.

**SCARBOROUGH CISTERCIAN ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, YORKSHIRE.**—The church of S. Mary at Scarborough having been given, with divers other possessions, to the abbot and brethren of the mother house of Cîteaux, certain of the latter were sent over and settled there as a cell, before the fourth year of king John. The present church consists of the nave, central tower and bases of two western towers, and south transept; the north transept, and the choir with its aisles, are said to have been ruined in the Civil War. It is remarkable as being one of the very few examples of Cistercian churches in the kingdom which were parochial as well as monastic.

**SHERBOURNE BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, DORSETSHIRE.**—Of this well-known church it is unnecessary to say much. Originally the seat of a bishopric, and served by secular canons, it was converted into a Benedictine monastery by bishop Wlsin in A.D. 998. The rectory of Sherbourne, after the translation of the see to Salisbury, was held by the abbot as prebendary of that cathedral, *ex officio*, and the nave of the abbey church used as that of the parish. Leland says:—"The body of the abbay chirche dedicate to our Lady, servid ontill a hunderithe yeres syns for the chife parochie chirch of the towne." Then he describes the riot that ensued on the removal of the font from the nave of the abbey church to the chapel of Allhallows, attached to its west end, and the burning of the monastic church by the townspeople, adding—"after this time Alhalowes church and not S. Maries, was used for the parochie chirche." The case, therefore, stood thus, that "from the beginning and primeval foundation thereof," the parishioners used the nave of the monastic, as their parish, church. Then, probably to get rid of them, about the last quarter of the fourteenth century, the monks built the chapel of Allhallows—a large three aisled structure, at the west end of, and connected with, the nave—for their use, retaining, however, the font in the monastic nave. Then came the riot, and after that the conversion of the chapel, into the parish church, of Allhallows. After the suppression, and the purchase of the abbey church by the inhabitants, Leland supplies

us with this further and final notice, "Alhalowes Paroch Chirch pullid down alate, and the Paroch Chirch made in our Lady Chirch at the Abbey." And there, as before the building of Allhallows, it still remains. An excellent account of Sherbourne abbey church may be seen in the Bristol volume of the Institute, enriched with many plates by the late Rev. J. L. Petit; and in the Journal for 1865, by the late Professor Willis.

**NEW SHOREHAM BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, SUSSEX.**—At a distance of between four and five miles only from Steyning, stand the remains of what must, in some respects, be considered the even still finer and more remarkable church of S. Mary, New Shoreham. As the historical evidence relating to it is an all but absolute blank, we are consequently compelled to fall back upon the internal evidence of the building itself; but that, I think, is so conclusive as to admit of no degree of doubt whatever. The facts of the case are briefly these. The parishes of Old and New Shoreham, which adjoin each other, contain 2,077 and 66 acres respectively. Both are in the Rape of Bramber, and, together with all the rest in that district, belonged to the Lords of Braose on whom they were bestowed by the Conqueror. In the tenth of that reign, William de Braose made a gift of sundry properties to the abbot and monks of St. Florence at Saumur in Anjou; and among these were the following churches in Sussex, viz.:—S. Peter de Sela, S. Nicholas de Brembria, S. Nicholas de Soraham, and S. Peter de Veteri-ponte. In consequence of these gifts the abbey of St. Florence established at Sele (now called Beeding) a small priory of Benedictine monks, to which these churches were all attached. At the date of this foundation, the parish of New Shoreham did not exist, being then parcel of that of S. Nicholas, Old Shoreham. But that it was both formed, and the church of S. Mary built there by the monks in the interval between that time and circa A.D. 1103, is conclusively proved by the following passage in the confirmation charter of Philip de Braose, son of the benefactor. "*Ierosolimis autem prædictus Philippus rediens ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ de Nova Soraham, quia monachorum prædictorum exstitit juris, diligenter concessit et confirmavit.*" To this spot then, it would seem certain that the monks settled at Sele (and who, as a matter of fact, continued there till the suppression), were at least designed to be removed: for not only was the church, even as first built—a grand cruciform structure with aisles and central tower—utterly out of keeping with the requirements of a parish of 66 acres; but the original short Norman choir was taken down and rebuilt on a greatly enlarged scale, and in the most sumptuous style of monastic splendour, towards the close of the twelfth century. To suppose that such a work as this, consisting, as it does, of five bays in length, with north and south aisles, triforium and clerestory, vaulted throughout with stone, and sculptured from end to end with a prodigality of the richest detail, was designed for the sole use of a small country parish—and such a parish!—is, of course, preposterous; and its erection for conventual as well as parochial uses must, therefore, I think, be assigned to one or more of the Lords of Braose (for there was a manifest pause between the lower, or Transitional, and the upper or Lancet portion of this great choir), or, to their joint action, perhaps, with the convent of S. Florence. What has happened here (conversely

to the instance of Steyning), is just what happened at Boxgrove, where a similar rebuilding of the choir took place;—the parishioners abandoning the plainer and humbler nave, and appropriating, or having appropriated to them, the far more splendid monastic chancel as their parish church. In this capacity it still continues.

**SHREWSBURY BENEDICTINE ABBEY CHURCH.**—The abbey church of Shrewsbury having been founded in what was originally the parish church of the place, remained parochial as well as monastic till the dissolution. The parochial nave, with its aisles and western tower, still remain here; the monastic choir and transept are destroyed. There are good views of the west end (exterior) and east (interior) of Shrewsbury abbey church in Neale and Le Keux, vol. ii.

**SNAITH BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, YORKSHIRE.**—In A.D. 1100, Gerard archbishop of York gave the church of this place to Selby abbey, which gift was confirmed in A.D. 1310 by William de Grensfeld his successor, who decreed that it should be lawful for the abbot and convent to place and remove two of their monks in the church of Snaith, to be continually resident; and, by a secular priest, to hear the confessions of the parishioners, &c., and so perpetually to serve, without any ordination of a vicar.—Dug. iii, 493.

The ancient church of S. Mary at Snaith, an extensive and interesting building with no less than four attached chantry chapels, still remains in excellent preservation as that of the parish.

**SPORLE BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.**—Sporle was a cell to the abbey of S. Florence near Salmur, in Anjou, and together with the parish church, which would seem to have been that of the convent as well, under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The remains of the priory “or rather mounds of earth which indicate foundations, are in a field adjoining to the churchyard. There are great peculiarities about the building. In the north and south angles of the chancel (interior) are Norman pilasters, &c. But the most strange feature of the building is two blocks of masonry in the nave near the chancel arch, and the general opinion is that there was a central tower, or that the church only extended to that limit.”—Letter of the Rev. T. Jones, vicar.

**STEVENTON BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, BERKSHIRE.**—This was a cell to the abbey of Bec, to which it was given by king Henry I. —Dug. vii, 1044.

The church of Steventon, as I learn from queries addressed to the vicar, the Rev. F. Theobald, was that of the priory, from which it was about a hundred yards distant. It is not cruciform, but has aisles to both nave and chancel.

**ST. ALBAN'S BENEDICTINE ABBEY, NOW CATHEDRAL CHURCH, HERTFORDSHIRE.**—Of this famous church there is no need to speak. What is remarkable in so vast and dignified a structure is the fact that, it too, like so many other humbler ones of its class, was parochial as well as monastic. The parochial part, or chapel of S. Andrew, on the north-western side of

the nave—now completely destroyed—was, up to the dissolution, a building of very great size and importance indeed, being no less than 145 feet in length, by about 66 in breadth; in other words, occupying the space of six out of the thirteen bays of the enormous nave, or nearly half its length, and with a breadth of rather more than that of the nave and one of its aisles, the walls included. The nave, or western part of this parochial chapel, opened to the aisle of the abbey church by an arcade of four arches, the bases of the pillars of which still remain in situ; the choir, or eastern part, had the wall between it and the aisle of the abbey church unpierced.

A good handbook to St. Alban's has been published by Mr. Murray, where a plan of the chapel of St. Andrew may be seen. Several views—some exquisitely engraved—showing it in its then state, are given in Neale and Le Keux's *Churches*, vol. i; and many folio plates of elevations and details, in the *Spring Gardens Sketch Book*.

**ST. BEE'S BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, CUMBERLAND.**—Bega, an Irish saint, is said to have founded the first of her many English cells in Coupland, whence she migrated to a spot between the Wear and Tyne; thence to Hartlepool; after that to Helcacester; and lastly to Hackness, near Scarborough, where she died. The church in Coupland, being afterwards built in honour of her, was given by William, son of Randolph de Meschines, temp. Henry I, to the abbey of St. Mary at York, conditionally to a priory being established therein. "*Dedi ... et confirmavi ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ Eboracensis cænobii, ecclesiam sanctæ Begæ quæ est sita in Caupalandia. Reddidi etiam et dedi eidem ecclesiæ parochiam suam, &c. Et abbas Eboraci et capitulum semper mittant et habeant in ecclesia sanctæ Begæ, priorem, et cum eo sex monachos ad minus residentes,*" &c. At the dissolution, the choir of the monks was allowed to fall into ruin, but not destroyed; the tower and transept were left standing; while the nave with its aisles was retained to serve as before, for the parish church.

**ST. CLEMENT'S OR CLEMENTHORPE BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, YORK.**—"The church belonging to this nunnery," says Drake, "was very anciently parochial, and was, together with the inhabitants and parishioners, appropriated to the prioress and convent." "This church," he adds, "continued to be parochial till A.D. 1585, when it was united to St. Mary's Bishop-hill the Elder, along with its parish of Middlethorpe," &c. Drake, pp. 247, 248.

**S. HELEN'S BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, LONDON.**—William, son of William the goldsmith, having obtained the advowson of the church of St. Helen from the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, founded therein a priory of nuns, circa A.D. 1212. The church, the north aisle of which formed the conventual chapel, still serves as that of the parish. The conventual buildings, which adjoined the church on the north side, were demolished about a century ago.

**S. JAMES'S BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, BRISTOL.**—The priory of St. James, a cell to the abbey of Tewkesbury, was founded by Robert earl of Gloucester, natural son of Henry I; the church being consecrated in



1130, by Simon, bishop of Worcester. In 1374 it was made parochial, when the inhabitants undertook to build a campanile, the bells of which—to be used in common by both—were to be bought and kept in repair at their mutual expense. Leland, speaking of the priory, says:—"the ruins of it standithe hard buttynge to the este end of the Paroche Church." What now remains of this once fine building are the five western, of the seven bays of the nave—deprived of their aisles—and the much altered and mutilated tower—Letter, view, and account, forwarded by the vicar, the Rev. J. Hart Davis.

**S. PETER'S BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, HEREFORD.**—The collegiate church of St. Peter in the suburbs of Hereford was built and endowed by Walter de Lacy, who, falling from a ladder during its erection, was killed on the spot, A.D. 1084. In A.D. 1101, Hugh de Lacy his son gave it, with all its possessions, to the abbey of S. Peter at Gloucester, whereon the provost and secular canons were changed into a prior and Benedictine monks; Robert Betun, bishop of Hereford, giving them ground for their monastery, which was dedicated in honour of S. Peter, S. Paul, and S. Guthlac, though commonly called by the name of the last saint only.

"Anno Domini mej. Hugo de Lacy ecclesiam sancti Petri Herford, quam pater suus Walterus a fundamentis construxerat, dedit monachis sancti Petri Gloucestræ, cum præbendis et omnibus quæ ad eam pertinent." Dug. iii, 620-22.

The church of S. Peter, which still retains the choir stalls of the monks, continues in perfect preservation as that of the parish.

**S. SEPULCHRE'S BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, CANTERBURY.**—The nunnery of S. Sepulchre was founded, circa A.D. 1100, by archbishop Anselm. It was contiguous to the parish church of S. Sepulchre, in the eastern suburb of Canterbury, with the rectory of which it was endowed, and from which it took its name. "It seems," says Somner, "that the parish church of S. Sepulchre was torn down in the same fall with the nunnery; for however mention may be found both of the parish church and church-yard before, yet, since the suppression, the place of the two latter is unknown." Dug. iv, 413-414.

**STANLEY S. LEONARD BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.**—The church of S. Leonard at this place having, with many others, been given to the abbey of S. Peter at Gloucester, by Roger de Berkley, A.D. 1146, a small cell was thereupon established in it by that house. It is still quite perfect, and in use as that of the parish. The cloister was on the south of the nave. A picturesque view, with an account and details, may be seen in vol. vi, 44, of this Journal.

**STEYNING BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, SUSSEX.**—Tanner, speaking of this place, says, that king Edward the Confessor gave certain lands here to the abbey of the Holy Trinity at Fecamp in Normandy, which, being taken away by earl Godwin, were restored by William the Conqueror; whereupon some Benedictine monks were thence sent forth and established a cell upon the spot.—Dug. vii, 1053.

The remains of the parish church of S. Andrew, which, together with the lands above referred to, was given to the abbey of Fecamp, forned, there can be no doubt—from internal evidence alone—part of that of the

alien priory. At present it consists only of four bays of the nave on either side, with part of the fifth built up into a western wall, which, at some time subsequent to the suppression, has been built across the church at that point, and so curtailed its length westwards. Beyond this transverse wall, a low and poor western tower has also been built—just as at Waltham. Originally, the church was a noble cruciform building with a central tower, of which the lofty western arch rising to the full height of the nave, but now closed, and forming its eastern termination—again as at Waltham—alone remains. The originality and purity of design, exquisite beauty of proportion, and refined richness of decoration, render what is left of this once admirable building almost, if not quite unique; and—although its history seems to be altogether confused or lost—abundantly sufficient to declare its monastic, and, as I am inclined to think—architecturally—French character. Details of the capitals and arches may be seen in Sharpe's *Ornamentation of the Transitional Period of British Architecture*, Pls. 15-18; and three very finely engraved illustrations, shewing external and internal elevations, with ground plan, and details of all the parts, in Britton's *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, v, 210.

**STOGURSEY, OR STOKE COURCEY BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, SOMERSETSHIRE.**—Tanner says, the church of S. Andrew here, with several lands and tithes hereabouts, having been given to the abbey of Lonlay, temp. Henry II, a prior and convent were sent from thence to settle as a cell to that foreign house.—Dug. vii, 1012.

“The church belongs to a class different from other monastic and parochial churches ..... in having aisles for the choir and none for the nave.” Mr. E. A. Freeman.

There is a farm called “the Priory,” with a small round tower, adjoining the churchyard.—Letter of the Rev. J. L. Meade-King, vicar.

**STOWE, OR MARIESTOW BENEDICTINE ABBEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.**—This was first a church of secular priests, built by Eadnoth, bishop of Dorchester; Leofric earl of Mercia, and his wife the lady Godiva, being great benefactors to it. Remigius, who translated the see of Dorchester to Lincoln soon after the Conquest, changed the seculars for Benedictine monks, who continued to occupy the church of S. Mary till A.D. 1109, when they were transferred to Eynsham in Oxfordshire. After this, the church of Stow became simply parochial, as at present.

**STRATFIELD SAYE BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, HAMPSHIRE.**—The church of Stratfield, and a solitary place near it dedicated to S. Leonard, having been given about A.D. 1170, by Nicholas de Stotewille to his newly founded abbey of Vallemont, a prior and some Benedictine monks were thenceforth settled here to look after their estate. Dug. vii, 1044.

There seems every reason to think that the church of Stratfield Saye, like so many others similarly situated in respect to the cells of foreign houses—although no positive proof of the fact may, perhaps, now be adducible—was both parochial and monastic. The following extracts from a letter of the vicar, the Rev. Horace G. Monroe, seem to point directly, I think, to such a conclusion, as shewing that the old church and mansion, which presumably occupied the site of the priory, stood close together.—

"I regret I cannot answer one of your questions. I do not even know exactly where any of the old buildings stood.

"For somewhere about the middle of last century, one Lord Rivers, thinking that God's house intruded *too closely* on the privacy of his own, got an act of Parliament passed, and built up a new church some three or four hundred yards further off, which is a bad imitation of an Italian village church, and is commonly reputed to be the ugliest church in Hampshire. The old church was pulled down, the church yard levelled, and the tombstones, as I have been informed by the present owner, the Duke of Wellington, turned over to make a paving round the house. The site is now a carriage road, bordered with turf."

SWAVESEY BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, CAMBRIDGESHIRE.—The church of S. Andrew here having been given, temp. William the Conqueror, by Alan le Zouch, earl of Brittany; to the abbey of SS. Sergius and Bacchus at Angers, it was thereupon constituted a cell to that house. There are said to be some slight remains of the priory buildings still visible to the north of it.

TEWKESBURY BENEDICTINE ABBEY CHURCH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—Tewkesbury abbey church is traditionally said to have been founded by Oddo and Doldo, dukes of Mercia, A.D. 715. After many vicissitudes it was refounded by Robert Fitz-Hamon, early in the reign of Henry I. It possessed the rectory of Tewkesbury; and Rudder, quoting an ancient deed transcribed into an old council book, says that, before and at the time of the Dissolution, the body of the abbey church was used as the parish church, and that the parish purchased of the king, the chancel, steeple, and bells, with the clock and chimes, for £483. It is further worth noting that in the certificate of Henry VIII's commissioners, where the church is included in the list of buildings deemed to be "superfluous," the term seems to be limited strictly to the eastern, or monastic part of it; the lead only being specified which remained on "the choir, isles, and chapels annexed," while no account is taken of that which covered the nave, or parish church.

TUTBURY BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, STAFFORDSHIRE.—This priory was at first a cell to the abbey of S. Peter super Divam, but afterwards, at some uncertain time, made denizen. It was founded temp. William Rufus, by Henry de Ferrars in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, close to his castle of Tutbury, with the parish of which castle, *inter alia*, it was endowed.

"Ego Henricus de Ferrariis fundavi ecclesiam in honore sanctæ Dei genetricis Mariæ apud castellum meum Tutesbury" &c. ... "Ad huc autem donavimus parochiam castelli mei &c. ... Hanc autem ecclesiam et quicquid huic ecclesiæ vel jam præbui, vel deinceps præbere voluero, per concessionem et auctoritatem W. junioris regis Anglorum dono ecclesiæ meæ Tutesbury et monachis meis ibidem Deo servientibus sicut constitutum est apud Merlebergam ante præfatum regem Willielmum." &c.

At the dissolution, Sir William Cavendish, the grantee, pulled down the priory, and the monastic church, or choir, together with the chapel of S. Stephen, in order to build himself a house with the materials. The nave, or parochial church, still remains in use—a Norman structure, with a west front of great beauty.—Dug. iii, 388-392.

**TOFT MONK'S BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.**—Toft Monk's was a cell to the abbey of SS. Peter and Paul at Preaux, in Normandy, to which the manor and church of S. Margaret were given by Robert, earl of Mellent and Leicester, temp. Henry I.—Dug. vii, 1027.

"Toft Monk's church is that of the ancient alien priory; only the site of the latter, about a quarter of a mile from the church, now remains, and the name of the 'Priory Farm,' given to a farm, half a mile away."—Letter of the Rev. A. Wace, rector of Haddiscoe.

**TOTNES BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, DEVONSHIRE.**—Totnes priory was originally a cell to the abbey of SS. Sergius and Bacchus at Angers, but was afterwards made denizen. It was founded temp. William the Conqueror by one Judhell or Joel, and was, after his death, much enriched by his heir, Roger de Nuatt. Among its endowments was the rectory of the parish church of S. Mary, near which it was established, and which would seem to have served also as the church of the convent.

"Juhellus filius Aluredi dedit Deo et sanctis martyribus Sergio et Bacho...ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ de Totencio cum omnibus ad eandem ecclesiam pertinentibus," &c.

"Dedit autem hæc omnia Juhellus...Deo et sancto Sergio solida et quæta in manu domini Tetbaldi, ecclesiam ei tradidit per clavem monasterii et cordam signi et cum ipsius cultello donum super altare misit," &c. Dug. iv, 628-10.

The conventual church of Totnes was dedicated by Bp. Bronescombe, on November 17th, 1260; but whether an entirely new structure, separate from the parish—and theretofore conventual—church of S. Mary is to be understood, or only a reconstruction of the eastern part of that church, does not clearly appear. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, however, it will be observed, the then head of the convent is still styled "*prior domus et ecclesiæ Beatæ Mariæ de Totton.*"

**TYNEMOUTH BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.**—This house, of very ancient foundation—as early, it is said, as the time of king Edwin—was A.D. 1090, given by Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, as a cell to the abbey of S. Albans. The nave, with its aisles, continued to be used till quite a recent period, as the parish church of Tynemouth; and the solid stone screen, pierced with the usual two doorways, which shut it off from, while connecting it with, the monastic choir and transept, still remains in very perfect preservation.

**UPAVON BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, WILTSHIRE.**—This priory was a cell to the abbey of S. Vaudrille at Fontanelle, to which the church here was given as early as the time of king Henry the First, or Stephen. Dug. vii, 1055.

"Yes—our church is that of the alien Benedictine priory. It is close to a meadow which has always gone by the name of the 'Priory meadow,' and there can be no doubt of its having been that of the priory. It has an early tower, with good western doorway, above which is affixed a tolerably complete specimen of a crucifix, discovered some eight or ten years since when the church was restored—rebuilt on the old foundations, the tower being the only remains of the ancient building."—Letter of the Rev. H. E. Windle, vicar.

**USK BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, MONMOUTHSHIRE.**—The foundation of Usk priory, which dates prior to A.D. 1233, is attributed by Tanner to Sir Richard de Clare, and his son Sir Gilbert. Among divers other possessions of the nuns was that of the advowson of the parish church. It served also as that of the priory which stood a little to the south east of it; and, though much mutilated, is still in use.

**WALLINGFORD BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, BERKSHIRE.**—This was a cell to the abbey of S. Albans. The church and priory are entirely destroyed; the last remains having, according to Hearne, been pulled down in 1723. The following account, however, which leaves no doubt of the double uses of the church, is given by Matthew Paris in his *Lives of the Abbots*:—"Ejusdemque abbatis tempore (scilicet Pauli xiiij) data est huic ecclesiæ (sancti Albani) ecclesia sanctæ Trinitatis de Warengesford (et dimidia alia, in honorem sanctæ Mariæ, et dimidia hida extra eandem civitatem) ad quam ecclesiam sanctæ Trinitatis idem Abbas Paulus quosdam monachos hujus ecclesiæ direxit, atque eorum ædificia construens, ordinem ecclesiæ sancti Albani ibidem constituit, cum subjectione debita, de consilio Lanfranci archiepiscopi, inviolabiliter observari."

**WALTON S. FELIX BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, SUFFOLK.**—Roger Bigod is said by Tanner to have given to the monastery of Rochester, sometime before the death of king William Rufus, the church of S. Felix at Walton, wherein a cell to that house was quickly established.

"Willielmus rex Anglorum &c. Sciatis me concessisse et confirmasse donum Rogerii Bigot quod dedit ecclesiæ sanctæ Andree Rovecestra, scilicet, ecclesiam sanctæ Felicis de Waletuna, cum decimis et omnibus aliis rebus, quæ ad illam pertinent." *Dug. i, 164.*

"Silvester prior (of Rochester circa 1178) fecit refectorium et dormitorium et hosteleriam apud Waletune." Thorpe, *Reg. Roff.*, 121.

At a later period, owing, as it would seem, to the incursions of the sea, the site was removed nearer to the present church of Walton, which is under the invocation of S. Mary.

"There are fields at the back of the church, distant about a furlong, called the 'Abbey meadow,' and the 'Abbey field,' and there is the 'Abbey barn'—but there are no remains of any kind of abbey building." Letter of the Rev. C. H. Marriott, vicar.

**WANGFORD CLUNIAN PRIORY CHURCH, SUFFOLK.**—This priory was a cell to Thetford, consisting of a prior and two or three monks only. Some slight remains of the domestic buildings are still visible on the north side of the church, a much mutilated, but very interesting structure, of which the western part—the eastern, or monastic part having been destroyed—is still used as that of the parish.—*Dug. v, 160-1*; and letter of the Rev. C. H. Lacon, vicar, with description by Mr. E. L. Blackburne, architect.

**WARE BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, HERTFORDSHIRE.**—Hugh de Grantsmesnil, lord of this town, gave the church of S. Mary here, with the tithes and two carucates of land, before the year 1081, to the monks of S. Ebrulf at Utica in Normandy; it thereupon became a cell to that abbey, and so rich that, when seized by king Edward III., during the wars with France, it was farmed at £200 a year.—*Dug. vii, 1049.*

The parish church of Ware, a large and handsome cruciform building, consisting of nave, with north and south aisles, western tower and spire, transepts, and a large chancel with a northern lady chapel, has every appearance of having been formerly monastic as well as parochial. It possesses the very rare and striking feature—the most beautiful example of which is found in the cathedral of Freibourg, in Breisgau—of two large and massive octagonal turrets flanking the eastern gable of the nave, and which were doubtless originally connected with the screen and roodloft separating it from the chancel. The priory, now very much modernised, stands at about three hundred yards distance. Letter, and woodcut view, forwarded by the Rev. E. E. W. Kirkby, vicar.

**WAREHAM BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, DORSETSHIRE.**—After the Conquest, says Tanner, one or more of the churches in this town with some lands in the neighbourhood being given by Robert, earl of Leicester, temp. Henry I, to the abbot and convent of Lira in Normandy, they sent over and settled here a cell of their own Benedictine monks, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. —Dug. vi, 1047.

The church of Lady S. Mary, which consists of a nave, with north and south aisles, chancel, lady chapel, tower, porch, and small chapel at the S.E. of chancel, is that of the ancient priory, from the buildings of which it is separated only by a road. Letter (in reply to specific questions) of the Rev. the vicar of Lady S. Mary parish.

**WEEDON PINKNEY BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHANTS.**—Weedon Pinkney was a cell to the abbey of S. Lucian, near Beauvais, by the abbot and monks of which place it was sold, A.D. 1392, to the abbey of Bittlesden in Buckinghamshire.

"Ego Robertus de Pinconio ..... confirmavi Deo et beatæ Mariæ de Wedonia et monachis sancti Luciani Beluacensis in prædicta Wedoniæ ecclesia Domino in perpetuum servituris, &c."

"Robertus ..... abbas monasterii de sancto Luciano, &c. Noveritis nos ..... confirmasse ..... abbati et conventui de Bittlesden ..... prioratum nostrum, rectoriam, sive ecclesiam de Wedon Pinkeny, et advocacionem sive patronatum prædictæ ecclesiæ de Wedon, quam in proprios usus tenebamus, una cum advocacione et patronatu vicariæ prædictæ ecclesiæ de Wedon cum pertinentiis," &c.

The church of Weedon Pinkney, or Weedon Lois, of which the plan seems well adapted for the double uses of a parish and small monastery, is still entire and in use. Dug. vii, 1018-19; and letter, with sketch plan of church, of Sir H. Dryden, Bart.

**WILBERFOSS BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.**—"Alanus de Catton, filius Helicæ fundator; dedit eis, præter alia, totam terram quæ pertinet ad feodum unum cum prato super Derwent Catton." Leland's Coll. vol. i.

"Henricus secundus concessit et confirmavit Deo et ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ de Wilburchfossa, et sanctimonialibus Deo ibidem servantibus ... Ex dono Jordani filii Gilberti, ecclesiam de Wilburfossa, cum pertinentiis suis," &c. Dug. iv, 354-5.

"Md. that the parish church is adioynynge to the same at the nether ende." Survey temp. Hen. VIII. P.R.O.

The parish church of Wilberfoss, which was joined on to the west end of the conventual one, still remains entire. It is under the invocation of S. John Baptist.

**WINCHCOMBE BENEDICTINE ABBEY CHURCH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.**—"In K. Hen. V. tyme, the paroch chyrch of the towne" (of Winchcombe), says Leland, "was kept in the body of the church of the monastery. But in K. Hen. VI. tyme, one William Winchecombe, abbot of Winchelescombe, began with the consent of the towne a paroch church at the west ende of the abbey, where of ould tyme had beene and then was a litle chappell of St. Pencrease. Abbot William made the east ende of the church. The parishioners had gathered a £200, and began the body of the church; but that summe being not able to performe soe costly a work, Rafe Boteler Lord Sudeley helped them and finished the worke." *Lel. Itin.* iv., 74, Oxf. 1769.

**WIX, OR WEEKS BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, ESSEX.**—Walter Mascherell, Alexander his brother, and Edith their sister, began a Benedictine nunnery here, temp. Henry I., in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, endowing it with the rectory of the parish church, &c., and which was afterwards increased by many benefactions.

"Henricus rex Angliæ, &c., Sciatis me concessisse Deo et sanctimonialibus sanctæ Mariæ de Wikes ..... ecclesiam ipsam de Wikes ad tenendum in ea ordinem sanctimonialium," &c.

"I'tm to the same manor belongeth th' advowson or p'ronage of the churche of Wykes, whereof the colledge ben p'sons in p'sonye and no vicar indued," &c.—*Dug.* iv, 515-17.

The present church forms part only of the original conventual and parochial church of S. Mary, which had fallen greatly into decay.

**WOOTTON WAWEN BENEDICTINE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, WARWICKSHIRE.**—Wootton Wawen priory was a cell to the abbey of Conches in Normandy. The ancient Saxon church of this place having been conferred by Robert de Tonei on the abbey of Conches, which had been founded by his father Roger, standard bearer of Normandy, certain monks from that house were forthwith established in it. It still remains—after, as during and previous to, its occupation by the Benedictines—as that of the parish. *Dug.* vi, 994, and letter of the Rev. T. H. Slocock, vicar.

**WYMONDHAM BENEDICTINE PRIORY, AFTERWARDS ABBEY CHURCH, NORFOLK.**—The history of this church has been so fully described and illustrated by the late Rev. J. L. Petit, in the Norwich vol. of the *Archæological Institute*, that little need be repeated here. It was founded by William de Albini, chief butler to king Henry I, early in his reign, and on the site of the original parish church, which was rebuilt and enlarged by him for the purpose.

"Ego Willielmus de Albeneyo, pincerna domini regis Henrici primi, do, concedo ..... priori et conventui de Wymondeham ..... totam ecclesiam de Wydemondeham, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis," &c.

Till A.D. 1249, the monks and parishioners used the church in common, having their several entrances to it. Then, they agreed to divide the fabric for their separate and particular uses; the monks taking the chancel,

transept, and eastern end of the nave—across the three first bays of which the “abbey tower” was afterwards inserted—together with the south nave aisle which abutted on their cloister, and through which they had access to their part of the church; while the nine western bays of the nave, with the north aisle, were made over to the parishioners for their exclusive use as the parish church;—an arrangement which continued till the dissolution. After this event the parishioners, who had previously built the great west tower, clerestory, and north aisle, acquired of king Henry VIII the “abbey steeple,” and south aisle of the nave, which latter they thereupon rebuilt on the vastly enlarged scale in which it appears at present.

**YARMOUTH BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.**—Herbert de Losinga, bishop of Norwich, built the church of S. Nicholas, Great Yarmouth, before A.D. 1101; placing close to it a priory of three or four monks, dedicated in honour of S. Olave, as a cell to that of his cathedral. The parish church of S. Nicholas, which served also as that of the priory, was served by three parish chaplains and one deacon, for whom the prior was bound to provide.—Dug. iv, 465.

Over the high altar, says Swinden, was formerly a loft or perch, called the rood loft, erected by Robert de Haddesco, prior of S. Olave's, in 1370, and ornamented with curious decorations and devices at his own cost and charges. It is called ‘opus pretiosum circa magnum altare,’ and by means of illumination with lamps and candles, the whole appeared exceeding splendid and solemn. The prior of S. Olave, he continues, besides what is before mentioned, built in the east end of this church, a neat chapel, and dedicated it to the Lady of Arneburgh, which was standing in 1545, and on the north side thereof was erected a fine organ, and to the west of it, the choir, furnished with eight priests, who were sent from Norwich, and resided here under the prior, and composed a choir till the dissolution. Of the enormous church of S. Nicholas—one of the largest parish churches in the world—several very finely executed engravings, shewing it in its then unrestored state, may be seen in Neale and Le Keux's Churches (1824), vol. i.

**YORK, HOLY TRINITY BENEDICTINE PRIORY CHURCH.**—A church of the Holy Trinity, served by canons, existed from very early times in the city of York. Having gone to wreck, however, it was refounded by Ralph Paganell, temp. William Rufus as a cell to the abbey of Marmoutier. It was both conventual and parochial, in which latter capacity the nave, or at any rate part of it, continues still. Very full particulars respecting this priory may be seen in the York volume of the Institute, together with a view of the entrance gateway now destroyed.

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With the above list, I bring my answer to the first of the five propositions to a close. It ran, it will be remembered, thus:—“That the churches of Austin canons were always, or nearly always, parochial, as well as monastic, either before they were made collegiate, or from their foundation if they were absolutely new.”

Out of the full number of two hundred and fifty-four churches of Austin canons, I have shown in—

List I. and Division II. of List III.—That the number of those which



were purely conventual, instead of being, as alleged, *nil* or nearly *nil*, was two hundred and seventeen : in—

List II.—That the number of those which were conventual and parochial, instead of embracing the whole, or nearly the whole number, was thirty-seven : in—

List III.—That the great bulk of the Austin canons' churches, from the time of the suppression, were either violently destroyed, or allowed to fall to ruin ; and therefore, on that shewing alone, could never have been parochial, and in—

List IV.—That the churches of the Benedictine, and other orders of monks—so far from being more strictly conventual than those of the canons, with which they were tacitly and disparagingly contrasted—present, on the contrary, above three times their number of parochial examples : the sum total of parochial Austin canons' churches being only thirty-seven ; while that of the churches of monks of the same class was no less than one hundred and nineteen.

*(To be continued.)*

## SANDRIDGE CHURCH, HERTFORDSHIRE.

By SOMERS CLARKE, F.S.A.

The following notes principally relate to a particular feature in the church, namely, the wall separating the nave from the chancel, in the manner of a chancel screen. This is the feature of the greatest interest in the church ; which, however mean as is its external aspect, is not devoid of beauty or other objects of interest within. Some excitement has risen of late amongst antiquaries on the rumour of the possible destruction of the wall just mentioned, but I venture to hope that no such destruction may take place.

I am indebted to Dr. Griffith, the vicar of Sandridge, for the following historical notes :—

The manor of Sandridge was, in the year 794, given by king Egfrid to the monastery of S. Albans, recently founded by his father Offa.

The first record that we have of a consecrated building in Sandridge is that Herbert de Losinga, first bishop of Norwich, consecrated the chapel of S. Leonard for the abbot and monks of S. Albans. The said Herbert died in 1119. The chapelry was later on turned into a vicarage, and served by a vicar appointed by the abbey.

John de la Moote, elected abbot of S. Albans in 1396, "rebuilt the chancel from the foundations."

The later history of the church and parish does not concern us at present, so I will not trouble you with it, but will proceed to give a short description of the building, which must be done to enable you to appreciate the difficulties and the interests of the case.

The building now consists of a chancel without aisles, a nave of four bays with narrow aisles, and small north and south porches placed about midway in the length of the aisles. The nave is now without its clerestory. It opens into a western tower, a mean and impudent little brick edifice, oblong on plan, erected in 1837 in place of an old tower, which was described by Salmon in the year 1728 as follows :—"The steeple hath been down and lain in rubbish almost forty years, without any endeavour to repair it to the great shame of the inhabitants." It was a pity they did not let it alone a little longer.

The Norman or perhaps pre-Norman building was most probably an aisleless nave with a chancel, the chancel arch consisting of a semicircular ring of large bricks, such as are to be seen at the neighbouring abbey. This arch was not very wide. There is a horizontal line in the lower

part of the chancel walls north and south which seems to suggest that some of the early work still remains with later work above.

Of the early nave there seems to be nothing at present visible, except the four responds of the Norman arcade.

The arcade, the principal feature of the now existant nave, is of fine transitional work, *circa* 1160. The octagonal columns are surmounted by capitals, with abaci square on plan, each corner of the cap being carved into a species of volute; the effect is very refined and noble. These caps carry an arcade of semicircular arches. The arches were surmounted by a clerestory, but this is now quite gone, and the roof rests above the arches, and is lit by two large high raised dormer windows presenting a singularly odd effect on the exterior.

The west end of the nave opens by a fine and well moulded pointed arch, with details just merging into early English, into the tower.

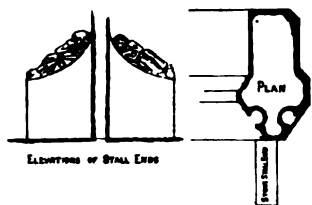
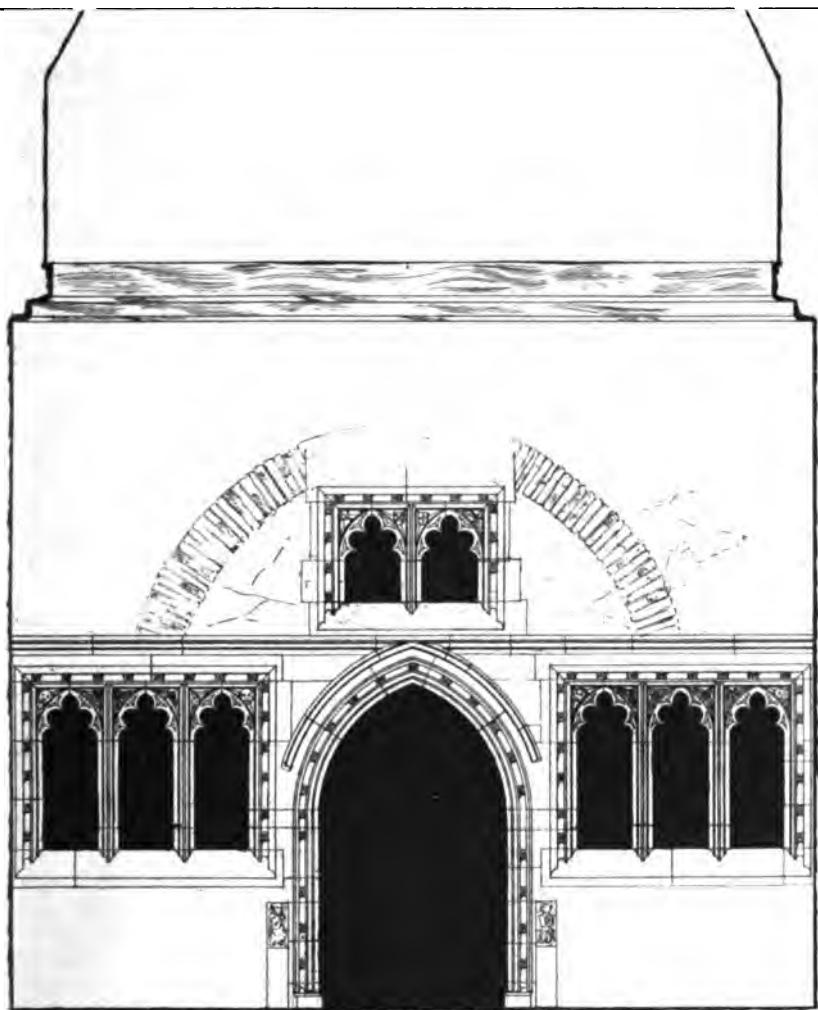
The nave aisles are in effect later, but it is most probable that the present windows are inserted in the older wall built when the arcades were constructed.

The chancel, as has been already stated, was rebuilt from the foundation by John de la Moote, elected abbot in 1396. My own belief is that the work was not of so radical a nature as these words suggest. The side windows of the chancel are of two lights, cusped and under a depressed head. I will not commit myself by assigning a date to them, but they do not strike one as being of quite so early a date as the pierced wall which stands between the nave and chancel, and to the description of which we will now address ourselves.

I will ask you to imagine yourselves as standing in the chancel and looking west.

The semicircular chancel arch of large bricks already mentioned was revealed by the removal of some plaster not long since. The crown of this arch lies a little below the tie beam of the chancel roof. At the springing level of this arch, a moulded string, which forms the crowning feature of the later work, is carried completely across the wall face; beneath this string, in the middle of the wall and occupying a width somewhat less than the opening of the brick chancel arch, we see a well moulded pointed doorway, with square flowers in the hollow of the moulding. This doorway is flanked on either side by a square headed three-light window opening; the pointed heads of these lights are cusped with five foils; the square inclosing moulding being the same as that of the doorway. The brick arch above is filled in, in part, but a two-light window, generally similar to the three-light windows below, is placed over the doorway, and at the corners is cut into the ring of the brick arch, which has thus not only been deprived of its supporting jambs (it now springs from over the opening of the windows) but has its integrity completely destroyed by the window opening. It has revenged itself by cracking the wall and window openings on which it rests, for in fact it now stands on the top of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century structure forming a chancel screen. We are, in fact, now standing on the east side of a stone chancel screen, which, unlike most screens to which we are accustomed, is solid above the heads of the openings, with the exception of the small window over the door.

We may observe that the moulded side of these openings is towards the east; we know that in most screens the richest side is towards the west.



ELEVATIONS OF STALL ENDS

EAST SIDE OF CHANCEL SCREEN  
ST. PETER'S CHURCH SANDRIDGE  
HERTS.



*Sprague & Co. Photo-draw London*



The western side of the window openings in the present instance shews jambs, very much splayed, and surmounted by depressed arches.

On either side of the doorway, on its eastern face, is a low stone seat end, with figures clumsily carved on them, much worn. I had not the opportunity to look very carefully at them, and will not hazard a conjecture as to their meaning.

There are not now visible indications shewing the attachment of timbers or panelling on the west side of the screen, as I shall now call it, but there are distinct indications of the ends of a beam, placed some three or four feet west of the screen, and level with the arches above the windows. This beam doubtless carried the floor of a gallery, and may have marked the line of its parapet front. The lower part of the screen wall, now so plain, was doubtless covered with wood panelling and tracery, and it lays but a small tax on the imagination to see a screen facing west, much like many that still remain. I am not aware that any evidence has yet been found of side altars beneath the window openings, but it is not unlikely that such may be found.

Having as I hope shewn that the lower part of the screen may not after all have presented, when perfect, so abnormal an appearance as at first sight we should suppose; it may, I think, be shewn that the solid partition above was a very common thing, but it was usually of wood and not of rubble.

The crusade against screens, which has been going on for centuries with more or less vigour; the change in the services, and the effort to turn a place primarily intended for worship, into a preaching house; these things, combined with modern "restoration," have cleared away numberless screens with their lofts and decorations, and have left us little evidence.

On the other hand, it is certain that there were in many cases partitions which, standing above the open screen, severed the nave from the chancel. Until recent times many of these remained, bearing the royal arms and tables of the law. I remember seeing such a partition at Ewerby in Lincolnshire. At Ifield church, Sussex, the chancel arch bears distinct evidence of having been closed with wood work; the holes to receive the uprights are visible, but now the screen and all its adjuncts are gone.<sup>1</sup>

At S. Nicholas church, Brighton, where there remains a very sumptuous screen with a very wide loft, the arch above the screen was filled in and a shallow gallery ran across on the west side, doubtless a successor to the old rood gallery, and possibly made up of it in part. The screen remains. Other examples occur,—at Barton Turf the upper part; at Tivetshall S. Margaret, Norfolk; at S. Michael's, S. Albans; at Monkton church near Pembroke; at Capel le Ferne near Dover.

The question of such divided churches deserves a separate paper. Probably many in Pembrokeshire, in Wilts; one now destroyed at Yalesbury near Ealm; at Stockton near Salisbury. The most interesting which I have seen is the remarkable little old Norman church at Scawton between Rivaux and Bylands abbeys.

At Micheldean, in Gloucestershire, the partition remains complete. This was divided into panels with paintings, and is fully described by

<sup>1</sup> I have since noticed similar holes in the soffit of the chancel arch at Henfield in the same county, and the like occur at Kedleston, Derbyshire.

Mr. J. H. Middleton in the Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, vol. vi, part 2. At Bettws Newid in Monmouthshire the whole thing remains complete. The frame work of the upper panelling is arranged to form in the centre a large cross ; on each side of this and low down there is a little three-light window, which calls to our mind the two-light window already described as coming over the doorway at Sandridge.

I must now speak a few words on the proposed restoration at Sandridge Church.

There is no doubt that the very solid partition which now divides the nave from the chancel presents considerable difficulties in the use of the church, and the separation of the two parts of the building will seem more marked when a clerestory is built in the nave, and this is intended to be done. The brick arch is, as I have already said, crushing the window openings below, and something must be done here, or ultimate ruin will follow.

It is Dr. Griffith's desire that nothing whatever shall be touched or even repaired where there is not absolute necessity. However a man is not always able to carry out his views. To relieve the weight of the brick arch upon the window openings it is proposed to turn a new chancel arch, at a higher level, over the old one, and to leave the old arch. The whole wall should also be left as high as the crown of the brick arch. I can conceive of nothing that will better meet the difficulties of the case, as it will make a sufficient space to throw the roof of the chancel well open to the nave, and still conserve all the features of the old wall, and nearly all the wall itself.







Stone found in St. Paul's Churchyard, London.

: k o n a : l e t : l e k i a : s t



: k n t : k n à : s u æ t : u !

Runic Inscription on the edge of the above Stone.

**"SCANDINAVIAN" OR "DANISH" SCULPTURED STONES  
FOUND IN LONDON; AND THEIR BEARING ON THE  
SUPPOSED "SCANDINAVIAN" OR "DANISH" ORIGIN  
OF OTHER ENGLISH SCULPTURED STONES.**

By the REV. G. F. BROWNE, B.D.

I propose to use the words "Danish" and "Scandinavian" almost indiscriminately in this paper, instead of the more cautious phrase "Scandinavian or Danish." While there are marked differences between the art work of Norway and Sweden on the one hand and of Denmark on the other, I do not wish to profess to discriminate between the two styles so dogmatically as to say of a tenth century or eleventh century stone that it is Scandinavian and not Danish, or Danish and not Scandinavian. The word in ordinary use in the connection which now concerns us is "Danish."

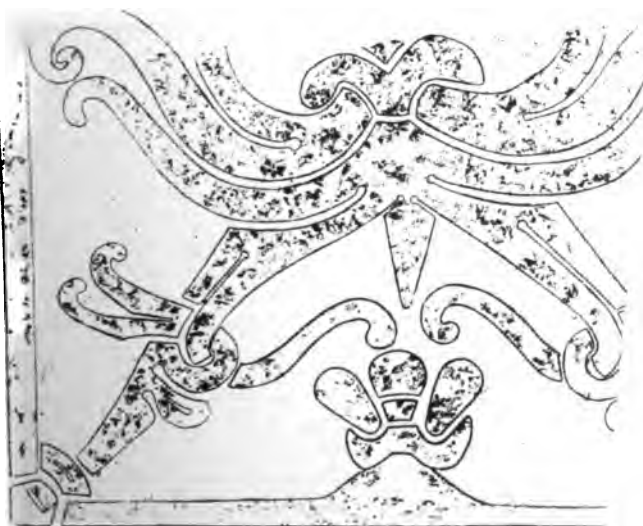
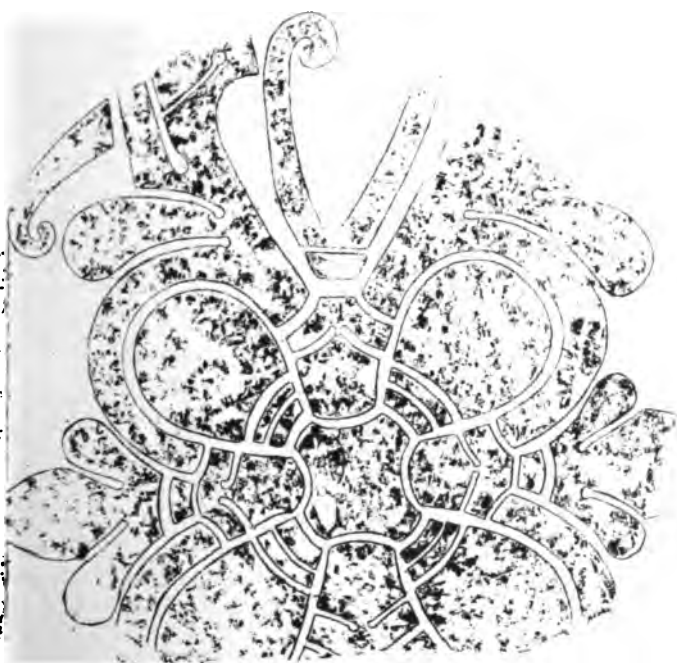
In August, 1852, a remarkable stone was dug up in the course of excavations for a new warehouse on the south side of St. Paul's Churchyard. It was found about twenty feet below the present surface. The architect, Mr. James T. Knowles, junior, addressed a letter describing the discovery and the stone to the Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord in December, 1852, and this letter was embodied in a very interesting paper by Charles C. Rafn, "Remarks on a Danish Runic Stone from the eleventh century found in the central part of London." The paper was published separately, in a pamphlet form. It is also to be found in the "Mémoires" of the Society, in the volume for 1845-1849, however contradictory the date may appear. It is accompanied by three illustrations, one giving a very good representation of the stone itself, and the other two shewing two sides of the memorial stone of Gorm the Old, the last heathen king of Denmark, for the purpose of comparison<sup>1</sup>. The stone is carefully preserved in the Guildhall Library, cased in wood and glass. I have pleasure in recording the great readiness with which the Librarian sent for a workman and had the case taken off, to enable me to make a rubbing of the stone and its inscription. Though this stone is not the special subject of my paper, and has already been fully described, it is necessary for my present purpose to call attention to its characteristics (see Plate I).

It will be seen that the stone is the upper part of a standing stone, which has been in appearance something like a modern rectangular head-stone in a church yard, but a good deal lower than most of our modern stones. It bears in a sunk panel the figure of a non-descript animal, less

<sup>1</sup> Tracings of these were shewn, and a rubbing of the stone.

unlike a horse than anything else, with fantastic claws and a head horned and tusked looking backwards. A dragon-like creature coils round its fore legs and rears itself in front of its chest, cleverly filling up that end of the panel. The hind legs also are hampered, and in the void space above the back there is an intricate arrangement of volutes which appear to have some connection with harness. The upper corners of the rectangular panel are occupied by an ornament closely resembling a turnip. On the edge of the stone is an inscription, reading upwards from the level of the bottom of the panel to the top, and then turning downwards and reaching nearly to the bottom of the panel again. The runes of which the inscription consists are very deeply and regularly cut, very different from the mere scratches of some Anglian inscriptions, and their meaning is quite clear—Kona let lekia stin thensi auk Tuki: Kona and Tuki caused lay this stone. A complete discussion of the inscription will be found in Mr. Rafn's paper.

In 1884, Mr. A. W. Franks asked me to look at two large and heavy fragments of sculptured stones, which had been in his possession for some years. He had recently placed them in the Anglo-Saxon room at the British Museum, and he has now presented them to the Museum. They are respectively about 15 in. by 20 in. and 20 in. by 21 in. and about 8 in. thick. I had seen no stones in any way resembling them, nor had I, at that time, seen any engravings that bore upon their ornamentation. But it happened that I had that morning examined for the first time the stone in the Guildhall Library, in its case, and I had observed on it that when the stone-cutter wished to make a groove, he seemed to have begun by drilling a hole at the furthest point to which the groove was to run. This feature, I saw at once, was a characteristic of the British Museum stones also. Proceeding on this hint, I observed further that in more than one place the "turnip" ornament of the Guildhall stone appeared on the British Museum stones. Further, some of the characteristic features in connection with volutes were to be found on the Museum stones. I came to the conclusion that, though it would be difficult to imagine two monuments more unlike at first sight, the Guildhall stone and the British Museum stones were of the same nationality and character, probably by the same workman, possibly parts of the same monument, the former acting as the head-stone of the grave, the latter being fragments of the body-stone laid on the surface of the ground. The detailed examination of the three stones which followed some time after, when I took rubbings and put in the outlines, convinced me of the close relation between the two. In further confirmation of this I made a most unexpected and unlikely discovery, that one of the British Museum stones, which we had been handling so long, bore on one edge two very bold runes and a full stop, and that the runes were KI, the concluding runes of the Guildhall inscription, suggesting that Tuki had to do with both monuments. Mr. Franks then informed me that the men from whom he obtained the two stones told him they came from the City, and thus the whole series of surmises seemed to hang together. The outlined rubbings of the two stones will be found reproduced on Plate II. It may be well to add that Rafn identifies the Guildhall Tuki with Tokig, a minister of King Canute, while after the KI of the British Museum stone is an incision which may represent a rune for *g* at a period when it was almost becoming *y*. Professor G. Stephens



G F Browne del.

*Sprague & Co. Photo. Arts London*

TWO FRAGMENTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,  
FOUND IN THE CITY OF LONDON.



examined the stone when he came over to receive an honorary degree from the University of Cambridge, and he told me there was no doubt about the runes. I shew a rubbing of this edge of the stone, and I would call attention to the fact that here as on the Guildhall stone a deep groove runs along the middle of the edge, evidently prepared for the inscription, the Guildhall runes standing on the two sides of this groove as their base, the British Museum runes, there being abundance of room to spare, being run right across the central groove and forming an inscription of one line only.

Having arrived at these conclusions, which seemed to me of some importance beyond the particular case, I naturally looked further into the matter, and I found two things which interested me very much. The first was that T. G. Repp had argued from the phrase, "caused *lay* this stone," instead of the usual "*raised* this stone," that the Guildhall stone was the head-stone of a greater monument of the nature of a body-stone, and that while the head-stone recorded the persons who provided the monument, the body-stone would no doubt bear an inscription setting forth the name of the deceased. This "horizontal tomb-stone below," he added, "in the course of eight centuries most likely has been broken into many pieces and then mouldered to atoms." The coincidence of the conclusions from very different data, and the confirmation of T. G. Repp's surmise, are very remarkable.

The other result of my further enquiries was that the ornamental work on the British Museum stones, of which I had seen no other example though it seemed like a reminiscence of some of the patterns on Scandinavian fibulæ of the later iron age, was in many of its parts almost identical with a large number of the ornamental crosses—scarcely recognisable as crosses—inscribed on Scandinavian monumental stones as figured in Göransson's *Bautil* (Stockholm, 1750), while the Guildhall animal is evidently of the same type with animals which appear on the Scandinavian stones.<sup>1</sup> This at once not only set at rest all doubt as to the close connection between the two London monuments, so far as style and period are concerned, but further emphasised the probability that these two monuments, each up to the present time unique in England so far as I know, may be parts of one and the same memorial—it may be supposed to some very important personage who died in London in the course of the century preceding the Norman Conquest.

It will be of some interest to state that I have had an opportunity of shewing my rubbings of the two stones to Professor Westwood, of Oxford. I laid them before him, hiding the rubbings of the Guildhall stone, and remarking that the ornamentation was I thought unique in England. 'Except,' he rejoined, 'on one stone, a stone found in St. Paul's Churchyard, which I published in the Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute thirty years ago.' It was with great satisfaction that I removed the rubbings, and shewed, lying under his hand, my rubbing of the Guildhall stone, his admirable engraving of which will be found in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. x, page 83, and is reproduced on Plate I. This immediate and independent identification seems to me to be of great importance in the argument which follows

<sup>1</sup> Tracings of these were shewn.

We are told in various localities that English sculptured stones are "Danish." The common people call them so, and it is worth enquiring whether this is an old tradition. The alternative is more likely, that visitors with some archaeological knowledge have pronounced them to be Danish and the verdict has been locally stereotyped. I have seen several 'Danish' stones this year, notably in Staffordshire. They bear no resemblance to anything shewn in Göransson or Olaus Wormius, and they naturally suggest the question, why should the Danes, or other Northmen, erect in England monuments so very unlike the monuments they erected in such large numbers at home? With some archaeologists, the great mass of early sculptured stones in the North of England are almost to a stone "Danish" or later copies of "Danish." And yet it may be said I think with perfect truth that there is not one known stone in the North of England which does not differ in a striking manner from every stone figured in the books referred to. That the two classes of stone may be descended from some far off common ancestor, that they are distant cousins, may be true, but that they are the work—so far as their art is concerned—of the same men, the one class designed at home the other designed abroad in England, contradicts experience. The difference is not in style of art only, or in shape of stone, though these are marked enough; there is a much more serious difference, namely, that while the stones in Denmark and Scandinavia are very loquacious, telling us usually in long runic inscriptions the names of the person to whom the stone was erected and the person who erected it, there is not, so far as I know, a single scrap of an inscription on any one of the English stones now called "Danish." It may be added that while the Danish and Scandinavian stones thus carry inscriptions, their number being very large—already in Göransson's time some 1,700 being figured, and these runic inscriptions are almost all of them cut on the body of a serpent or a pair of serpents twining about on the face of a rough unheven and unshaped stone, there is not, so far as I know, a single stone in England with an inscription in runes or in any other character on the body of a serpent, nor is there to my knowledge any unshaped stone bearing the interlacing bands and ornamented panels and the other features we find on our early sculptured stones.

It might be argued that the Danes when in England did as the English did, that is to say, when they wished to carry out their national practice of erecting a stone monument, they erected a monument of English fashion. This argument, if it could be substantiated, would leave us in doubt as to any stone of pre-Norman type, and of about the period when the Danes were here; it might be Danish, it might be English, so far as the ordering it and paying for it was concerned. I shew a panel, which I have named the Völund panel, on the Leeds cross, where a saga scene is combined with the evangelists and other characteristics of English stones, so that Scandinavian ideas were carried out by Anglian artists. But the stones which are now under consideration shew quite conclusively that it was possible for Danes to have a thoroughly Danish monument in England if they so desired, and there is no other evidence of this. This strikes a serious blow at the "Danish" theory of the origin of the large number of stones which are as different as anything can well be from Danish stones in Denmark. These stones shew also, I think, two things of great importance. Their style, though intensely Scandinavian,

is, both in design and in workmanship, superior to anything I can find figured on Danish and Scandinavian stones; from which we may argue that the art of sculpturing designs on stones was at the time of the Danish residence here in a more advanced stage than in Denmark itself, and this makes against the theory that the English stones are late Danish. Further, the fact that here are very interesting and effective sculptured stones in the heart of London, of a type easily reproduced as compared with the difficult intricacies of interlacements, and yet that these stones are, so far as we know, altogether without progeny, have left no known attempt at imitation, is an argument against the theory held by many persons, that those of our sculptured stones which are not Danish are late English copies of Danish stones erected here. With regard to the head-stone of these London stones, there can, I think, be no doubt that the Dane who set it up copied an English form. I have heard of no head-stone of this character, or of anything like this form, in Scandinavia or Denmark. On the other hand we have in England early head-stones, some with runes, of which I shew one from Thornhill, and one very curious stone at Whitchurch in Hampshire, with a semi-circular top on the surface of which the inscription (in Latin) is cut, in front, a female bust in a sunk panel, and on the back a very pretty symmetrical ornament of spiral type, a rubbing of which I shew. Again, there is no evidence of the existence of body-stones of this form in Scandinavia or Denmark, while, though there is not to my knowledge in these islands any body-stone at all resembling this, we have plenty of early body-stones. The so-called hog-backed stones are, of course, familiar to all who are likely to hear or read these words. But there is a class of body-stones less familiarly known, and at the same time more closely akin to this London body-stone. Several were found under the Norman walls of Cambridge Castle when they were removed early in this century. They are figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. xvii, and Mr. Cutts has given two in his *Manual*. The Cambridge Antiquarian Society, of which I have the honour of being President, possesses one, and I shew an outlined rubbing of it, a stone  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet long, tapering towards the foot from 19 inches to 12 inches, with four sunk panels leaving the surface to form a Latin cross, the panels filled with simple interlacing bands. You have a portion of a stone much like this in the Guildhall Museum. There is one in the south wall of St. Mary Bishophill the Less in York, 4 feet long, of which I shew an outlined rubbing. Another has just been found under Peterborough Cathedral. I shew a fragment of another, 3ft. long, from the York Museum, with no cross on the surface but divided up the length by one line, on each side of which is a dragon with interlacing bands for limbs. I shew for purposes of comparison a pretty little standing stone from Thornhill, near Dewsbury, with dragons which are closely related to the York dragons, and with a runic inscription. There is a very interesting fragment of a stone, recently found at York, with two panels, in each of which is a very good dragon engaged in the usual unsatisfactory and unsatisfying occupation of eating its own or some other dragon's tail. I believe that this stone is the upper part of a body-stone with four panels. There are several early stones in Yorkshire and Durham which may have been body-stones. Among them I must mention the stone which I feel to be the most beautiful I have seen. It is built into the external wall of the west end of the nave of Kirkdale



Church, on the north side of the tower. It is perishing miserably, may almost be said to have perished. The local photographer has had an order from me for more than two years to photograph it in the largest possible size. Years ago runes could be read on it, *To King Oithilwald*. Now only one rune can be seen, though others are detected in a careful rubbing. I shew a rubbing of what remained three years ago of this exquisite piece of sculpture.

The theory that English and Scottish and Irish sculptured stones are mainly Danish is probably due to the fact that some of our earliest writers who have touched upon the question were in communication with learned Danes, and heard from them of stones with strange interlacements and with runic inscriptions existing in Denmark and in Sweden. It was natural to suppose that the origin of the two classes of stones was the same, and that the Danes who set them up in Denmark were the race who set them up in England and in Ireland, in parts of both of which countries they were for a time the ruling race.

Sir Henry Spelman had a correspondence<sup>1</sup> with Olaus Wormius on this and cognate subjects, in which, by the way, the runes on the missing head of the Bewcastle Cross are set forth and discussed. It is difficult to see what other view was tenable in the then state of knowledge, above all at a time when the exquisite art of the manuscripts produced in early times in these islands was practically a sealed book. Professor Westwood's labours in the reproduction of some of the marvellous pages of the MSS., a reproduction as marvellous in its way as the pages themselves, have enabled every one interested in the matter to realise the fact that a new and highly important element has been introduced into the question since the early county historians labelled our English stones as Danish. In one case, it is well known, a very ludicrous result was produced by the Danish theory. The runic inscription on the wonderful monument at Ruthwell, in a part of Scotland which was for a short time under Anglian rule in the early days of the kingdom of Northumbria, was treated as Danish, and the beautiful stanzas of the poem in early "Anglo-Saxon"—

Christ was on the Cross,  
Yet thither hastening  
Came from afar  
The nobles to the sufferer.  
With missiles wounded  
There laid we him limb weary,

were made to mean that 'a font with ornaments of eleven pounds weight was offered by the authority of the Therfusian fathers for the devastation of the fields and thirteen cows as an expiation for injury.' The evidence in this case every one can appreciate. The evidence from the character of the art is not accessible to all, even of those who are interested in the matter, and we cannot expect it to be so ludicrously conclusive as in the Ruthwell case.

I have selected one or two examples of "Danish" stones in England, as illustrations of the sort of evidence we possess. There is nothing unfair in the selection, in this sense—that I know of no stones called "Danish" in England which are any less unlike the Scandinavian stones than these.

<sup>1</sup> Ol. Worm. Mon. Dan. iii. 13.

There are in England a number of sculptured columns, mostly cylindrical but in some cases with slightly oval section, which are commonly called Danish. I have called attention to some of these in a paper which the Derbyshire Archaeological Society did me the honour of accepting, on the Font at Wilne. The whole question of these columns is much too large to be dealt with on the present occasion. I shew rubbings of one of the finest of them, the pillar in the church-yard at Leek, in Staffordshire. The principle of all is the same. The column tapers slightly upwards, and after a time it is cut as if one were making the first four cuts at a new lead pencil. This gives four faces, each with a curvilinear base and with sides sloping gently inwards. On these four faces the sculptures are placed. It has been believed that these pillars never terminated in a cross at the top. The pillar at Leek terminates in something which the historian of the town likens, *horribile dictu*, to a pine-apple. It is, however, part of the cross in which the pillar once terminated. This is set quite at rest by a pretty little pillar in the church-yard at Ilam, where the cross-head is sufficiently preserved for all purposes of argument.

At Leek, as the rubbings shew, a fillet runs round the pillar immediately below the curvilinear bases of the sculptured panels, and this fillet is ornamented with a simple and pretty interlacement of bands. It will be noticed that the pattern is not continuous, as it might so easily have been, but comes to an end at the N.E. corner and begins again. This is probably due to the designer having drawn the working design on paper or on a board or a flat stone, as a long narrow panel of interlacing work, 7 inches broad and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ft. long, in which case he might naturally bring each end to the conclusion usual on panels. Below the fillet is a very unusual and effective ornament, a heart-shaped pattern on three sides, descending in a triangle, and on the fourth side a Maltese cross, carrying in its centre a smaller cross, perhaps a Latin cross, probably another Maltese. The four faces have (1) the key pattern, (2) a series of ten "Stafford knots" formed by an endless band, (3) a piece of ordinary interlacing work, with two puzzling departures from the conventional "over and under" alternation, (4) a stiff scroll of fruit and leaves. Of these, (1), (3), and (4), are almost *de rigueur* on these columns. Below the fillet the surface is unsculptured to the ground, about six feet. The Leek sexton told me that their local name for the Stafford knot is "hang three rogues at once," an improvement on the simple halter which made me as a Yorkshireman almost envious of their local requirements.

The next "Danish" stone I will take is one which I believe is not described anywhere. It is at Stapleford, in Nottinghamshire, close on the borders of Derbyshire. It is a very remarkable stone, with exquisite patterns. I trust that the Institute will be willing to have it photographed on a large scale and in full detail, and to accept a paper on it, illustrated by autotype copies of the photographs and by photolithographs of my rubbings, without which no one not practised could form a guess at the law of the interlacements.

This beautifully sculptured pillar is about 12 feet high, and it is said that a considerable portion of the shaft is sunk in the masonry which supports it; that the sculpture continues below the lowest visible point is evident. Every portion of it is covered with sculpture. It is divided by bands into two cylindrical portions, each 2 feet 3 inches high; how much longer the lower is cannot be determined. Above these are the four

faces similar to those I have described, and the pillar is on so large a scale that these faces are themselves divided, and a second panel of each commences a few inches below the point where the whole is broken off, shewing the remains of interlacing work. I shew rubbings of all the four faces up to the division, and of three fourths of each of the lower cylindrical portions. The faces have, (1) a cornucopia scroll, (2) a well executed system of twofold Stafford knots, (3) a very pretty arrangement of 17 rings with endless bands running through them, (4) what is called a Danish bird. This last object has both ears and horns; it has extended wings; on either side are what may be portions of snakes; and I think there are signs of a spear. The legs may be the legs of a bird. The arrangement of the head possibly points to St. Luke. The upper cylindrical surface is covered with intricate interlacing work the details of which are much decayed in places. A portion of the work is very unusual; other portions are as good as the very best manuscript or stone work in existence. The lower cylindrical surface has been very fine. The west side could hardly be surpassed in the beauty of the concentric circular interlacements. The south side has all but perished. The north repeats a portion of the upper panel on a bolder scale, and the east repeats and amplifies the system of rings on one of the faces. It is interesting to note that, so far as I know, we have not this pattern on English stones, beyond a ring or two on a Northumbrian stone. On Scottish stones it is equally rare, except in one part—you find it on one stone after another in Wigton and Galloway.<sup>1</sup>

I shew another of these pillars, on a much smaller scale, the pillar in the church yard of Ilam. Its features are in the main the same. It has, curiously enough, just the same departure from due alternation as the Leek stone has. It has what the others have not, a scroll of fruit and leaves on the fillet below the four faces. I shew also a photograph of the well-known pillar of Eliseg at Valle Crucis, near Llangollen. In its form it exactly accords with what we have seen. It is well known that this pillar carries a long inscription in barbarous Latin, naming British kings of a period anterior to any date at which the 9th century Danes could possibly have influenced lapidary style. There are two examples of these pillars at Bakewell and four at Macclesfield.

It is unnecessary for me to say that what we have so far seen of "Danish" stones is entirely unlike the Danish and Scandinavian stones they know so well in Denmark &c. We have not seen a sign of those great snakes which border their ornaments and carry their inscriptions. Nor will you find on any stone in those parts anything approaching to any of the details I have shewn. What I have now to add, in concluding my examples of "Danish" stones in England, is more striking still in itself and only not more unlike Danish stones because it could not be more unlike. The specimens I shew of what I may designate as "basket-work men," come from two stones at Checkley in Staffordshire. They are "battle stones," and "Danish," in popular estimation and in the county history. I had supposed the marvellous creatures on them to be quite unique till I found a stone I shall describe next. The bodies of the men, of whom there are, I think, about two dozen in threes, are formed of an endless interlacing band, the legs projecting as a separate design, and the two ends of the band projecting from the shoulders and forming upraised

<sup>1</sup> Tracings of these ring patterns were shewn.

arms, in some cases passing round the head and forming an arcade or a nimbus. I shew tracings of a crucifixion from the "Irish Psalter" at St. John's College, Cambridge, with an approach to this basket-work arrangement; also of a basket-work-bodied "elephant" symbol from Brodie. I also shew other details of these most remarkable stones. I trust that the local society will enable me to have the stones fully photographed and published with my outlined rubbings as interpretations.

Finally, last Easter, when I was collecting materials for a paper on the Derbyshire stones, to be read, if all be well, at the meeting of the Institute in Derby next autumn, I went to Ilam, at the mouth of Dovedale but in Staffordshire. There, too, I found a "battle stone," a very massive rectangular shaft, looking as if very many centuries must have gone in its perishing. When the lichen was got rid of, there stood revealed the indications of what I think no one not acquainted with the race of "basket-work" men at Checkley could have interpreted, "basket-work" men in threes, almost exactly like the "Danish" battle stones at Checkley, while on the sides were just the same Stafford knots and concentric circles which I have shewn among the Checkley details, only on a larger scale. I shew rubbings of these. I am glad to say that the discovery of these curious things, and the light I was able to throw upon two crosses in the churchyard, have moved the vicar to undertake the publication of all sides of all of them, both in autotype and with photolithographs from my rubbings.

I have had a two-fold object in venturing to make this communication. First, I have desired to call attention to the details of the important question of the relation between the art of the stones in these islands and of those in Denmark and Scandinavia; with which question the origin and influence of the art of the so-called Irish manuscripts is inseparably bound up. And secondly, I have desired to excite interest in the whole question of our English sculptured stones, stones as interesting in their art and their antiquity as the stones of Scotland and of Ireland, and greatly more interesting in their inscriptions. I have great hopes that the University Press of Cambridge will undertake to commence and to carry on a great work on these stones, where each shall be reproduced by some autotype process. Both on the account of the expense, and on account of the labour, and on account of the knowledge required, such a work—which would be a national work—is impossible without the active aid both of local and of central Archæological Associations. I shall be exceedingly thankful if I succeed in moving to sympathy and active co-operation so all-important a body as the Archæological Institute.

## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

February 5, 1885.

The PRESIDENT in the Chair.

Admiral TREMLETT communicated a paper "On the Pierres à Bassins in Brittany," in which he suggested that they had been caused by the extraction of quern stones.

Mr. SOMERS CLARKE read a paper "On Sandridge Church, Herts," but dealing more particularly with the very remarkable stone screen dividing the chancel from the nave. It is singular that the ornamental side of this screen, which is practically a solid wall with a central door between two windows, with a third window above, faces east, and Mr. Clarke therefore suggests that the plain western side was hidden from view to a great extent by a wooden screen carrying the rood.

This paper is printed at page 247 of the current number of the *Journal*.

Rev. C. R. MANNING exhibited three medieval patens from Norfolk. The earliest, from Foxley, bears the *manus Dei* in the centre, but is otherwise plain. It is apparently of fourteenth century date. The next, from Gissing, is of ordinary type with the Vernacle, date *circa* 1515, but perhaps a little later,—the hall marks are almost illegible. The third, from Felbrigge, is remarkable for an unusual central device, that of St. Margaret and the dragon, on an enamelled field. Felbrigge church is dedicated to St. Margaret. The date of the paten is *circa* 1520.

Mr. MANNING spoke as to the large number of medieval patens existing in Norfolk; for, whilst no instance of a medieval chalice was known, over twenty patens had already been noticed. It was suggested that patens were spared by the Edwardian commissioners, though they confiscated the chalices.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Admiral TREMLETT.—Drawings of Pierres à Bassins.

By M. SEIDLER.—Photographs of megalithic remains.

By Mr. SOMERS CLARKE.—Drawing of the stone screen in Sandridge church, Herts.

By Rev. C. R. MANNING.—Medieval patens from Foxley, Gissing and Felbrigge, Norfolk.

March 5, 1885.

The PRESIDENT in the Chair.

The Rev. Precentor VENABLES communicated the following notes on the discovery of a beautiful pilaster of Roman work at Lincoln:—

"I send a photograph and one-fourth size drawing, by Mr. Smedley, of a sculptured stone, discovered in the middle of February last, in digging the foundations of the new School of Art and Science at Lincoln. The locality where the stone was found is at the foot of the hill on which the old Roman city stood, behind the old city jail, between the New road and Monks road, a short distance to the east of the eastern wall of the lower or second Roman area, nearly opposite the site of the eastern Roman gateway of that lower town, known in later times as Clasket gate. It is rather remarkable that other indications of Roman times were so scanty. As far as I can learn there were no Roman foundations or traces of Roman building discovered. Two funeral vases of the coarsest make, one containing burnt bones, both broken by the pick of the workman, are all that I can hear of, besides a few coins of common types.

"The stone, as will be seen from the photographs, is one of much interest, and displays considerable beauty of design. It may be safely said to be the finest work of art of Roman date which has yet been discovered in Lincoln. It consists of a quadrangular pilaster or "cippus," of a rather tapering form, crowned by a projecting cornice carved with a series of inverted acanthus leaves of much delicacy of execution. The two sides are profusely carved with foliage of the acanthus type, displaying great freedom and less conventionality than is often the case. The way in which some of the leaves are made to overlap one another deserves observation. But it is the face of the stone which calls for the most careful attention. It bears a figure—whether male or female is somewhat uncertain—clothed in drapery of much elegance in its folds and general arrangement. Its left hand bears a 'cornucopia.' What the dependent right hand carried cannot be determined from the mutilated state of the stone. The features have entirely perished. The head has its back part covered with a kind of hood, or veil.

"The points to be determined with regard to this interesting memorial of the past are its object and character, and the person represented.

"I sent the photograph of the stone to Dr. Collingwood Bruce, who replied—'I am much interested in your newly discovered stone. It is worthy of Athens in its best days. The first question which I asked myself was whether the figure was that of a man or a woman. The flatness of the upper portion of the chest induces me to think it is a man. I send you a photograph of a stone just discovered in South Shields. So far as the chest is concerned and the garment covering it, there seems to be a likeness between them. The Shields figure, we have no doubt, is a man.'

"Another person who has inspected the stone believes that the figure is female, and is led by the cornucopia to identify it with Ceres. The same party expresses his opinion that the pilaster was one of a pair supporting a frieze, perhaps that of a doorway, something after the manner of Caryatides.

"Other persons qualified to judge, to whom it has been shewn, regard the memorial as sepulchral.

"I shall be much obliged if the members of the Institute present will favour me with their opinion on the points raised.

"The monument is executed in the coarse Lincoln oolite, which renders the delicacy of the workmanship all the more remarkable.

"The stone is mutilated at the base. Its present dimensions are 3 ft. 2 in. high, by 1 ft. 3 in. broad on face, and 1 ft. in flank. The lewis hole in the upper surface, for raising the stone after the present fashion, deserves notice."

Mr. F. C. J. SPURRELL reported the discovery of a large series of deneholes near Grays in Essex, and exhibited a plan of a few of these curious excavations. Mr. Spurrell promised to report more fully before the end of the session.

Mr. W. T. WATKIN communicated a paper on Roman Inscriptions found in Britain in 1884. This forms Mr. Watkin's ninth annual list, and is printed in the current number of the *Journal*, at page 141.

Mr. J. L. STAHLSCHMIDT read a paper on Church Bells, in which he stated that his object was to show—from the progress that had been made by those specialists who had devoted themselves to the subject—the general principles that had been arrived at as underlying campanological research, or to put it in the plainest language, how to tell, approximately or exactly, the date of a bell. That his remarks would apply only to pre-reformation or "ancient" bells (such being almost as invariably undated as those of post-reformation times are dated), and to bells of the south and centre of England: too little progress having as yet been made in the north for it to be certain whether or not the same rules apply.

After mentioning some abnormally shaped bells, commonly known as "long waisted," and clearly of early fourteenth century date, he described a bell at Chaldon, Surrey, which he considered might fairly be ascribed to the twelfth century, and was probably the oldest church bell now hanging in the south of England. There is a similar bell at a church in Wensleydale.

Passing then to bell inscriptions he pointed out that they were the best guide to dating any bell, that with regard to the nature of the inscriptions, the simpler ones were certainly the earlier; that as regards the character of the lettering—inscriptions in "Lombardics"—sometimes called "Uncials," or "Gothic capitals," obtained down to the commencement of the fifteenth century; that inscriptions in black-letter came in about the last decade of the fourteenth century, the period 1380—1420 being the transition period between the two styles.

Dealing first with Lombardic inscriptions he showed that they came again into use in the earlier half of the sixteenth century, but that the fourteenth century (and earlier) bells could easily be distinguished by their having a stop between each word; and he pointed out a regular series of development of these stops, commencing with two or three vertical circular dots or rings, then a single diamond shaped stop, then a combination of ring and diamond, then a fleur-de-lis, a crown, or a leaf, culminating in a circular elaborate stamp with founder's name upon it, as used by William Founder of London, whose date documentary evidence showed to be 1380 to 1405 approximately.

Shortly after the introduction of black-letter inscriptions came in the general use of foundry stamps, and the lecturer in this connection mentioned the ordinances of the Brazier's Company of London, dated 1416, which laid down the rule that each brazier was to have his mark which was to be placed on his work. Such foundry marks are largely met with on fifteenth and sixteenth century bells, and while many of them have been identified as to their ownership, many others are still puzzles.

The initial crosses on bell inscriptions are also some guide in determining the authorship and consequently the date of bells, but as these passed from hand to hand, sometimes for many generations, much care was needed in theorising from their use.

Dwelling very briefly on bells of the Elizabethan period, the lecturer mentioned one or two curious instances of survival of Catholic inscriptions, and concluded with an appeal for help, especially in the matter of extracts from MS. records, parish accounts and registers, bearing upon the subject: pointing out that not infrequently an apparently trifling entry gave important evidence on doubtful points.

The lecture was illustrated with a well selected series of rubbings of inscriptions and casts of letters, stops, crosses, and founder's stamps.

Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, by the kind permission of the Mayor and Corporation of Maidstone, exhibited and described the civic maces of that borough. Mr. Hope has been obliging enough to send the following notes on these maces:—

The Borough of Maidstone possesses two maces—both of silver gilt. The older, and smaller, of these is 22 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches long and consists of a straight staff, with a flattened button at the foot, and mace-head of somewhat unusual shape. This is relieved by small square panels, and supported by four S shaped scrolls. The mace-head is surmounted by a bold coronet composed of three fleurs-de-lis and three crosses patées placed alternately, and on the top are the royal arms—France modern and England quarterly. The shield was certainly once enamelled, though no traces of colour now remain. The staff is relieved by one knop placed at about three-fifths of its length, and bears two inscriptions recording the re-gilding of the mace in 1825 and again in 1882. These successive re-gildings have done much to obscure and obliterate some of the details. The button at the foot has four S shaped scrolls above it.

This mace probably dates from 1548, in which year the town was first incorporated by royal charter of Edward VI., dated July 4th. It also admirably illustrates the theory put forth by Mr. R. S. Ferguson (see his paper "On the Morpeth Mace," at page 90) that the civic mace is the war-mace turned upside down. The button and scrolls on the Maidstone example being the survival of the flanged head of the war-mace.

The second of the Maidstone maces is 38 inches long, but being of the usual type calls for no special description. The head bears the rose, thistle, fleur-de-lis and harp, each crowned and between the letters C R, and is surmounted by an arched crown. The staff is divided into two parts by a knop and ornamented with a spiral pattern of oak foliage. Under the foot are the borough arms—a fess wavy between three torteaux, and on a chief a lion of England. The staff bears inscriptions recording the re-gilding of the mace in 1801 and 1882.

From the borough records it appears that a great mace was procured



shortly before 1649, towards which one Ambrose Beale paid £30: on the accession of Charles II. a new crown was added at a cost of £24 4s. 5d. This price perhaps included the whole mace-head, which would be obnoxious to the Roundheads from its royal badges.

During the mayoralty of Andrew Broughton in 1649, a little mace was sold for £3 18s. 4½d. and a mace *without the King's arms* bought for £48 3s. 5d., of which £10 was a bequest of an ardent Roundhead named John Bigg.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Precentor VENABLES.—Photograph and drawing of a fine Roman pilaster found in Lincoln.

By Mr. F. C. J. SPURRELL.—Plan of Deneholes at Grays.

By Mr. J. J. CAREY.—Drawing of a wall painting of “*Les tres vifs et les tres morts*” in the church of Notre Dame du C  stel, Guernsey. Drawing of a sculptured stone chest, from Guernsey.

By Mr. J. L. STAHLSCMIDT.—Casts and rubbings of bell inscriptions.

By Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE.—The civic maces of the Borough of Maidstone.

## Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE LIBRARY : being a Classified Collection of the Chief Contents of the *Gentleman's Magazine* from 1731 to 1868. Edited by GEORGE LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A. : Popular Superstitions. London : Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, E.C., 1884.

No better hand could be found than that of the Secretary to the Folklore Society for classifying the quantity of material which falls under the general head of Popular Superstitions. This collection forms, to a certain extent, a continuation of the volume on Manners and Customs, and, though the editor has, fortunately for himself, not been quite called upon to—

“distinguish, and divide

A hair 'twixt *South* and *South West* side :”

we can easily realize the difficulty that he must have had in determining the best arrangement of this part of the collection. Speaking in the Introduction as to the force of traditional superstitions upon the minds of those who live on the outskirts of our civilization, Mr. Gomme says that “the full extent and nature of this force is only properly to be understood when, in getting together such a collection of instances as the *Gentleman's Magazine* affords, one comes upon the actual living superstition over and over again. . . . The force at the back of this superstition in modern times is *traditional reverence* for what has been handed down. . . . But when superstition has died out gradually from inanition and non-use rather than from a definite uprooting, times will come when the mother in her trouble or the cottager in some sudden emergency thinks of certain long-forgotten practices which their fathers had told them of, and had used before their eyes, and then we get a revival of traditional superstitions.” In fact superstitions die hard, and many people will be surprized to hear that witchcraft, certainly of a harmless and childish character, was a living folly in Scotland so late as last year (1884).

Witchcraft is perhaps the most ancient, extraordinary, and wicked delusion of the human mind, and we have in this volume a very interesting collection of evidences of this degrading lunacy—we can call it nothing else—headed by a series of interesting articles by “J. P.” on its rise and progress. This contributor ends his remarks, in 1830, with a quotation from No. 117 of *The Spectator*, adding that the conclusions of “the elegant and sensible Addison” entirely coincides with his own humble opinion. Equally humbly, we venture to think that if Addison had lived in our day, while he would have written with equal elegance, he would, in all probability, have expressed himself with

more decision. It may, however, be born in mind that Addison wrote at a time when the atrocities of Matthew Hopkins, committed under a commission from Parliament, were yet fresh in the memories of the people who suffered them to take place. Still it is not easy to understand why a man like Addison should have suspended his judgment so many years after rough justice had overtaken the Witch Finder General,

“Who after prov'd himself a *witch*,  
And made a rod for his own *breech*.”

The great writer was perhaps influenced to a certain extent by the fact that the devil and his agents were still believed to be restrained by Act of Parliament, in accordance with the principles of *traditional reverence*.

William III is said to have wished a foolish man who came to be touched for the *evil*, “better health and more sense.” Doubtless the better mental health of the present generation, at least as regards witchcraft, is the result of more education, and we may happily walk abroad without the remotest chance of meeting the sights which greeted our ancestors—the senseless barbarities which were the daily dread of the most harmless and helpless members of the community who happened to be poor, solitary, old, and ugly, and to have a cat for a companion.

We have, on a former occasion, noticed how much material on special subjects will be gathered up and placed within easy reach by the publication of the *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, and certainly the section dealing with superstitious customs attached to certain days and seasons is a good example of what we then had in our mind. But the “interpenetration” of church custom and folk-lore is such that, as Mr. Gomme says, “it is oftentimes difficult to define where the one begins and the other leaves off.” This matter, together with the special handling of the Folk-lore of the Calendar must before long fall to the treatment of specialists, and such workers cannot fail to gladly make use of the material which Mr. Gomme has here placed ready to their hands and elucidated not a little by his “Notes.” In the meantime we shall be glad to see a certain long-projected volume on Church Folk-lore by two able men.

Superstitious customs and beliefs of other kinds is pleasant and varied reading. We are not disposed to think that any particular county bears away the bell for credulity, though Suffolk certainly takes a good place and is well worthy of its own “Garland.”

Of folk medicine Edward Potter's MS., fifth book, is an agreeable study, and we must confess to a sort of “traditional reverence” for his wonderful receipts, “taken out of the vicar of Warlingham's booke,” since “they were taught him by the fayries.” Of course there is “A good drinke for them that are bewitched or forespoken,” though we may congratulate ourselves that we do not require such a decoction. It is not quite clear whether “the fayries” had a hand in all these receipts, but if these airy sprites are to be held responsible for “A good oyntment against the vanities of the heade.”—a bitter cure indeed—and for the receipt “To remedye baldness of the heade,” after which (as we can well believe) we “shall see great experiences,”—though we should imagine not exactly the desired result—we begin to lose faith in the gentleness of the fairy character. We regain some confidence, however, on reading

the simple remedy "against all manner of infirmities" for the rest of the year if taken on the first Thursday in the fairy month of May.

We gather that the latter part of the MS., 6th book, treating of plaisters, salves, potions, &c., is not quite such pretty reading as the fairy cures, and it is soothing to look forward in the history of medicine, even if we get no further than the incessant tar-water, blisters, bleedings, and vomits, which made life miserable a hundred and fifty years later.

We need only call general attention to the number of unexpected subjects which fall under the head of Superstitious Customs and Beliefs, in a long list, ending with the well known and most popular of all charms, the horseshoe. But special mention should be made of the excellent *Index*, because it appears that many writers imagine that when "The End" is written the book is finished. It is unfortunately too late now to enshrine this idea among "Superstitious Customs and Beliefs," of which this volume treats; but, really, the sooner it is properly classified among "Vulgar Errors" the better it will be for the rapidly increasing numbers of persons who buy books, not to put them on their shelves and forget them, but to read them and make use of them by means of an index such as Mr. Gomme gives us.

We notice the handsome way in which the Editor in his introduction acknowledges his indebtedness to many correspondents for help during the progress of his work. This is a literary custom not infrequently somewhat dishonoured in the observance. Special mention is also made of an obliging critic, who has taken the pains to send him a list of the errata which he has lighted upon in the preceding volumes of the series. We are glad to hear that this list will be printed, for it will add to the permanent value of the series and stand a constant record of the straightforward and generous way in which Mr. Gomme goes to work. We have not attempted to deal critically with the book—that would be impossible in a limited notice—but we have probably said enough to indicate that this volume, like the former ones, is not a mere dead collection of dull disjointed extracts, but a series of original records sufficiently linked together in sections and annotated with experience and ability.

## Archæological Intelligence.

**MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE IN DERBYSHIRE.**—The general arrangements for the meeting of the Institute at Derby, on July 28th, under the presidency of the Earl of Carnarvon, D.C.L., F.S.A., are now completed. The following are the names of the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Sections :

*Antiquarian.* President : THE REV. J. C. COX, LL.D.

Vice-Presidents	{	REV. G. F. BROWNE. BARON DE COSSON. R. S. FERGUSON. LLEWELLYNN JEWITT. EDWARD PEACOCK. REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH. THE HON. F. STRUTT.
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*Historical.* President : THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF LICHFIELD.

Vice-Presidents	{	REV. SIR TALBOT BAKER, Bart. THE HON. W. M. JERVIS. MAJOR LAWSON LOWE. THE LORD BISHOP OF SOUTHWELL. REV. F. SPURRILL. S. TUCKER (Somerset). REV. PRECENTOR VENABLES.
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*Architectural.* President : THE RIGHT HON. A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE, M.P., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents	{	REV. J. R. BOYLR. W. JOLLEY. REV. F. JOURDAIN. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE. R. P. PULLAN. THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD SCARSDALE. SIR SIBBALD SCOTT, Bart. SIR H. WILMOT, Bart., M.P.
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The following places will be visited during the week : Kedleston, Norbury, Ashburne, Tutbury Castle, Hardwick Hall, Winfield Manor House, Bakewell, Haddon Hall, Arbor Low, Youghreave, Sawley Dale, Abbey, Morley, Repton and Breedon Priors, Melbourne, Peveril Castle, Tideswell, Padley Chapel, the Carls Wark and Hathersage.

All persons who contemplate reading papers during the meeting should communicate with the Secretary without delay.

# The Archaeological Journal.

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SEPTEMBER, 1885.

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## EARLY SITES AND EMBANKMENTS ON THE MARGINS OF THE THAMES ESTUARY.

By F. C. J. SPURRELL.

The river Thames within the limits of my present examination was, at a remote period, a stream whose waters were not estuarine or salt. At that time the land through which it flowed was so high as to keep the sea wholly away. But then came a time when the land had subsided so far as to permit the ocean to take possession of the freshwater channel. By the continued sinking of the land, the sea gradually crept up the valley until, at the present day, the ordinary tide reaches as far as Richmond.

But the old freshwater bed at what is called the mouth of the Thames had sunk much further below the sea level than that at Richmond by the time the sea had reached the latter spot, and in doing so had afforded room in its bed for successive deposits of mud and refuse. When a river meets the sea the point at which the currents neutralize each other permits the suspended matter to settle; these may be of different natures and constituents.

In the Thames, as elsewhere, these deposits are arranged in certain order, and about the Shorne and Tilbury marshes, for example, the layers of materials take a greater regularity in their relative positions than elsewhere. Coarse gravel lies lowest, smaller above, and then fine sand; this succession denotes the decrease in velocity of the current of fresh water. Next we have sand banks in which the shells of *Scrobicularia* and *Tellina* occur,<sup>1</sup> these

<sup>1</sup> In this layer a human skeleton occurred at Tilbury.

are estuarine shells and announce the access of salt water. Above these comes a layer of peat formed of stranded trees and other vegetable matter, the current at that time having been checked sufficiently to let even floating logs lie. Above is found a very fine grey mud, then a layer of peat formed of land and freshwater plants, above this fine grey mud, then peat again of considerable thickness and toughness, much more commonly formed of brushwood than of water plants, then grey mud again. The alternations of these layers denote intermissions in the rate of subsidence—mud was deposited when washed by the tide continually, peat was in formation when subsidence had either stopped or was reduced to a minimum (if, indeed, it does not show a reversal of the movement); so that the level of the soil had sufficient time to rise by its own growth above the reach of spring tides, even in storms. Lower down the river this division into layers grows less distinct, while higher up the different peat beds merge into each other with less mud between. In the marshes of Long Reach and nearer London, the upper layer of the great mass of peat supported a forest of birch, elm, hazel, and yew, with many others. The yew forest is a remarkable feature—as the yew is intolerant of water and cannot live in salt—yet the yew forest stretched across the whole marsh at Dartford, Dagenham, Rainham, Erith, and Plumstead (as well as elsewhere). The stubs of the trees may be seen about 0' o.d. on both sides of the river bank in Longreach standing *in situ*, as in other places.<sup>1</sup> At Crossness some large yews were dug up, and one I saw fetched up from the excavations was 15 inches, and another exceeded 18 inches in diameter, and there were others larger still which I did not measure. Oaks of medium size are also found on both sides of the river in this layer. Long periods of freedom from the tide must have elapsed for such forest growths to have become established.

The upper surface of these layers of forest and peaty soil in the districts I have named generally lies about 0 of o.d. (from E. to W. and from N. to S.) but it is found of course a little higher on the gently sloping banks, as at Southwark and Westminster, and elsewhere lower down. The successive layers extended further and further

<sup>1</sup> For note on the meaning of "O.D.," see page 272.

westward as the land sank further, the lowest layers in the east not being represented in the west. At Southwark and Westminster, consequently, the bank of ancient or pleistocene gravel through which the river winds had only been covered by a layer of peat, which is the equivalent of the uppermost of those already enumerated, in the Roman period, but not by the succeeding clay, which apparently had not then been deposited westward of Purfleet, except perhaps in creeks.

The inability of the tide to deposit above a *certain* level, coupled with the fact that there are many yards in thickness of deposit, is evidence that room has been made below the certain level to receive it. The room has been generally credited to slipping and sliding, and to contraction of the deposit. I do not forget to give these movements their value, but there has certainly been another, for such movements are not shared by the gravel banks of Southwark, of Higham, or even of Littlebrook, and the many gently shelving shores along the Thames which are either embanked or are regularly receiving that slight deposit of mud from the river which is at present imperceptibly converting them from earthland into marsh.

I have said that at the present day the ordinary tides reach as far as Richmond—vulgarly speaking they reach to Teddington and even further, but that is not the tide water that I am speaking of, viz., the marine.

This limit of the marine tide is that high water level which is the result of the ocean invading the shore, and it is measured by a line known as Thames high water mark of the Trinity House standard or T.H.W. In a longitudinal section of the Thames from a hydrological point of view, the line of T.H.W. coincides with the level of the ordinary spring tides at Richmond bridge; above that level the rise of the water is the irregular result of land floods or storms. That it is a true natural division is also apparent when it is seen to be in agreement with the limit of transport inland of the most delicate marine organisms, the *Diatomaceæ*.<sup>3</sup>

There is another practical and very obvious limit. The artificial banks which now keep the waters of the Thames

<sup>3</sup> See paper by Dr. Bossey in "Proc. Holmesdale Nat. Hist. Soc., 1879."



within definite bounds are inefficient unless they reach a height exceeding 15 feet above a certain level which is called the Ordnance datum line—though there are differences in the elevation of banks, which are higher where winds, currents, or the proximity of the sea oblige the walls to be raised; at the present, 16 feet is the average actual height above o.d.<sup>1</sup>

It is evident that all the shore land of the Thames below the level of 15 feet o.d. would be continually subject to the wash of the tides of the present day if unembanked. The land lying below the above level would include a considerable quantity near the marshes, now dwelt on by us, which has never been washed by the Thames in modern times. At a certain distance below this level deposits of mud are being always laid by the spring tides. These deposits occur in bays and unenclosed spots by the river side, and are called *Saltings* or *Salts* to distinguish them from the fresh marshes. All down the river these saltings are within a few inches of the same level, and their average height above o.d. of the present day is 10 feet or 10 feet 6 inches.

The level of the saltings is regulated by the height reached by the spring tides, which float on to the grassy surface muddy water. The water floats off again leaving the mud adherent to the grass and dried soil. It is obvious that no saltings can exist higher than the level to which the springs lift the mud. This then is a most important level. It represents the height at which the tops of the marshes would stand now, if there were free passage for the tide and no walls. But along the Thames the marsh levels within the walls lie below the salting tops at varying distances. To a certain extent by this means a guess may be made at the ages of the different levels; for, looking on either side of a bank dividing the marsh land, it may sometimes be seen that one level is many feet higher than that on the other side. That which is highest having been last enclosed. A good instance of this may be seen near Erith church.

<sup>1</sup> The Thames high-water mark is 12 ft. 6 in. above the *Ordnance Datum* line. In this paper the o.d. is the level from which I have derived my measurements as given in the maps and bench marks. In all the measures I have given the greatest

care has been taken to secure accuracy. All localities mentioned by former authors whose measurements have been used by me, have been visited, and as far as practicable verified, or rejected if found indistinct.

It will be perceived also that these marsh levels were once saltings whose upper surface was determined by the height the spring tides reached when they washed over them. The general appearance of the saltings is that of flat meadows covered with grass and weeds and intersected by fleets and creeks. The course of some of these is determined by streams from the shore, while the majority are anastomosing channels formed by tidal wash. The number and size of these creeks and fleets as compared with the area of the salts is small inland. The channels increase in numbers, width, and depth in proportion to the salts lower down towards the sea, winding and intersecting, until in the Medway and the Swale the proportion of water way is equal to or greater than the salting flats. Lastly the wash of the sea becomes more destructive than its depositing power, then there are no salts, only mud banks, as at Blythe, Mucking, &c.; and further out still these are represented by sand and shingle. The sequence is fairly regular, and as the sea advances on the land, especially in the case of subsidence, the different varieties of saltings travel inland too.

It is obvious that in the case of an embanked marsh, after a sufficient period has elapsed for the equalization of its surface, that its level will be the mean level of the creeks and saltings, and that the level of the marshes (as at Hoo or Stoke) would be lower than those in the west, but higher than those in the east, for the same age. If, therefore, there were embanked islands and marshes out on the flats eastward of Sheppey in the Roman time; it will easily be understood that when once they were drowned there was little or no chance of their recovery. The saltings at the Medway mouth and the Swale are going to sea very rapidly, and the area of open water at high tide is annually perceived to increase.

On the marshes of to-day houses stand, and broken glass and bones and other rubbish would indicate the date they were abandoned to the tide, by the variety of relics lying at a given level. In many places on the Thames, remains lie scattered beneath the present surface of the marsh which indicate a definite period, and Roman pottery is so plainly detected that we know by it what was the level of the Roman period.

In the Roman time the Thorn-eye on which Westminster abbey church stands, consisted of sand surrounded, or nearly so, with peat or marshland. The hard part of the little island where there was no peat was apparently covered with Roman buildings, removed later perhaps to prepare the site of the abbey, and I am informed by Mr. Poole, the abbey mason, that the rubble and blocks of concrete of these Roman buildings were largely used in the footings of the Gothic work of the abbey church; while some may be detected in the older walls. Mr. Poole and Mr. Wright tell me that beneath the floor of the church concrete with brick flags was found *in situ* by them.

Mr. T. Wright, the clerk of the works to the abbey, tells me that in the college garden, when digging the foundations to the new canons' houses, the workmen passed through made earth to six feet from the surface; then peat two feet, to gravel; in the upper part of this peat slabs of concrete flooring surfaced with tiles or brick, roofing tiles and other rubbish with bones and pots, the remains of a Roman dwelling were found. The surface of the gravel here was 14 feet below the level of College street which at that place is 16 feet o.d. Beneath the site of the old organist's house in the dark cloister was gravel; resting on this was 18 inches of peat, in the upper part of which were numerous masses of concrete, bricks, tiles, bones, pots, and other refuse of Roman life. The upper level of the gravel here is 10 feet 6 inches below the surface of the cloister floor, which is 2 feet 6 inches below the floor of the nave of the church, which is 17 feet o.d., so that the Roman surface is o.d. 5 feet, while in the garden it is about a foot lower, both of which levels are beneath the level at which alluvium is now being deposited, but of which these spots have been deprived.

In Southwark the Roman remains are very abundant. The greater part is gravel covered with a light layer of peat or peaty soil in which the relics lay.

The section of the soil in the grounds of Guy's hospital<sup>1</sup> shewed, made ground 8 feet, yellow clay 2 feet, black loam and peat containing pine cones, hazel, and moss

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Odling's account in vol. i of Guy's hospital Reports.

2 feet, and below (ancient) gravel. In the peat were found Roman pots and pans and the relics of food, and the black loam is the Roman vegetable mould. So the deposit of peat was laid on a soil which had never received a covering of tidal mud. A covering of yellow clay and made ground rose up to 14 feet 6 inches o.d.

In the Roman burial ground described by Mr. A. J. Kempe<sup>1</sup> vases were found about 6 feet below the surface, "they had been deposited just below the stratum of natural loam which is above the alluvial gravel bed." I find the elevation above o.d. to be 8 feet 6 inches, so that the Roman level was 2 feet 6 inches.

Mr. R. E. Way, who has long been collecting Roman remains in Southwark, tells me that the average depth of remains is from 12 to 16 feet below the surface at places where these figures coincide with the zero of o.d. or a little above it.

A great many writers have described Roman floors and other remains in Southwark, but without attention to the level at which they lay below the surface. Most of the buildings stood on peat which was retained in its place by short piles for the purpose, chiefly, of keeping the tessellated pavements which the Romans used from becoming irregular. The piles were driven into the peat and gravel up to their heads, on which the concrete was laid.

When the Albert dock, which extends across the Plaistow and East Ham level was being dug in 1878-9, Roman black pottery (I saw some Samian), and food refuse, with tiles, were found between 8 and 9 feet below the surface (which was 5 feet 6 inches o.d.), on and in the top of a layer of peat; this was covered by tidal mud.

When the southern outfall works were being dug twenty years ago at Crossness, a very exposed situation, I saw much Roman pottery, mortar, tiles, rubbish and portions of wood, lying about 9 feet below the surface (which was there o.d. 5 feet) on the upper part of a layer of peat, which showed unmistakably that hazel and birches were growing on it, while moss, &c., covered the surface. The bones of the "Roman" ox and large quantities of native oyster and snail shells lay in the peat. I saw a

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, xxvi, 467.

broken cinerary urn from here which when found contained bones, as the workman told me.

The Romans occupied this part of the estuary at a time which seems to have been co-incident with a renewed depression, when in the western part the yew and oak forest had weakened and declined, though the surface was not too swampy to support other trees and bushes forming a scrubby undergrowth, with most of the flowering plants now living and much moss.

In the excavations for the new Tilbury docks, I saw in October, 1883, Roman tiles and pottery, with bones and food refuse, oyster and snail shells, tiles and flint blocks. They lay in the fine alluvial grey clay, but on a mossy and grass-grown surface which could not have been unlike the surface of the marsh there at present. This layer was 7 feet below the surface. The area covered with remains was about 40 yards square, but there were signs of a much wider spread.

The conditions here were different to those at Crossness, and the salts may have been embanked, but looking over the large excavations I was not able to detect any signs of banks.

Roman pottery in layers, and scattered over the foreshore and banks of the Thames, is very common lower down. On the east side of Tilbury fort at low water, the shore beneath the saltings is covered with Samian, of sorts; and many kinds of black, buff, and white pottery, all Roman. This extends for a couple of miles along the shore. The fragments are sometimes worn but are frequently freshly fractured, and they all appear to have been washed out of the same layer in the mud which apparently lies one or two feet below o.d. No pottery is found in the face of the saltings. On this foreshore and opposite the Low street manor way, the raised portion of which stops abruptly some distance from the water, Mr. P. Benton, of Wakering Hall, Essex, was fortunate in obtaining a remarkable find. He tells me, "we probed down with a prong and found an urn  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches high filled with burnt human bones, and round it two cups and two saucers of Samian ware, a black vase, another smaller urn shaped like a crucible, and another black vessel" of an angular pattern. This find lay about one foot around the

central bone urn, between 3 and 4 feet deep in the mud, about 20 yards from the salting place. The foreshore here slopes somewhat rapidly, and consequently the burial must have been below the o.d. line by about 2 feet. This is in accordance with the docks level. Mr. Benton has another very large Upchurch jar, 14 inches high, with bones in it, from the same layer, and two flagons of light buff ware with handles, a white metal cup, an earthen colander, &c. Other people have obtained cinerary urns from this place also. The river is here cutting away the older embanked marsh which has been resigned to it.

Mr. S. W. Squire of Horndon-on-Hill, to whose assistance in the examination of the Tilbury foreshore I am much indebted, also procured me the view of certain cinerary urns containing bones which lay on a layer of red earth beneath 2 feet 6 inches of marsh clay at Mucking, near the creek.

The Roman potteries at Higham covered the land for about three miles along the edge of the marsh. I have found a very great variety in the kinds of pottery here, mostly black however. I have seen over a hundred unbroken pots at one time, and such immense quantities of broken fragments, that the new embankment of the railway there was in places made of them. Mr. Teanby and Mr. Crafter before this, secured specimens in abundance from the Shorne gravel pit (part of the site) near Beckley.<sup>1</sup>

A remarkable find was obtained here of which Mr. Teanby left a sketch which has been reproduced in the above paper by Mr. C. R. Smith. It was a kiln or cowl of circular form made of coarse clay; a master ganger, a most intelligent man,<sup>2</sup> in charge of the navvies working on the North Kent railway, told me that he assisted while it was being dug out, he said it was a kiln and that it was full of small pieces of pottery which were found packed inside when opened; and that there were no bones inside. Something similar was found at Slayhill.

Mr. Burkitt excavated with Mr. Crafter in a field south of Higham church on the ground sloping to the edge of the marsh. He says,<sup>3</sup> "although the most considerable quantity of fragments occurred within one foot of the surface,

<sup>1</sup> See *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xi, p. 113. <sup>2</sup> See *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, iv, p. 393.

<sup>3</sup> Named Artlett, I believe.

at a depth of three feet there was still a plentiful supply (of Roman pot). At the latter depth our labourers were arrested by land springs, urns with burnt bones were found, and at 3 feet 6 inches part of a quern." By land-springs he means that the *present* level of the marsh was reached, where water stands.

I have traced the relics of the potters here, lying on the gravel, but beneath the alluvial mud to two feet vertically beneath the latter, on the west of Beckley hill.

I have also found a few pieces of pot off the old causeway on the foreshore. On the Blythe sands I have picked up pieces of Roman pot, and particularly near the Brimp, where lay a quantity of broken tile. I cannot help thinking that the Blythe sands may have been dwelt on by the Romans.

Off the eastern spit of Canvey island quantities of Roman pot-sherds constitute an item in the different materials forming the shell bank there, washed out from the Roman stratum which exists or once existed there.<sup>1</sup> Off the town of Leigh was dug out of the oaze an amphora of red earthenware.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Humphrey Wickham has described some cinerary vases,<sup>3</sup> now in the British museum, from the marsh near St. Werburgh, and he has indicated to me the spot. They were buried, he says, in the flat ground adjoining the Medway, which the spring tides flow over, about three-quarters of a mile s.e. of Hoo church, and were found at the depth of 5 feet. A slight layer of peat occurs at 3½ feet from the present surface, and above that the very stiff clay consisted of the deposit left by the tide. He draws attention to the fact that since they were placed there the land has gone to sea.

Around the shores of Grain and Sheppey and the marshes of the Medway Roman potsherds can almost always be found. They are washed out of the mud which constitutes the wide spread marsh-land which lies about Sheppey and the mainland to the west and south.

Mr. George Payne in his "Catalogue" enumerates several objects from these marshes, food and cinerary urns, and a number of armillæ, signet and other rings

<sup>1</sup> See Benton, "History of, Rochford," i, 80.

<sup>2</sup> Benton, *ib.*, i, 397.

<sup>3</sup> "Archæologia Cantiana," x, 75.

obtained from a Roman villa, whose site shows that it was destroyed by fire, in the Slayhill saltings. He has also found in these marshes fine vases of Samian. Several finely figured vases of this ware have been found in the Upchurch marshes, &c.

Of many varieties made here one sort of pottery was the peculiar manufacture, it is believed. I have already alluded to a cowl found full of small pots from this part, while the walling and bars belonging to the kilns, and refuse indicate their actual sites.

In the marshes opposite Gillingham and in the Sharfleet, Slay or Slade hill, Milford hope and other saltings, together with those about Lower Halstow and Funton creek are frequent evidences of potters' settlements, and Roman brickyards; over the whole marshland of this district was scattered houses and potters' yards. Even in the older enclosed levels of Sheppey fragments may be found, and I have picked up fragments in the Neatscourt and Queenboro' marshes.

The saltings have layers of pottery at various distances below the surface, and some of them at first appear to be the original levels on which the potters worked, but I have seen no satisfactory evidence of a Roman floor or level above 9 or 10 feet. Floors hardened by fire in order to consolidate them for cattle, as well as men, are frequently found, from the surface downwards, frequently covered by *debris* of pots also, but belonging to the occupants of the marshes in subsequent ages.

The true Roman floors and foundations are found at a lower level. In the Sharfleet creek and its branches I have seen several places about 11 feet down where potteries stood, and in one, a favourite place for hunting relics opposite the Medway saltings, the great abundance of pottery and refuse points to there having been a larger factory than common. Many blocks of Kentish rag and flanged brick made of Gault clay obtained from near Maidstone shew the building to have been better than usual. Numerous pots, evidently the stock of the potter, are obtainable by digging, quite perfect and in good condition, while broken refuse lies thick and wide. The floor is hard, and lies at present about 18 inches below the surface of the mud, and the evidence is complete that there was a



kiln here. It is about 11 feet below the saltings. There are many such places at about the same depth, and although it has been said that the pottery found in the bottom of the creeks has been washed out of the saltings, and such of course is the case, yet the pottery so washed is worn and sorted into lighter and heavier fragments, while the bricks and bars and tiles are wanting in such drifted collections. This lower level seems to be a true level of the Roman time, and its great depth is one reason why there is difficulty in finding sites and foundations, which are bared only by those creeks which cut deeply enough.

The pots are said to be found by different persons at from 3 to 4 feet, as well as other distances below the surface of the salting. There is difficulty in reconciling these statements, except we remember that the sea is continually rearranging them. The waves wash the pottery from the mud and drift it into the sides of the creek and on to the ooze and over the surface of the saltings; while layers of *debris* and drift are covered by fresh layers of mud and a new salting surface.

When the cant is subsequently washed away and a new face exposed the different layers are seen; in the latter deposits shells are occasionally found with the pot. In some of these layers, the inferior kinds of pot have rotted and broken up into a pulp, which is sometimes mistaken for charcoal and sometimes for peat, especially when a little drift wood lies in it, and thus a fictitious potter's level is formed.

I have examined many miles of the edges of saltings in the hope of discovering mounds and embankments or signs of them, but without success hitherto. I believe that the greater part of the salting *visible* in the sides of creeks is of so late a formation as to be subsequent to the Roman date.

Nowhere have I heard of or seen Saxon pottery in these saltings. I am inclined to believe that the Roman settlement, from whatever cause, was suddenly abandoned, and not re-occupied for a lengthened period after, and then by another people, who, however, found the life there much harder than the Romans did from the physical changes it had undergone.

Notwithstanding that the marshes of the Swale and Medway keep their saltings level with the upper limit of the spring tides, yet the force of the currents so deeply intersects the saltings with creeks, that the nearer the sea the smaller are the blocks or masses of salting land, and the horizontal waste is very great. Beyond the isle of Sheppey eastward there are no longer any saltings in existence. But there can be little doubt that there were some once. About Whitstable and the coast of Harty, as elsewhere along the Swale, Roman potsherds are thrown up by the waves. These sherds often consist of Samian, as well as black and shelly pots.<sup>1</sup>

Eastward of Sheppey there are shallows called the Cant, and the Cantish or Kentish flats. In part of the former, viz., the Cant, is a mass of so-called rock, the Pudding-pan rock. On this rock and in its neighbourhood numerous specimens of Samian ware were and are frequently obtained.<sup>2</sup> The hillock is now never dry, being always covered by at least one fathom. In the additions to Camden by Gough,<sup>3</sup> we find "Mr. Jacob, whose residence at Faversham gives him great opportunities, observes that the rock is half a mile long from east to west and 30 perches wide; it is covered with various loose stones which are frequently dredged up."

Governor T. Pownall in 1777 describes the rock as being about the size of the hulk of a moderate sized ship, "having upon it about nine feet at low water, and three fathom all about it. At the first hale of the net along one side of it we brought up a large fragment of brick-work cemented together, which I guessed might weigh about half a hundred-weight. So far goes my brother's account."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These pots are made of coarsely crushed or pounded shells, *cardium*, *mytilus*, and *mya*. The bits of shell when burnt become white, and have been mistaken for the similar bits of quartz, &c., in the so-called Celtic pot. When the former, however, have lain on the surface long, the shell is dissolved out and little pits remain.

<sup>2</sup> The so-called Samian from here is usually thick and of a somewhat dull tint, not shewing the brighter colour of the best varieties, nor is its glaze so brilliant as the best examples. No specimens encrusted with figures are found now I believe, except the ivy-

leaved pattern; stamped flowers and potter's marks are as frequent as not. I am inclined to think it was a local manufacture. The story of a ship having been wrecked here rests on no foundation, and is improbable. It would have needed the agreement of many shipwrecks at this spot to account for the quantity of pottery that has been found. I would rather suppose it the wreck of a town or village of potters, from the abundance of bricks, mortar, stones and tiles, which accompany the pots.

<sup>3</sup> Gough's *Camden*, i, 256.

<sup>4</sup> *Archæologia*, v, 283.

The poor of the coast, Governor Pownall says, used as household utensils much Roman pot, red and coarse black. The rock appeared all of brickwork, which agrees with the statement of Gough, that large quantities of Roman brick were thence fished up, and with Mr. Jacobs.

At that time the "sand" on which the rock stands, he thinks, was called "the Speck," which name it once bore from that part of it being visible. He points out that Toliapis at  $54^{\circ}15'$ , and Counos Nesos  $54^{\circ}30'$  would make another island east of Toliapis or Sheppey, and that if Kawnen was the Celtic for "Reedy island" "ever since the English language prevailed a speck of it was to be seen."

I may mention that the broken masses of salting about Sheppey are called Cant, and that "the Cant" in maps of different ages is differently placed, as if the name belonged somewhere though the exact place was lost—truly a derelict appellation. At the present day the Pan rock is but the highest spot on the Kentish flats, and pots are dredged over a space of several miles in extent. Seldom do the men who earn many a shilling by selling the red pots care to notice the black ones now. The dredgers are very careful to examine the dredges when at work in this district, and *curious* and *valuable* things are found which prompts this studious care, but of which no tangible record is preserved. Large masses of brick and stone masonry are occasionally "caught," and many roofing tiles: of the latter over thirty whole ones of a red colour were obtained on one spot not two years ago, their sizes were  $17\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $13\frac{1}{2}$  inches, with turned up edges. Ridge or channel tiles also  $17\frac{1}{2}$  inches long were found. The average number of red Samian pans dredged from the Pan-rock and sand is about two or three dozen in the year. All are so preserved by the men as to retain the distinctive "ross," or oyster spat and weed, which marks their marine sojourn.

The island of Sheppey is only the largest of a crowd of low islands of which the number is now great and was greater. Varying in size from Sheppey we have Queen-boro, Elmley, Hartly and others, together with several hundred of the tiniest little mounds, some of whose tops

rise but a few feet above the marsh level, while others are known to reach hardly so high as the level. They are the leavings of the broad mass of London clay which once overspread the district, and was carved into these forms in a far distant period.

Apparently many of these islands were scattered further eastward than now, for some are being submerged and others washed away at the present time. These 'mounds,' as they are commonly called, although the name of 'coterel' is given to them in Murray's guide to Kent, stud the marsh in such a manner as to be suggestive of artificial formations; and as similarly shaped artificial mounds are formed, a little attention is required to determine which they are. Most of the natural ones are much higher than the artificial refuges for sheep and cattle, and the former also frequently run in a line fringing a shore; the average height of the smaller kinds is 15 feet. Professor T. M. K. Hughes describes these and discusses their formation, treating them wholly as natural formations. I think that most, if not all, are natural, but it is certain that some of them have been modified by art, of which there are examples near Queenboro and Sheppey Court. There is certainly some ground for the tradition that they have been burial mounds or barrows, for at Higham the mound in the marsh is still called the "barrow" and the "giant's grave." Very many of these mounds lie in the most convenient positions for aiding, or being incorporated with, the tidal embankments, yet of the hundreds scattered about this is an extremely rare occurrence. The "giant's grave" at Higham lies in such a position as would make it a valuable assistance in forming the (older) causeway. It is, therefore, probable that it was either carefully avoided, or that the land stood so high at the period of the earliest existence of the road as to offer no advantages. The resemblance of these mounds to barrows or graves may have procured them reverence from a belief in such an origin, or even because advantage had been taken of them to bury in. The fact is apparent that they have been avoided rather than welcomed by the makers of walls. The modern cattle mounds are generally irregular in shape and flat on the surface. Sometimes they are circular walls when larger

areas are needed, but these are generally used in unenclosed marshes. The mounds require to be examined.

Doubtless the Pan sand was such a place as Harty, and covered by the Romans with buildings; perhaps a *pharos* or *castellum* covered the highest point. With the post-Roman subsidence the low-land became submerged, and the sea obtained greater power, until for a long period nothing was to be seen of these lands but the relics of the great building shewing above the waves and now lost to sight.

It appears probable that Sheppey was surrounded by low embanked lands all round, and these may have remained so embanked until late times, for Minster is said to have been in the centre of the island in 1780, and in John Speed's map of Kent, dated 1608, it is represented in that position, if the low marsh lands stretching southward as we know them are excluded. But in the latter map another indication is met with. The line which describes the northern extension of the Lath of Scraye in which Sheppey lies, runs out on the seaward side from Shellness to Shireness at a considerable distance from the shore. This is an exception to the other boundaries, and appears to shew that the dry or marsh land extended so far out so recently, as to be recorded on the map of 1608, as being then capable of reclamation. Northward of Sheppey the land appears to have sloped quickly down to the sea. The cliffs at Warden are now 140 feet above o.d.; fifty or sixty years ago they seem to have been much lower or about 80 feet. This will give a clue to the rapid loss of land in late days, for walls can be raised on marshes capable of withstanding the sea so long as they are kept up, but as soon as the sea gets the mastery and attacks the base of the cliff it cannot be restrained, and the loss of land continues in a ratio increasing rapidly with the height of the cliff. This is apparently what has happened to Sheppey, and to this cause other islands have wholly succumbed.

There is in this view of matters a great probability that the tradition of lord Shurland's swim out to the king's ships when off the coast is a true one.

The ridge of Warden point is wasting rapidly. Professor Hughes mentions that from the account of a man he knew personally, about 50 years before the professor's observa-

tions, the cliff extended one-eighth of a mile seaward from the church, and that houses stood at that distance. The church disappeared in 1881, and land has gone behind it. I should say the waste since has been at least equal to that before. If we merely take it at 220 yards in a century, and it may well be called double that, the removal of so large a projection from the mouth of the river must largely influence the upper reaches.

The same waste has been going on in the Thames mouth on the Essex coast, and is doing so now at a rapid rate. At the Hamlet farm in Prittlewell, which has about 500 yards on the shore,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  yards are annually washed away, calculated from the last 60 years. The cliff is 21 feet high, and this is but a specimen of what is happening eastward in neighbouring lands;<sup>1</sup> and in the neighbouring Chalkwell manor, off which the Crow stone stands, Mr. Benton says, "It is probable that where this stone stands was formerly the edge of the saltings, as in an old map of Chalkwall hall, 100 years old, several more acres of saltings are shewn than at present exist."

The sea-walls or tidal embankments of the Thames have not, I believe, ever been treated of before as a whole. I have for many years examined and mapped them, and made myself personally acquainted with the whole district of the Thames estuary, mainly for the purpose of learning what history they could be made to give of themselves. I have found this a rather solitary investigation, but the hope that I should find some spot likely to yield a clue to the whole matter induced me to continue. Dugdale in his history of Embanking, of course speaks of them, but only from documentary evidence, and that, as might be expected, from a monastic point of view. Evidently he knew little or nothing of them personally. Other writers mention them incidentally in giving account of lands belonging to manors and corporate bodies. Even these writers have not cared to worry out of old deeds more than the most general statements, and in the matter of precision their remarks are worthless for present identification of pieces enclosed or their locality. This may be explained, perhaps, for the common form of speech by which enclosed marshes are named in deeds, is to speak of the newest as

<sup>1</sup> P. Benton, *Rochford*, p. 461.

the "inmed" marsh or by some such term (much like that of "baby" in a largely increasing family), but which affords no means of deciding which marsh it is among its neighbours, or whether it was inmed for the first or fiftieth time.

The inming or embanking of a marsh, as practised in the Thames now, consists of digging soil from within a proposed enclosure and heaping it into a wall. What the earliest banks were formed of, other than surface clay, I have no evidence,<sup>1</sup> excepting that occasionally there is a record that a certain wood was cut down to use in embanking. But I have found no signs of such wood, nor have I seen any in dock excavations. In an old bank at Erith, which was blown out of the earth in 1864 from the layer of peat, at a depth of 10 or 12 feet below the surface of the marsh, the severed ends of the banks shewed no signs of wood, and consisted wholly of marsh clay. There is no need for piles except when the bank crosses a flat or creek. This absence of piles is not unsatisfactory when considering the rate of wasting in old banks with respect to their age; which wasting may, therefore, be treated as uniform.

In a given district the process of inming is begun from the hard land, and banks are carried out a certain distance, returning to the dry land at some other place; then from some point of that line other essays are made until a large area is enclosed. Not unfrequently the older intervening banks were taken away, and in some old deeds this was especially prohibited.

Many writers are impressed with the "mighty," "stupendous," or "vast" embankments which keep out the water of the river, while Dugdale and Wren seem to have thought that because they were so great, none but Romans could have raised them. There is no need for such expressions. If embankments were needed in the Roman and early times, they were of minor importance as engineering works in the upper part of the estuary and near London. The height to which we see them now rise, is the gradual increase from slighter banks which costs but little exertion, although regular attention. Even were

<sup>1</sup> Where the surface was of peat walls raised on it without piles. would not be wanted, nor could they be

this not so, there is nothing astonishing in the banks of the Thames, however it might apply to those of the Netherlands. The most difficult place for embanking in the Thames is the Swale marshes, and I am informed that there was lately made an enclosure of 200 acres in Slayhill marsh which took two years, with an average employment of 30 workmen; an enclosure at Milford hope was accomplished at a much less labour from the diminished trouble caused by creeks. These banks look formidable, and are really so, compared with those higher up.

Some old banks are clearly seen to be river walls, while others, though faint, are identified as such by their connexion with the former. Care must be taken in separating true banks from old ditch or drain emptyings, to which length of accumulation has given illusory importance.

In all marshes there are roads or manor ways<sup>1</sup> down into the marsh; many of these are slightly raised above the general surface and have a slightly sinuous direction suggestive of old walls; others are merely flat roads running out perpendicularly from the general line of the earthland foot to a certain distance: the termination or change in direction of a row of these, whether banks or roads, forms a line which may indicate the termination of the fresh marsh at some period; and the former existence of an enclosing wall there, may easily be inferred, while further evidence will frequently reward the search. Some of these ways are still called walls. There is evidence of these cross walls at varying distances from the land in every marsh. They are particularly well shewn at Tilbury, Grays and Cliffe.

As it is impossible for me to prepare for publication all the large maps I have made of the tidal walls of the Thames, comprising nearly fifty miles of its length, I have selected for particular attention the banks which thickly bestrew the margin of the land and the marshes near Higham in Kent, by way of illustrating the whole subject.

<sup>1</sup> This is sometimes pronounced manna-way, and may really be a manor way, in the sense of a private road connecting detached property with the manor house; but it must be remembered that it is more commonly man-way. Both these words can be reconciled as good Saxon, *manna*, a labourer, villain; and *man*, any man, male or female. In abp. Ælfric's

Voc. the word is spelt *maan*, *facinas*, also *manna*—in "*manna* poeth." It has been contended for legal purposes that these narrow ways are main ways, which is an absurdity, as they are always byeways, and generally blind. Lastly, a very common term for them fully explains their use, viz., *landways*, or ways to reach certain lands or fields.



The distance of these from active changes, both by levelling down and natural decay, together with sundry evidences approaching certainty in their relative ages, made their study promise well, or at least better than anywhere else on the Thames. I may mention that this place is not peculiar in the intricacy of its walls.

The banks on the accompanying plan were mapped on the six inch Ordnance map; minor irregular mounds and banks, of which a great number remain, have been omitted for greater clearness, when I could not satisfy myself that they had been sea-walls. The banks are marked in broad black lines and are but little exaggerated in width.

On the south and east sides of the plan, the land whose present level is 15 feet above O.D. has been shewn shaded; this represents the spurs of upland bordering the marsh. The figures placed by the sides of the banks represent the different elevations in feet above O.D., and the letters are an attempt to give a relative age to the banks against which they stand; they merely mean that in construction *b* (for instance) preceded *c*. I do not mean to imply that *b* was necessarily the older bank in all its parts.

It will, therefore, be perceived that the plain portion of the map shews all below where the tide would wash at spring tide were the bank *f* absent.

The bank marked *d* begins near Higham church and runs across the marsh to the Thames. This was not originally a tide wall but a causeway, nay, I suppose that it was in its earliest stage a simple road, for it does not lie on recent alluvium until it reaches at least to some distance past Beckley hill, and probably when first used did not enter the swamp for some hundreds of yards further. It then extends in a straight line pointing to the Hoo of East Tilbury. It loses itself abruptly on reaching the bank *f*, and lies beneath the salting level about a foot deep, but its course can be traced for some distance out by the ditches, the gravel washed off it, and the peculiarity of the plants growing on its surface, which differ from those on either side. It has, of course, received many a covering of fresh gravel, chalk and mud, and its average height is 10 feet O.D. It is quite evident that the enclosed marsh extended much further into the Thames once, and the water is still cutting the old marsh away.





At the spot I have indicated as "blockhouse site," is a quantity of stone and rubble in layers, which I suppose to have been the material used in the foundations of the blockhouse existing there. The uppermost layer lies nearly three feet below the saltings.<sup>1</sup> Hasted says, "In the reign of queen Elizabeth there seems to have been a fort or bulwark at Higham for the defence of the river Thames, the yearly expence to the queen in the pay of the captain, soldiers, &c., maintained in it was £28 2s. 6d." This blockhouse was apparently on the marsh level, perhaps a couple of feet below the top of the causeway by which it was approached. I do not suppose that it was a very important post, but a temporary arrangement consequent on the Spanish scare.

Hasted,<sup>2</sup> quoting Dion Cassius, says, that the place of the passage of Plantius, who crossed the Thames near the mouth of it from Essex into Kent, was by many supposed to have been from Tilbury to Higham. It may well have been so, but I consider Dion's narrative as too vague to admit of any determination of the exact spot.

There was an abundant Roman population here, but if there are any banks in existence by which the sea was then kept out, they must be far out in the marsh, and I fear buried beneath its present surface; for all the present banks are mediæval or modern, here as elsewhere.

The embankments of the abbey of Stratford existed early, for when William de Montfitchet founded the abbey of Stratford in 1134 he endowed it with marshland amongst other property; and there is this remarkable record of the abbey history, that soon after their occupation the abbey lands then lay so low, or that the water rose so high, as to drown the monks out and drive them away. They betook themselves to Burghstead near Billericay, and did not return to Stratford until the king had taken the drowned property in hand, for it was too great a matter for them; they returned in the time of Richard II.

The situation of East Ham church is very remarkable; it stands on a little tongue of gravel, up to which the

<sup>1</sup> I will mention here that the ruins of a house which lay on the surface, probably of the Tudor period, were bared in Slayhill marsh, three feet below the top of the salts, two years ago, and at the

same level was found the upper course of a well, with bricks carefully made, their ends fitting in radiations of a circle; the internal diameter was three feet.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Kent*, i, 528.

marsh clay has crept. It is hardly possible to believe that the church was built there when the relations between it and the tide level were the same as now. Its foundations are as low as o.d. 11 feet. Its surroundings point to inundations and protective banks.

The history of the abbey of Barking shews that it acquired by degrees, and presumably by its own labours, much marsh property along the north side of the Thames. After the Conquest, the abbey of Lesnes, which was given by William I. to Richard de Lucy, is not recorded to have received marshland from him on its foundation in 1179, and the earliest record of enclosure is in 1279. The vicissitudes of the marshland of Plumstead and Erith are very interesting, and are given more fully by various writers than any similar property.<sup>1</sup> All the historical account of marshes below this part of the river belongs to similar or later dates, except those referred to in the Saxon deeds of Rochester, Cliffe, and Canterbury; the extent of these, however, I cannot at present determine, but hope to do so on another occasion.<sup>2</sup>

The ferry on the opposite side of the river left the Hoo of solid chalk, which there projects nearly into the tide way at East Tilbury just eastward of the church; later it was at the spot on which the Coalhouse fort stands, and at present is still further west. It has been the opinion of Mr. Squier of Horndon, and others, that the Roman landing place, if there was one, lay westward of this, on the shore in the direct line with the manor way which leaves the earthland at Low street station, in consequence of the abundance of pottery found thereabout; but the pottery is scattered for miles along the river, and the facilities afforded by the chalk hard, directly opposite the end of the causeway, leave no doubt in my mind that one was arranged to suit the other. If the ferry was kept up in Elizabeth's time it must have been greatly reduced in im-

<sup>1</sup> See Dugdale, *History of Embanking*, Hasted's *Kent* under *Plumstead and Erith*, and particularly Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*, written in 1570; also the deeds printed in the Rev. J. J. Wilkinson's *History of Erith*, from the Campbell

Charters in the B.M., and from MSS. of the Soc. Ant.

<sup>2</sup> Dugdale, *History of Embanking*, gives as the earliest mention of embankments on the Thames, Kent, 8. E II. Surrey, 23, E. I. Middlesex, 26, E. I. Essex—undated, John.

portance, for the prioress of Higham nunnery was found liable in 21 Edward I.<sup>1</sup> to maintain a *bridge* and causeway between Higham and the Thames. The office of prioress was no longer filled in 17 Henry VII, and there were but two nuns, while the priory was suppressed in 1521, when it appears that the ferry was forgotten and worthless.

When, from various causes and probably before the suppression of the nunnery, the old causeway was found unserviceable, partly I should think from the absence of a convenient creek, the traffic was carried on for a long period by a road leaving the upland at the east end of Higham church across the line marked "public way" on the level, and down the causeway to a landing at Higham creek; which creek may have been navigable for small boats almost up to the church at one time.

I have marked one bank *b* in big dots, enclosing a meadow called Slade hope (hoop); this is an old bank, at least of those remaining near the earthland foot; it must have joined the then equivalent of the *fifteen foot or modern level* some three or four feet lower, presumably marked by the line *z. z.* Much later, when the land had sunk, another bank *c. c.*, passed across it, still some distance below the level which would be needed now. The sea must have frequently broken over this property, causing each time fresh banks to be formed or older ones raised *further inland*, and there is one running from the "shore bank" by the church marked *d*, 12 feet high, of a late date, as shewn by its present elevation. It is the latest as well as the highest inner bank existing in this part. The older causeway was used without much keeping up, when the sea covered the marsh through which it passed; its appearance shews it to have been tide-washed.

<sup>1</sup> Hasted, *Kent*, i, 528. The *causeway* was the hard *made* road across the marshland. It was sometimes made by placing rushes or brushwood down and boarding over. Baily in his dictionary calls this a "bridge of rushes." But the "bridge" of those days and long before was an inclined way, or causeway as it is now called, leading from high to low water mark, and frequently below that point in shallows. It was made of timber which retained blocks of stone in position. The word

stairs was interchangeable with it.

In Aggas' map of 1578, we have the King's bridge, the Queen's bridge, and Privy bridge shewn; and in Norden's survey of Westminster, King's bridge and Privy stairs, &c. None of these however appear to have been steps. It is quite possible that another "*bridge*" from Tilbury, greatly lessened the water passage of the Thames here, which there is good reason to suppose was formerly much shallower than now.

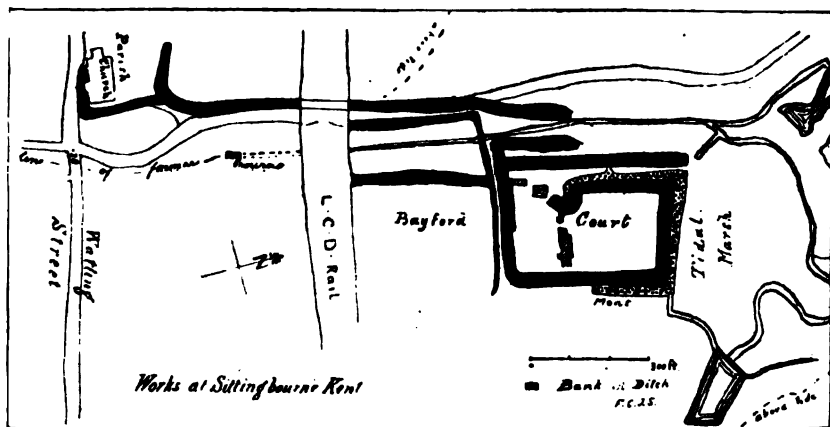
An ancient hythe was such a place as was conveniently situated for hauling up ships, some of which were large, in safety from tides, at periods when they were not required for building and repairs, usually on a low shore; some were placed on the hill side on the stream way; others, up a creek near the head of it, partly for greater shelter and partly to obtain the benefit of the fresh water of the stream running into it. Of these the latter have suffered most from silting up of their approaches. The village of Chalk between Higham and Gravesend is the representative of the *Cealchythe* of the early Saxon councils. Then the hythe was reached by a ray or fleet. But now nothing of the sort remains, and the perfect level of the marsh testifies to the long period when the deposition of marsh clay went on uninterruptedly. The early hythe must have been early choked up, if the dropping of the terminal "hythe" is an evidence of it, for the name is given as *Cealce* in the bridge charter of Rochester, and in Domesday as *Celca*, by which there was no embanked marsh recorded, as would have been the case had a creek or hythe existed here.

Cliffe and Higham have also suffered. Purfleet early got choked, and the famous Danish resting place at Ebbsfleet near Swanscombe, and others, are no longer inlets of the sea.

Ebbsfleet is the inlet on which Northfleet stands. The valley is a very fertile one and was in the Roman period crowded with villas. It is probable that it was named after Ebbled, whose name is also found in Vippedes or Bedesham (*see Hasted*) close by. The Saxon chronicle speaks of this place under date 465, "This year Hengest and Æsc fought against the Valas near Vippedes fleote, and there slew twelve ealdormen and one of their own Thegns was slain, whose named was Vipped." Of course, Vipped was buried near the place where he died, and seeing that his name remains, as Henry of Huntingdon says it does, attached to the place, it is likely that his family remained here also, which has preserved the name. Dr. Guest says that the locality of Vippeds fleet was unknown, and Mr. J. R. Green does not separate the two places of Eopwine's and Wipped's fleets, and he thinks that the spot where Hengest and Horsa landed was the same spot as that on

which Hengest and Æsc fought the Valas. But I submit that the names are different, that the account of the English chronicle requires a spot for the latter event nearer London than the former, and that a flight of 70 or 80 miles to London would not have carried the Britons to their nearest stronghold, had they ever got so far as Thanet. But that the ford over the Ebbs-fleet at Northfleet was the place, and the nearest stronghold might have been London, only 17 miles away.

In 893 Hasten came up the Thames to Milton, or King's Middleton. There he made a stronghold which took some time to prepare; it was to accommodate at least the 80 ships he brought with him, perhaps many more, and ultimately the fleet of 250. Hasten intended to occupy a series of ports for some time, and thence to harry the country between, and it is recorded that the Milton fortress with Apuldre was constantly occupied for a year. Now, without computing too exactly how many men were at Milton, there must have been over 1000 with the ships. The works around Bayford court appear to me to be such



as Hasten required. Then, again, this fort is in Milton, the paramount manor of Bayford court, and Sittingbourne town is but a prolongation of Milton town, which is now slightly removed from the great road.

The name Sittingbourne I take it was the result of the Danish stay on that particular bourne. The Saxon chronicle says the band "sat" at Middleton. As to the mythic Sædingas said to have given their name, I do not



know of them. The place called Castle Rough on Kemsley Downs is wholly unsuited to be the stronghold of an army, it is too small even to have accommodated Hasten's men, and there was no place for the ships. But this small square-shaped enclosure, together with the one on the other side of the creek, and many another site of similar construction, appear to be, like Howbury, Cooling, &c., merely the sites of private fortified manor houses.

Hasted<sup>1</sup> stated that Castle Rough on the west was built by Hasten, and another Castle Rough on the east of the creek was built by Alfred some time afterwards; for the last there is no evidence, for the first the evidence is contrary.

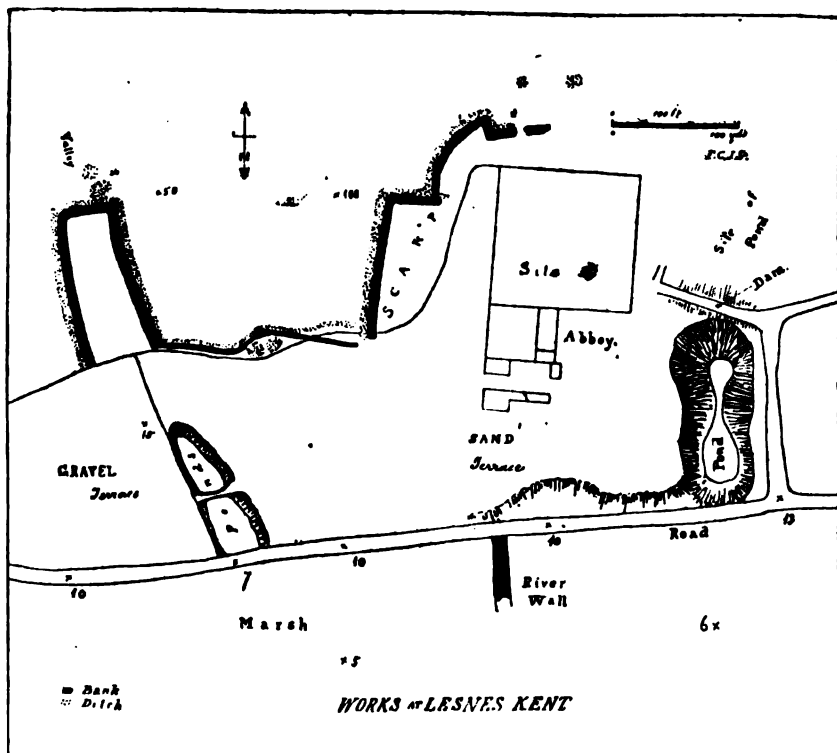
While Hasten was at Middleton he was preparing another camp across the Thames at Beamfleet, now Benfleet, a most suitable spot for the mustering of his forces; there he assembled the "great army" from Appledore, and also that from Middleton, and we may presume the fleet of 250 ships too, or a great part of it. The low spit at Benfleet was the site of the camp, and banks may be feebly traced about the whole area of the village and churchyard. The people of London with the aid of part of Alfred's army (who had gone into the west) set off for Benfleet. This they stormed. Hasten himself had gone out to plunder, but the "great army" was there, and was put to flight, and the ships they either "broke to pieces or burned, or carried off to London or Rochester." I have carefully examined the whole country side; there is no other spot suitable to the need of the Danes or which shews even the semblance of earthworks. The valiant Londoners destroyed all Hasten's work and so we find no remains. Of his fleet, the sunken ships remain in the fleet close to the camp to this day, for during the construction of the railway bridge there, some thirty odd years ago, the navvies came upon the ships, many of which were charred, and in and about them lay great quantities of human skeletons.

The whole of Hasten's forces then retired to the south-east corner of Essex to the sea, and there constructed the fortress of Shoebury. This work is essentially different from the others, for it was not properly speaking a hythe

<sup>1</sup> *Kent*, ii, 616 and i, xxxix.

for ships, of which they had lost so many. What remains of this earthwork is part of a large oval; the bank was 7 or 8 feet high, and the ditch very wide, over 40 ft., but not very deep, about 5 feet 6 inches. The ditch, unlike those which in flats and bays could have been constructed to receive water at high tide, was a dry one, and its bottom was about six feet above high-water mark. It is evident that at the time of construction the camp must have been wholly on the land, for otherwise it would have presented an easy access from the shore to enemies. The section of the cliff here shewn by the rapid inroad of the sea leaves no doubt as to this point.

In the parish of Erith, about the site of the abbey of Westwood in Lesnes, are some earthworks which do not belong to the abbey buildings properly speaking; although there is little doubt that when needed, these banks were used and altered in addition to new ones, by those who laid out the gardens, &c. of the monastery. Little doubt



can be entertained that the hoo or shelf of land on which the abbey stands was an ancient and suitable site for a community before being selected by Sir Richard de Lucy. Just above the marsh runs the lower road which skirts the Thames swamps. It is now raised to a pretty even level, damming in two little valleys which opened east and west of the abbey buildings. At the time when the earthworks were constructed the tides flowed up to these valleys across which the road passes. The eastern one has a square-shaped work around the bottom of the valley at a distance secure from the reach of the tide, and its bank on one side, if not on both, at one time continued much further northward (to the river) than it does now, in an irregular manner influenced by the shape of the ground. The square-shaped hythe wall continues westward up the hill, then in a general direction southward, skirting the hill side for some distance. The ditch all along this bank is landward, for the protection of the waterside community. It presents in section several peculiarities, and notably the upper angle; for here the hill rises so high and quickly that it required clever arrangement for protection at so unfavourable a spot.

All the rest of these works are lost in the improvements required by the abbey. The west valley is stopped by a dam, making an upper pond, while the road-way lower down formed another dam.

The canons dug below this an hour-glass shaped pond. The pond on the eastern side is a double one, and required much more excavation to fit it for the purposes for which it was dug. These ponds and the slight digging required, with the dams in the road line, are monastic, while the hythe and upperworks may have been Saxon or Danish, when the Wickings needed protection against the natives whom they harassed.

On the Essex margin of the Thames no works exist which present any form which can accurately be described either as hythes or camps. It is possible that the outer earthworks adjoining West Tilbury Hall may have been of a very early date, for a slight ridge borders the steep hill top. The square work which was constructed when Elizabeth rested at West Tilbury during her progress of inspection to Tilbury fort still remains little altered.

Purfleet, whose earliest form is "Pourtefleet,"<sup>1</sup> presents no evidences of enclosure now; although its situation, which resembles that at Benfleet, was admirable for occupation, but for ages the soil has been quarried from the hoo, and government works and powder magazines have covered the ground.

At Barking, on the edge of the Roding, there are remains of a large prehistoric camp. This camp is a water-side camp, but is wholly above tidal level; it appears to have been of the order of camps of refuge, for women, children, and cattle, surrounded by swamps to which its protection was mainly left; at the north-west corner is a mound rising to a point whence the few watchmen left in charge could keep a look out; this watch mound rises scarcely fifteen feet above the average level of the camp, which is on a plain of gravel but slightly raised near the middle; the walls do not at present shew any deviation giving a covered access to the Roding, which it skirts on the eastern bank for many yards. The camp is traceable all round, but the northern walls are easiest seen. Its form is roughly a square, but there are no right lines in its defences.

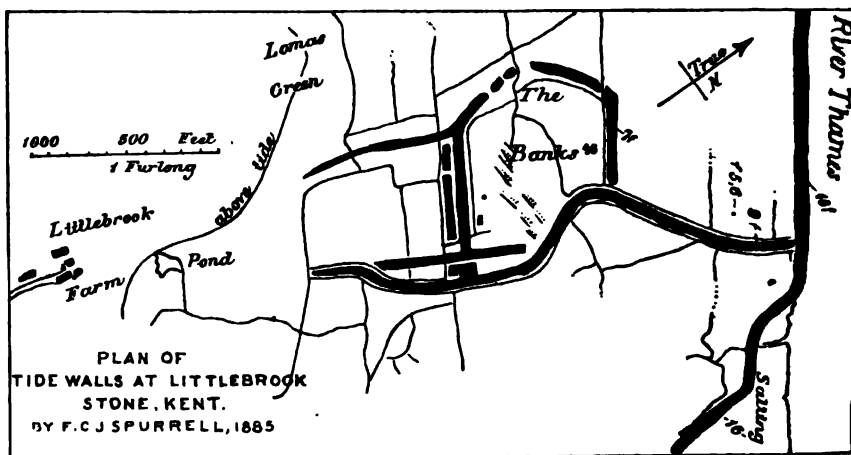
At Crayford, on the spread of gravel thirty or forty feet above the creek on its west side, and a quarter of a mile or less due south of Howbury, is the barest outline of an oval camp; its bank may be feebly traced on the north side, and the ditch also here and there, by means of the chalk pits made along it, the existence of the chalk having been revealed by the excavation of the ditch.<sup>2</sup>

The works beneath the present tide level at Littlebrook farm, in the marshes near Stone, Kent, are those of a hythe situated close to the present earthland foot, and at the period of construction were apparently on a stretch of gravel not quite above the reach of the highest tides, and perhaps requiring slight walls protective against severe storms. The works are of a character comparable to those of Hasten, and represent the enclosures for the protection of ships—a "wick" or "port." The wick at Littlebrook was once important and preserved a reputation still dear to the English when Ethelred gave to Rochester in A.D.

<sup>1</sup> Temp. Ed. III. See Morant's *Essex*.

<sup>2</sup> This outline is involuntarily shewn

on the map of the Geological Survey, but is exaggerated in width.



995, "unam mansam solita anglorum vocitatione et Lytlanbroce celebriter appellatam." At the present day may be found the graves of those early English of Littlebrook, on the top of the hill immediately overlooking the port.<sup>1</sup>

Here and there on the marshes the sites of salt pans can still be seen, where salt was obtained by natural evaporation, but I have not found any such further westward than Higham, unless there be the remains of a boiling place or weller's work (*wylleres sæta*) in the marsh about half-a-mile south-west of East Tilbury church; where is a small irregular mound largely formed of red fragments of burnt clay pots, and reminding one of the "red hills" of the Essex coast.

To the north of the roadway leading from Queenboro' to the mainland, which is mentioned by Dugdale as a bank from "Tremmond-ferye to Gothelles," and the same distance (150 yds.) east of Queenboro' castle, is a curious work called a "camp." The central level is 20 inches above the general level of the meadows, the bank is about 10 inches still higher, and the ditch is about 10 inches below the meadows. It may have been formed originally

<sup>1</sup> In the accompanying plan, the figures represent feet above O.D. The dark lines, banks or walls. The average level of the marsh is O. D. 4, in and about the enclosure. Since its abandonment a current or tidal stream has passed through the

work, wearing the banks away on the east and west. The manor-way has been kept up much later. This work was connected by a line of road through the fields into Overy St. Dartford.

from one of the "mounds" already mentioned. A plan of it is given by Mr. Flinders Petrie.<sup>1</sup> Another and larger enclosure of a rectangular shape, extending from the roadway due south to the last, belongs to a date posterior to the permanent inking of the marshland in which they lie: I do not think them tidal works.

There are some descriptions of the Thames and its margins, especially near London, which I think require notice.

Sir C. Wren gives his opinion that the sea once covered the land between London and Camberwell, but he does not say at what date.

Mr. G. L. Craik<sup>2</sup> in his admirable article in Knight's "London" is more precise; and he thinks that the sea approached much nearer London than now, although it did not reach it.

Sir Geo. Airy<sup>3</sup> exactly describes the state of the Thames about London in the time of Claudius, thus:—"Whatever be the date of the mighty embankments which have given its present form to the river channel (and which not without plausibility have been supposed to be as late as Henry VI), there can be no doubt that they did not exist in the time of Claudius. Those vast tracts, known as the isle of Dogs, the Greenwich marshes, the West Ham marshes, the Plumstead marshes, &c. (which are now about eight feet lower than high water), were then extensive slobbs covered with water at every tide. The water below London was then an enormous estuary extending from the hills and hard sloping banks of Middlesex and Essex to those of Surrey and Kent. Immediately below London the shores of sound ground approach, and the estuary would then assume partially the character of a river. This estuary was, of course, the ocean, or sea of Dion, &c., &c." This view is adopted by Mr. J. C. Elton,<sup>4</sup> and most subsequent writers.

But they improved on it. Dr. Guest, writing in 1866,<sup>5</sup> says, "The Romans on arriving in the neighbourhood of London saw before them a wide expanse of marsh and mudbank, which twice every day assumed the character of

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia Cantiana* xiii, 8.

<sup>2</sup> 1841.

<sup>3</sup> *Athenæum*, Jan. 28, 1860.

<sup>4</sup> *Origins of English History*.

<sup>5</sup> *Archæological Journal* xxiii, The campaign of A. Plancus.

an estuary. No dykes restrained the water of the Thames within certain limits. The individual character of the river was lost, and the Romans only saw one sheet of water before them ..... When they said they crossed the Thames, they merely meant they crossed the northern arm of the Great Lake which spread out its waters before them on either hand." Mr. Black<sup>1</sup> defines his lake as ceasing at a line drawn between Erith and Purfleet, and makes London stand on it. Mr. J. R. Green<sup>2</sup> describes with many big words the dismal nature of the land round London, and the "vast lagoon" on which it stands, and completes the account by saying, "Near the point where the two rivers (Lea and Thames) meet, a traveller who was mounting the Thames from the sea, saw the first dry land to which his bark could steer. The spot was, in fact, the extremity of a low line of rising ground thrown out from the heights of Hampstead...to thrust itself on the east into the great morass," by this he means Ratchiff. This is absurd, of course, and shews a want of knowledge of the locality he described, and removes any difficulty we may have as to accepting his account of the ancient Thames.

Mr. Loftie accepts the lake, and describes the "vast shallow lake," with the river flowing up and down it.<sup>3</sup> But Mr. Loftie says "St. Bride's cannot be attributed to the time of Canute, the ground on which it stands was then under water." Yet Mr. Loftie describes "the cutting of the ditch by the Danes round London bridge and the dragging of their ships to the west side; and he also describes the existence of a Roman building beneath the nave of Westminster abbey church. Now both these places were more than twenty feet lower than the floor of St. Bride's or the ground on which it stands, which has never been under water since the Romans came.

It should not be forgotten that Lysons says Mortlake "was generally supposed to be derived from *Mortuus lacus*, the dead lake," meaning, I suppose, the Thames, on which it stood.

From this supposed lake it would appear that a derivation for the name of London has been attempted.

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, xl, 1863-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Making of England*, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Loftie, London, p. 72.

Mr. Loftie, in his *History of London* says, "The derivation of Londinium from Llyndin, the lake fort, seems to agree best with its situation and history;" and he quotes Mr. Godfrey Faussett in support. If Dr. Guest had thoughts of a like nature when he said "the name of London refers directly to the marshes," he seemed contented *not* to prove the fact.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Loftie, in order to support his derivation, looks out for a similar name, and says, "a considerable tidal estuary or lagoon existed, stretching far up among the woods to the foot of the Laindon hills," and, "it is impossible not to connect the almost certainly Celtic name of London with the similar name of a very similarly situated hill Laindon." There is, I beg to remark, no similarity in the situation of the two places. Besides, Laindon is variously given by Morant as Laingdon, Langenduna, Laingdon, Legniduna, Leienduna, and in Domesday, Langeduna. All these forms are alike Saxon and not Celtic; Laindon is the long hill still, and still without its lake.

But this assistance, with which he supports his derivation, is a broken reed, for it calls to our remembrance the sole important difference in the early spelling of London, viz., Longidinio, to be found in Antonine's *Itinerary*, and which may suit either the form of the ground facing the river on which London stands, or the peculiar form of the early city enclosure. So far, there is a resemblance between *Langeduna* and *Longidinio*, but adverse to the lake theory.

The lake of these writers then resolves itself into the supposition of a few inches of water rising over saltings for a few minutes in the day, during a few days in the month, and even the last reduced to a still smaller number of days in the summer months. But I have given reasons to doubt the existence at the time spoken of, of tidal marshes or saltings near London or above Erith, and in pointing out that no barrier existed at Erith or Purfleet or elsewhere to dam up the water of the river, I submit that there was no lake near London; and also that it is probable

<sup>1</sup> *Archæological Journal*, xxiii, p. 180. Dr. Guest found that Durolevo of the second Iter was near Feversham, he said "The road runs beside the Sheppey marshes, which, in the Roman times must have been a collection of pools," in a

subsequent paper, these *pools* become "a lake"! It is quite as great a mistake to say that Feversham Creek was, or is, a lake, as the Thames estuary was or is. See *Origines Celticæ*, ii, pp. 55, 117.



that the estuary did not reach so far west as at the present day.

I am clearly of opinion that since the Roman occupation the present channel of the river through its alluvium has remained in almost exact relative position with respect to the earthland foot or hard banks from Lambeth to East Tilbury, and certainly so with respect to the more important hard and landing places on the main stream now existing.

Of banks against the tide in the district below Purfleet there are none surviving of the Roman period, while above that place none or but the slightest ones were needed, and no signs of any can be found. Some Saxon banks, perhaps, exist below Gravesend, but cannot be precisely identified at present, while above it, with the exception of Littlebrook walls, there are none now known of older date than the thirteenth century.

#### NOTE TO THE MAP.

In the accompanying map of the Plumstead and Erith marshes, I have marked strongly what remains of the old river-walls. The oldest and strongest wall was that on which Belvedere station stands; it may belong to the XIII. century. The name "Flemingges walle" in 1311 attests how early foreigners were employed here. The chief purpose of the map is to shew a different system of embanking to that shewn on the Higham map; and also to preserve the exact position of all the old walls which I have been able to trace, and which are rapidly disappearing before the excavator and builder. These excavations, nevertheless, may now be watched by its assistance in the future with the hope of tracing the foundations of old walls and sites beneath the surface. At the point, marked z, moor-logs of the old forest may be seen projecting into the ditch. Near this spot, low down in the peat, which rises to zero O.D., a "dug out" boat was cut through, the ends being left in either bank of the ditch which was being made. From out of this boat, a polished flint axe and a very beautiful flint scraper were obtained. Another polished axe of large size was dredged out of the same peat bed in the river off Prices' works close by.

res

i, Kent.

Yards

$\frac{1}{2}$  mile

F.C.J. SPURRELL.



Sprague & Co. Photo-litho London



## THE CARLISLE BUSHEL.

By R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A.

A bushel is defined as "a measure of capacity for things dry: as grains, pulse, dry fruits, etc., containing four pecks, or eight gallons, or one-eighth of a quarter."<sup>1</sup> A great many places had local bushels of different dimensions in different places.

At Abingdon and Andover a bushel contains nine gallons; at Appleby and Penrith a bushel of pease, rye, and wheat contains 16 gallons; of barley, big malt, mixt malt, and oats, 20 gallons. A bushel contains, at Carlisle, 24 gallons; at Chester, a bushel of wheat, rye, etc., contains 32 gallons, and of oats 40, etc.<sup>2</sup>

An interesting note on the Carlisle bushel is furnished by Mr. Ornsby. He says:—

The following particulars are perhaps worth noting. They occur in a paper (Dom. Charles I., ccccx, 165) which is undated, but which appears to have been sent to Sir Jacob Astley, or one of his officers, some time in 1639 or 1640, in answer to enquiries about the price of provisions for the king's troops. 'A particular note of the prices of corne used in Carlisle, and the measure thereof. *Imprimis* our bushell is 24 gallons, which gallon is 4 wine quarts and a pint. Bigg is to be bought from 5s. to 7s. a bushell. Pease from 2s. 6d. to 4s. the bushell. Malt 6s. or thereabout the bushell. Wheat at 16s. the bushell, Malt 6s. or thereabouts the bushell. Wheat at 16s. the bushell. Rye at 10s. the bushell. This note I had from Mr. Maior of Carlisle. *Westmerland*. Corne is much at the same rates of Cumberland, but the measure is not so much by 4 gallons in a bushell.'

In 1677, Machel sends to the vicar of Melmerly a series of questions,<sup>4</sup> of which No. 3 is "How much do you reckon to a peck?"

In the terriers<sup>5</sup> for Hutton and Greystock, delivered to bishop Nicolson at his primary visitation, 1704, we find varying measures. Thus at Hutton three people paid

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 4th edition, 1810, *sub voce* bushel.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Lord William Howard's Household Books, Surtees Society, vol. xlviii, p. lxxv.

<sup>4</sup> Machel, MSS. vol. vi., *pences* the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle.

<sup>5</sup> Miscellaneous Accounts of the Diocese of Carlisle. (Thurnam, Carlisle, 1877.)

peck corn to the parson by the Penrith peck, all the others by a peck of their own kept at William Oliphant's. At Greystoke, bushel corn was paid 20 gallons to the bushel, except Thwait Hall, which only paid 16.

It would be easy to multiply similar instances of deviations from the legal standards: and these deviations it has been found almost impossible to repress, though between *Magna Charta* and 1809 above twenty acts of Parliament were passed to fix and establish the standard and uniformity of weights and measures.<sup>1</sup>

In the time of Edward II., the town leet juries were instructed to inquire and declare

of every breach of the assize of bread, beer, wine, cloth, *weights, measures*, beams, bushels, gallons, ells, and yards, and of all false scales, and of those who have used them.<sup>2</sup>

This was, there can be no doubt, an ancient practice at that time. Each little community had its own standard, and as the township merged into the parish, so the keeping of the local weights and measures passed from the town-reeve or elder to the parish priest.<sup>3</sup> These again were superseded under various charters and acts of Parliament by mayors, bailiffs, stewards, and the like officials. Thus the *Statutum de Pistoribus*, etc. (or Statute concerning Bakers), which is variously attributed to 51 Henry III. (1267), and to 13 Edward I. (1285), enacts that the standard of bushels, gallons, and ells shall be sealed with the iron seal of the king, and shall be kept safe under a penalty of £100, and that no measure shall be in any town unless it do agree with the king's measure, and be marked with the seal of the commonalty of the town. By the 7 Hen. VII., c. 3, 1491, it was enacted that standard measures and weights of brass should be delivered by indenture from the lord treasurer to the representatives in Parliament, or the chief officers of the cities, towns, and boroughs of every shire, to be conveyed at the cost and charges of such cities, etc., and to be delivered to, and remain in, the custody of the mayors or other chief officers of the same to the intent

<sup>1</sup> Blackstone's *Commentaries*, vol. i, p. 275, n. 16. 15th edition, 1809.

<sup>2</sup> Horne's *Mirror of Justice*, temp. Edward II., chap. i, sec. 17. Cited

Journal of the British Archaeological Association, vol. viii, p. 314.

<sup>3</sup> *The Conquest of England*, by J. R. Green, p. 15.

that as well all measures and weights within the said cities, etc., may be corrected, reformed, amended, and made, according and after the measure of the said standard. And that the chief officer for the time being, in every such city, etc., have for that cause a *special mark or seal to mark every such weight and measure*, so made, to be reformed and brought unto him without fraud or delay, etc., etc.

Four years after the date of this statute, viz., in 1495, 11 Hen. VII, c. 4, another was passed, containing similar enactments, but with some additional clauses, to the following effect, viz. : That every mayor, etc., having the standard weights and measures, should have authority to make a sign and print (that is, a seal or mark) with the letter H crowned to *sign and print* like weights and measures unto every the king's lieges and subjects duly requiring the same. This device, the crowned initial of the sovereign, has been used ever since.<sup>1</sup> The Elizabethan bye-law of the city of Carlisle, No. 70, runs thus :

Item, that the comone scales where<sup>wth</sup> bushells, half bushells, pecks, etc., is sealed shall all waies remain or be hereafter in the keepinge of the mayr and in non other officer.

The 79th bye-law provided as follows—

Item that the mayr and balifs shall yerely take vou of all measures and metts w<sup>thin</sup> this citie ons in the yere . And if they fynd any unlawfull measure either bushell half bushell peke half peke galone yard wands or other measures that then the mayr and balifs to brek them and evere of them and cause new to be providt Yf any man kepe in his house any double measure that is to say a gret one to by w<sup>th</sup> and a lesse to sell w<sup>th</sup> that euere one offendinge therein shall pay for euere severall offence vi<sup>s</sup> and viii<sup>d</sup>.

A schedule to the act of 11 Hen. VII. contains the names of towns limited for the safe custody of weights and measures, according to the king's standard ; amongst which are—

Westmoreland	...	...	Town of Appleby,
Cumberland	...	...	City of Carlisle.

This act was amended in the following year, as the standards had turned out defective, and had to be recalled and re-issued again.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to an article by Mr. Archæological Association, vol. viii, for much of the above.  
Brewer, in the Journal of the British

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it appears from a royal roll, dated 17<sup>th</sup> June, 1588, and addressed to the Barons of the Exchequer<sup>1</sup> that great complaints had arisen that "the weights used throughout this our realm were uncertain and varying one from another," and that a jury had been appointed in 1574 to make standards of troy and avoirdupois weights. This was done, but in a short time it was discovered that the new standards were wrong; they were recalled, and in 1588 new ones were again made and issued to the cities and towns specified in the act of Henry VII, and to some additional places. The standards issued in 1588 remained in force until 1824: they are of elegant form, as may be seen from the examples from Carlisle now placed upon the table, and from the engravings in the seventh report of the Warden of the Standards, which by the kindness of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office are reproduced with this paper. It has been conjectured that these standards were made from ordnance taken from the Spanish armada.<sup>2</sup>

In 1601 standard measures of capacity were also issued; we reproduce an engraving of the standard quart also



Standard Quart.

from the "seventh report," etc. We have not so much information as to the making of these standards of capacity, as we have as to the troy and avoirdupois ones.

<sup>1</sup> See the seventh report of the Warden of the Standards.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. viii, p. 370.

In the seventh volume of the "Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Archæological Society," p. 56, is printed—

A note of all sortes of weights as well brasse or lead with a note of the plait and their weight, the bookes and other implements belongin to the Cittie bye Matthew Cape Major, the 14<sup>th</sup> November, 1627—

Averdepoys or bell	li	li	li	li	li	li	li
weights	56	28	14	7	4	2	1

Stolen by Keethe

Averdepois round and	li	li	li	li	oz.
----------------------	----	----	----	----	-----

flat	...	8	4	2	1	8	4	2	1
------	-----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Troy Weight : per oz.

ounces	256	228 <sup>1</sup>	[sic] 64	32	16	8	4	2	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	0	$\frac{1}{8}$	0	0 <sup>2</sup>
--------	-----	------------------	----------	----	----	---	---	---	---	---------------	---	---------------	---	----------------

Lead weights in the charge of the weightman.

1 brasse bushell	1 feardlet
1 brasse gallon	1-2 <sup>th</sup> pound
1 halfe gallon	1 one pound
1 quart	1 halfe a pound
	1 quartere.

How many of these weights the old corporation of Carlisle still had in their possession, when they were reformed in 1835, I cannot say, but the reformed corporation sold to the best bidder the standard weights and measures, which had been superseded in 1824. Some of these



Standard troy weights for 4 and 8 ounces.

I have been able to trace and now exhibit, viz. six of the standard troy weights, six cups, or rather hollow *frustra* of cones fitting one into another; they are the weights for

<sup>1</sup> A mistake for 128.

then lost ?

<sup>2</sup> Do not the ciphers denote weights



4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128 ozs., and are kindly lent me by Mr. Wheatley, whose father purchased them in 1835 from the corporation. Mr. Carrick, of Lonsdale Street, has two of the avoirdupois bell weights, those for one pound



Standard avoirdupois weight for 1 lb.

and two pounds respectively; and the Carlisle museum possesses the quart, gallon, and bushel of 1601.

Thus, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the corporation of Carlisle possessed standard measures of weight (troy and avoirdupois) and of capacity, satisfying the acts of Henry VII, and duly authenticated by the crowned initial of the reigning sovereign.

How comes then the Carlisle bushel of 24 gallons to have been in use until lately? Let us try to investigate its history.

In the early part of the seventeenth century great litigation<sup>1</sup> took place at Carlisle, York, and London, about the tithes of the tenants of Holm Cultram, and one of the points involved was—by whose bushel was the tithe to be measured, by the abbot's bushel of 8 gallons, or by the bigger bushel of the mayor of Carlisle. The point was

<sup>1</sup> The information as to this litigation is from a large manuscript volume of papers relating to the parish and manor of Holm

Cultram lent me by Messrs. Lawson of Wigton. Several copies of this book exist.

one worth the contesting, for the tithe of meal amounted to 938 bushels 1 peck ; of barley to 581 bushels, and of oats 63 bushels 2 pecks, besides money in lieu of tithe. The tenants contended that they always paid by a bushel kept by the abbot of the dissolved monastery, and called the abbot's bushel, which was in existence at the time of the litigation. The farmers of the tithe contended that they should be paid by the Carlisle bushel of 20 gallons (20 gallons not 24.) An affidavit was put in by the mayor of Carlisle, Henry Baynes,

that they found Carlisle measure for corn to contain 20 gallons to the bushel ; this was all his remembrance and then out of mind (as he hath heard) doth not know of the plaintiffs (the tenants) paying corn or meal by a bushel. Since he was mayor he caused the measures for buying and selling of corn there to be made, the one of 16 gallons (called a bushel) and the other the half bushel of 8 gallons ; the plaintiffs may use which they like best and they are at no prejudice by the bushel of 20 gallons, intending to leave this bushel of 20 gallons (as he found it), being the cities, who desire the continuance of it with the consent of most of the country.

From this it would seem that Baynes, who was mayor in 1601, found the citie in possession of a bushel measure holding 20 gallons, and that he made one to hold 16 gallons and a half one to hold 8.

In the course of the suit it was admitted that Mr. Mayor Baynes

during his mayoralty caused other measures of 8 gallons, after the lesser measure, to be made, and gave them to those that kept the measure there, that those that would might buy by them. But the country, desirous to keep the old measure, never used the new.

An undated order of the Exchequer finds

That the Tenants &c. have Time out of Mind and Memory of Man used and were accustomed to pay their tithe corn, &c. to the said late Abbot and his predecessor abbots there after the Rate and Measure of Carlisle Bushel commonly used there. But herein was a great Error committed by the Magistrates by Increase of Carlisle Bushel to 10, 12, and 14 Gallons contrary to the Statute of 8 Gallons in the Exchequer at that time and in Queen Elizabeth's time to 16, 18, and 20 Gallons, and in King James' time to 22 and 24 Gallons to a Bushel, which procured a most Huge suit in law before it was burnt at a head (?) assize in the City of Carlisle by Judge Denham upon the 19th of August, 1623.

In another undated paper it is stated that for 60 years past the Carlisle bushel had been 16 gallons equal to 20 Exchequer gallons ; and it further states that in Carlisle market they sell by the bushel heaped up. Now, a

measure holding 16 gallons when struck, or filled just level with the top, would, if heaped up, be about 20 gallons; this I take to be the explanation of the above, and not that the Carlisle and Exchequer gallons were of different sizes.

We have thus got at the fact that the Carlisle gallon has varied and that it was on the rise between the suppression of the monasteries and the year 1623; it had then got to 24 gallons, and spite of the vigorous action of Mr. Justice Denham, it survived at that size down to to-day.

Other mention may be found locally of measures deviating from the Exchequer standard. There was about the same date as, or rather later than, the Holm Cultram litigation, a suit between the earl of Cumberland and his tenants near Appleby, in which was raised the question of by what measure the sergeant's oats or bailiff's corn was to be paid. By a decree dated in 1634,

Sir John Lowther was desired to examine and certify concerning the measure, who having examined two old pecks, one containing 8 quarts, and the other 10 struck quarts, both of which had been paid upheaped (which was reckoned one-third more) he, to avoid uncertainty, recommended, and so it was decreed, that instead of the old peck upheaped, they should pay 13 quarts struck.<sup>1</sup>

It is not said where these old pecks were kept, but most probably at Appleby. The peck containing 8 quarts (that is, two gallons) would be an Exchequer or standard peck; if heaped up it would hold about 10 quarts (that is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  gallons) and the bushel would be 10 gallons; the bigger peck, if heaped up, would hold 13 quarts ( $3\frac{1}{4}$  gallons) or rather more, and the bushel would be 13 gallons or nearly 14 gallons. We thus get to the steps by which the Carlisle bushel crept up, from the standard of 8 gallons to 10, 14, &c. The suggestion occurs that in the heaping up, we may find the origin of these local measures. A local custom to heap up the 8 gallon bushel, instead of striking it, would make a local bushel of 10 gallons. The local authority would ultimately provide a bushel to hold 10 gallons struck, as at Appleby; this heaped up would give a still bigger bushel, one of 14 gallons, and so the bushel grew.

That a custom of paying by the bushel heaped up

<sup>1</sup> Burn and Nicholson, vol. i, p. 292.

existed at Carlisle is proved by entries in "A survey of Church Lands, anno 1649," now in the library at Lambeth, which gives a survey of the possessions of the see of Carlisle, and of the dean and chapter of Carlisle: among the possessions of the latter was the "Meale Garner's Office," which was leased out in various parts, viz. eighth parts: the Meale Garner had to receive certain payments of haver-meal, of bigg and of oats. In the leases occur the following expressions:—

After the proportion of fourteene gallons to the bushel, according to the brasse measure of Winchester.

According to the bushell wherewith farmers and tennants are bound and accustomed to pay the same, viz. 14 gallons of Winchester measure to the bushell.

And

By the measure of twelve bushells every eskepp and sixteen gallons to every bushell of ye sealed brasse gallon.

It is clear that a local custom existed to pay by the bushel heaped up, and, so strong was it, that the dean and chapter insisted on having the heaped up bushel measured by the number of brass standard gallons they considered it would amount to. In the *Liber quotidianus contrarotulatoris Garderobæ anno regni Regis Edwardi Primi vicesimo octavo*, we find grain bought both by *mensura rasa* or striked measure, and by *mensura cumulata* or heaped up; and it is stated that *177 quarter' aven' per mensuram cumulat' faciunt per mensuram rasam 185 quarter 7bz.'* This was at Berwick-on-Tweed, and as the comptroller takes the trouble to reduce the *mensura cumulata* into *mensura rasa*, he clearly bought by the measure heaped up, but kept his accounts by the measure striked or standard measure, thus showing that the Berwick people—as well as the Carlisle—had a custom to sell by the standard measure heaped up.

ANCIENT INVENTORIES OF GOODS BELONGING TO THE  
PARISH CHURCH OF ST. MARGARET PATTENS IN THE  
CITY OF LONDON.

By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., F.S.A.

Amongst the records of the parish church of St. Margaret Pattens, in the city of London, is a folio volume in the original stamped leather covers (very badly mended recently), measuring 15 inches by 12 inches. By the kindness of the Rev. J. L. Fish, the present rector, I have been allowed to examine this volume. It now contains *thirty* folios, but a very large number have been destroyed, and of the remainder sixteen folios and three pages are blank. From the internal evidence of omissions and mis-spellings it is clear that the entries were transcribed into the book.

The following is an abstract of its contents, but the inventories I have transcribed in full.

Folio 1 is lost.

Folio 2 commences

In the name of the Holie Trinite our blisshed lady his moder  
Saint Margarete virgyn and Martir and all Seintis / Sir  
Water Muschamp peon of the parisshe Chirche of Saint  
margarettes Patyns in london John Wilson Barbour and  
John Dounton Peautrere Wardeins of the Chirche in the  
holy feest of Ester The yere of our lord god M<sup>i</sup> CCCC lxx  
and the x<sup>th</sup> yere of the reigne of Kyng Edward the fourth with  
thassent of all the parissheens of the same Chirche Aggreed  
and Assented that all the evidences concernyng or touchyng  
the londes rentes and Tenementis of the said Chirche shall  
be entiteled in this booke cerialy to a ppetueff memory for  
theym and their Successours Which folowen hereafter that  
is to sey.

Then follow transcripts of

- (1) Deed by which Ralph de Coventre rector demises  
to Thomas de Wrasle a tenement with houses  
thereon, for a yearly rent of 15s. (Undated,  
but John le Blund, then mayor, occurs among the  
witnesses.)

- (2) Will of Isabell Carpenter, formerly the wife of Symon de Canterbury, 1342. Her body to be buried in the cemetery of St. Margaret Pattens, near the sepulchre of the aforesaid Symon. Bequests of money to the high altar for the souls of John and Matilda her parents, Thomas Richard and Symon her husbands; for the sustentation of a light before the cross in the church, etc., etc.
- (3) Memorandum of proof of will January 2, 1343.
- (4) Fourteen memoranda concerning deeds relating to parish property.
- (5) Incomplete copy of a memorial concerning certain encroachments of waterfall and lights.

These occupy most of folios 2 and 3.

Folios 4, 5, and 6a contain an inventory of goods, jewels, and ornaments, dated 2 August, 1470.

Folios 6b, 7, 8, 9a, 10a, contain a list of additions made to the church goods and ornaments from 1479 to 1486, during the tenure of the same two churchwardens.

Folios 9b, 10b, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 are blank.

Folios 16, 17 and a loose folio of uncertain number contain part of an inventory made in 1511.

Between folios 17 and 24 five folios are lost.

Folio 24 contains several memoranda, and lists of goods when a period of spoliation prevailed. They are dated 10 Henry VIII. (1518), 1521, 1536, and 1548.

Folios 25 to 34, and 36 to 188 inclusive, also 193, 196 to 201 inclusive, 204 and 205 are missing.

Folios 35, 189 to 192 inclusive, 194, 195, 202, 203, 206, 207a, and 208 are blank.

Folio 207b bears a memorandum of 1557 that if any tenant of church property be elected churchwarden, he shall not spend more than 10s. on the repairs of his house during his term of office without the consent of the vestry.

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[f. 4 a.]

This is the Inventory of all the goodes Juelx and Ornamentis belongyng unto the Chirche of Seint margarete Patyns.—made the secunde day of the moneth of August The yere of our lord god MCCCClxx And the x<sup>th</sup> yere of the reigne of kyng Edward the fourth. that tyme beyng peon Sir Water Muschamp and Wardens John Wilson Barbour and John Dounton Peautrera.

# 314 INVENTORIES OF ST. MARGARET PATTEENS, LONDON.

- . Juelx. first a Crosse of silv'e weying v fb j unc'.  
 Itm a Chalice of silv'e Gilt w<sup>t</sup> a patene weying togider xviii unc'. j q<sup>rt</sup> of an unc'.  
 Itm j Chalice of silv'e gilt with the patene weying togider xiiij unc'.<sup>1</sup>  
 Itm a Chalice of silv'e. pcell gilt w<sup>t</sup> a patene. weying xiiij unc' & di' & half a q<sup>rt</sup>.  
 Itm j Chalyce of silv'e w<sup>t</sup> a patene weying xxv unc' & di' and half a q<sup>rt</sup>.  
 Itm a Cowpe of silv'e. for the sacrament<sup>2</sup> pcell gilt weying xxviii unc' iij q<sup>rt</sup>'s & di'  
 Itm a Sensour of silv'e pcell gilt weying. xxix unc'  
 Itm a Crismatorye of silv'e weying xiiij unc' iij q<sup>rt</sup>'s  
 Itm a Relyke of silv'e ou'e gilt set w<sup>t</sup> stonys and a pece of the holy Crosse therin  
 Itm an ymage of Saunct' Katerne silv' and gilt  
 Itm a Mustr<sup>3</sup>unte<sup>3</sup> of silv' pcell gil thy the gifte of s' John douton waying lvj unc'  
 Itm . a Crosse with mary & John silv' & gilt of the gyft of Richard Bowell & Elizabeth his wyf weying by Troy Weight lxxxvij unces & iij q<sup>rt</sup>'one

(Added in another hand)

- Itm ij Candlestyck<sup>4</sup> of sylv' & pcell gylt w<sup>t</sup> angell<sup>4</sup> fac<sup>4</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> mydd<sup>4</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Candlestyck<sup>4</sup>  
 Itm ij sylv' Basyns pcell Gylt w<sup>t</sup> Roses in the mydd<sup>4</sup> of them  
 Itm a Shyp of Sylv' w<sup>t</sup> a sylv' spon pcell Gylt w<sup>t</sup> a lambe y<sup>on</sup> | of the Gyfte of Robt [May] and John Wytton and Joh<sup>n</sup>ia the wyff of them<sup>4</sup>. the p<sup>c</sup>' . . . . . v marke  
 Itm a Senser of Sylv' & pcell Gylt w<sup>t</sup> lyberd<sup>4</sup> hed<sup>4</sup>  
 Itm a Chalyce of sylv' & a patent Cleyn gylt w<sup>t</sup> a crucyfyx mary & John in the fote and in the paten an holy lambe .

- . Bokes . Itm a masse boke for the high auter principall  
 Itm a nother masse boke for our lady Chapell<sup>5</sup>  
 Itm an old masse boke unkev'ed.  
 Itm j boke called . a pistoler & Gospeler and a principall graytt  
 Itm a new graytt  
 Itm an old graytt  
 Itm iij new processionaries  
 Itm an old processionary with a sawter and an Ymner therein  
 Itm an old ordenall with a processionary therein  
 Itm a new ymner notyd.<sup>6</sup>  
 Itm a boke called a lectornall for pryncipall foest<sup>4</sup>  
 Itm a new antiphoner principall  
 Itm a new antiphoner secondary  
 Itm an old antiphoner  
 Itm a new Colectour.  
 Itm an old Portoos noted.  
 Itm a grete sawter

<sup>1</sup> This item erased.

<sup>2</sup> The pyx in which the Sacrament was hung over the high altar.

<sup>3</sup> A monstrance.

<sup>4</sup> Query, was she wife to both men?

<sup>5</sup> This line erased.

<sup>6</sup> In the margin "in y<sup>e</sup> handes of bryt-tayn."

Itm a new legent tempall

Itm a new legent S<sup>c</sup>or' (*Sanctorum*)

Itm ij Sawters chayned in our lady Chapell. |

(Added in a later hand).

Itm a Manuell

Itm an old gret portooos notyd.

(In another hand)

It' a nywe p'sessener' bowt be John spelet & John mūd)  
schryche Warddens

(In the same hand as the additions to the list of 'Juelx')

Itm an New Breviatt antyphoner'

Itm j boke for Rectors for matens. masse. & evynsong.

Itm a complete p'cessyonary

Itm vj queres of y<sup>e</sup> new fest of o<sup>r</sup> lady.<sup>1</sup>

Itm j of the masse of Jhūs

Itm a psalter | w<sup>t</sup> a Kalendr'

Itm a lytell portu<sup>9</sup>

[f. 4 b.]

laton and

Peautre.

Itm a Crosse of laton gilt

Itm an old Crosse of laton gilt

Itm a sensour of laton

Itm a shipp of laton

Itm ij grete standards of laton principall

Itm ij Candelstikkcs of laton for the high auter

Itm iiij smale Candelstikkcs of laton for processions of laton

Itm ij Candelstikkcs of laton for our lady Chapell

Itm an holywater stopp of laton w<sup>t</sup> a styk<sup>2</sup>

Itm an Offeryng dissh of Coper

Itm an hangyng of laton for the lampe in the quere

Itm an hangyng of laton for all sowlen light in the body of  
the Chirche

Itm iiij Candelstikkcs of Peautre ij grete & ij smale

Itm iiij peir of Crewett<sup>3</sup> of peautre

Itm a bason of peautr' w<sup>t</sup> iiij small square bollys for the Pasca<sup>4</sup>

Itm xx<sup>3</sup> | tap dishes of peautr'<sup>4</sup> for the Rodeloft

Itm a Cowpe of laton to put in the sacrament

Itm a Canape w<sup>t</sup> iiij Crownys of laton to hang ov'e the  
sacrament<sup>5</sup>

(Added in a later hand.)

Wch canape was deliv'ed to the pson for the ch'ge he made  
a new cov'ying ov' the sacrament at his propre cost and  
the Wardyns Thomas alisaundr' & John . . . . not to be  
charged with the said canape w<sup>t</sup> iiij crownys

.Copes and. Itm a vestment of rede veluet with dekon subdekon and a  
Vestement<sup>6</sup>. Cope | the Orfreys enbrowded w<sup>t</sup> gold.

Itm a vestement of whyt cloth of Bawdekyn with deken  
subdekon and a Cope of the same sute of the gift of John  
Gest the Orphrays of rede damask.

<sup>1</sup> The feast of the visitation of the  
blessed Virgin Mary, ordered to be ob-  
served by the Council of Basil by decree  
dated July 1, 1441.

<sup>2</sup> A sprinkle.

<sup>3</sup> Erased and altered into xv.

<sup>4</sup> Erased and 'laton' superscribed.

<sup>5</sup> This entry erased.



- Itm a vestement of rede cloth of Baudekyn with a dekon the  
 Orphrayes blak saten with bellys of gold.  
 Itm a vestement of borde alisaundre with dekon and subdekon  
 Itm ij Copys of cloth of Bawdekyn the grounde rede  
 Itm a Cope of cloth of gold the grounde grene  
 Itm a Cope of cloth of Bawdekyn the grounde blak w<sup>t</sup>  
 werkys of grene  
 Itm a Cope of cloth of gold chekered.  
 Itm a Cope of raye silk for a Childe  
 Itm ij Copes of rede silk for Children  
 Itm iiij awbys with the paretles of rede silk for Children  
 Itm ij awbys for Children with the paretlys whyt  
 Itm a sengle vestement of rede veluet  
 Itm a sengle vestiment of cloth of Bawdekyn with the  
 armys of the lord ffanope<sup>1</sup>  
 Itm a sengle vestiment of whyte silk  
 Itm a sengle vestement of rede silk with the Orfreys of blew silk  
 Itm a sengle vestement of demysay grene with purpiit &  
 whyte roses [in] the Orphrey  
 Itm a sengle vestiment of borde alisaundre w<sup>t</sup> the armys of  
 Sir John Poph<sup>m</sup>  
 Itm a sengle vestment of rede worsted the Orphreys of blak  
 worstede the yeft of William harman  
 Itm a sengell vestement of whyte borde alisaundre the  
 Orphreys of rede veluet of the yeft of Sir Water Muschamp  
 p<sup>r</sup>son of the said Chirche  
 Itm a sengle vestement of blak worsted with a dekon for  
 Mortuaryes  
 Itm a sengle vestement of silke the grounde rede w<sup>t</sup> the  
 Orphreys of rede silk and whyte roses belongyng to our  
 lady Chapeit  
 Itm a sengle vestement belongyng to our lady Chapeit of  
 whyte silk w<sup>t</sup> pe Orphreys blue silk w<sup>t</sup> Crownys of gold  
 Itm a sengle vestment belongyng to our lady Chapeit of  
 Cloth of Bawdekyn the grounde of rede the Orphrys  
 lyons and Pecokys of gold  
 [f. 5 a.] Itm a sengle vestiment belongyng to our lady Chapeit of  
 grene silk with the Orphrayes of rede silk with bees of gold  
 Itm a sengle vestiment belongyng to our lady Chapeit of blew  
 bokeram with whyte roses  
 Itm a sengle vestement belongyng to our lady Chapeit of  
 whyte ffustyan with Orphrayes of gold  
 (Added in another hand)  
 Itm a cloth of gold that s' wault' muschamp gave to the chireh  
 Awter. Itm for the high awter a ffronte and a nether ffront<sup>2</sup> for the  
 Clothes for high awter of rede silk with Swannys of gold and ij  
 the high Curteyns of rede silk  
 auter. Itm for the same awter a ffronte and a nether ffronte steyned  
 of the yeft of maister Thomas Wybbery Squyer

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Cornwall, K.G., created Lord Fanhope, 1483, and died 1444. His arms were, *Ermine, a lion rampant Gules, crowned Or, within a bordure Sable bezanté*

<sup>2</sup> In all these items "front" means the upper front, or dorsal: "nether front" means what we call the frontal.

Itm for the same awter a ffronte & a nether ffronte steyned w<sup>t</sup> v Joyes of our lady<sup>1</sup>

Itm for the same awter a ffronte and a nether ffronte steyned of the lyf of Seint Margarete.

Itm for the same high auter steyned . a ffronte and a nether ffronte steyned like cloth of gold.<sup>1</sup>

Itm for the same awter a ffronte and a nether ffronte . of whyte for lent.

(Added in another hand)

Itm an awt<sup>r</sup> cloth of blake saresenett w<sup>t</sup> a crucifixe and mary & John w<sup>t</sup> curteyns for y<sup>e</sup> same

Itm a blew say for the nether parte of y<sup>e</sup> awt<sup>r</sup>

Itm a ffronte and a nep<sup>r</sup> ffronte steyned y<sup>e</sup> ovyr pte w<sup>t</sup> the resurrecon . the fad<sup>r</sup> son & holy gost the asseynecon w<sup>t</sup> saynt Margett & saynt Kat<sup>y</sup>n | and y<sup>e</sup> ned<sup>r</sup> pte is the nativite of o<sup>r</sup> lord y<sup>e</sup> Circuficon (sic) and the epphie

Itm ij supaltar<sup>e</sup> on of m<sup>b</sup>le<sup>2</sup> | an op<sup>r</sup> of alabastyr<sup>r</sup>.

Awt<sup>r</sup> Itm for the awter called our lady awter a ffronte and a nether  
clothes. ffronte steyned w<sup>t</sup> an ymage of o<sup>r</sup> lady and w<sup>t</sup> ij Curteyns  
for our lady of rede silke

awt<sup>r</sup> Itm for the same awter a ffronte & a nether ffronte steyned w<sup>t</sup> ij Curteyns of the same sute

Itm for the same awter a ffronte and a nether ffronte steyned and w<sup>t</sup> Curteyns of whyte silk new of the yest of my lady atherley.

Itm for the same awter a ffronte and a nether ffronte whyte for lent. w<sup>t</sup> ij curteyns

(Added in another hand)

It<sup>r</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> gyft of recharde bowell a steneyth cloth w<sup>t</sup> his m<sup>k</sup>e<sup>3</sup> & w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> armys of y<sup>e</sup> stapyll of Calyc w<sup>t</sup> an ymage of hymself & a nod<sup>r</sup> of his wyffe w<sup>t</sup> a nether front & w<sup>t</sup> ov<sup>r</sup> front.

[f. 5 b.]

Awt<sup>r</sup> Itm for Seint Johns awter a ffronte [and] a nether ffronte of  
Clothes for Cloth of Bawdekyn with birdys of gold and ij Curteyns of  
Seint Johns grene silk.

awter. Itm for the same awter a ffronte and a nether ffronte of the lyf of Seint John steyned. w<sup>t</sup> ij Curteyns.

Itm a ffronte & a cowntre ffront of whyte w<sup>t</sup> rede crosses for lent

Awt<sup>r</sup> Itm for Seint marymawdeleyens awter a ffront and a nether  
Clothes for ffronte steyned w<sup>t</sup> damask werk and ij Curteyns of the  
Seint Mary same

Mawdeleyens Itm for the same awter a nother ffronte and a nether ffronte  
awt<sup>r</sup> steyned w<sup>t</sup> damask werk and ij Curteyns of the same

Itm for the same awter a ffronte. and a nether ffronte steyned<sup>4</sup> w<sup>t</sup> ij Curteyns for lent of white. w<sup>t</sup> rede crosses.

<sup>1</sup> This entry erased.

<sup>2</sup> i.e., marble.

<sup>3</sup> His 'mark' as a merchant

<sup>4</sup> This word erased.

Corpases w<sup>t</sup> Itm a Corpax w<sup>t</sup> a Case of cloth of gold the tone side rede  
 Corpax and the other side blew  
 Cases. Itm a Corporax w<sup>t</sup> a Case of blew damask w<sup>t</sup> a fflowr de luce  
 of gold  
 Itm j Corporax w<sup>t</sup> a Case of blak veluet  
 Itm a Corporax with a Case of blak veluet old  
 Itm a Corporax w<sup>t</sup> a Case that one side thereof silk and that  
 other silk with work<sup>e</sup> of gold  
 Itm a Corporax with a Case of grene silk w<sup>t</sup> a fflowr de luce  
 Itm a Corporax with a Case of grene silk  
 Itm a Case for a Corporax of rede damask fugory<sup>1</sup>  
 Itm a Case for a Corporax of grene damask  
 Itm a Case for a Corporax of silk w<sup>t</sup> a Crosse of silk

(Added in another hand)

A case of blew damaske w<sup>t</sup> a byrd of gold | the op<sup>r</sup> syde of  
 needle warke w<sup>t</sup> Jhu<sup>s</sup> & a corpax p<sup>in</sup>.  
 Itm a Corpax w<sup>t</sup> p<sup>e</sup> case of blew tysswe p<sup>e</sup> on syde | the op<sup>r</sup>  
 syde of rede cloth of tysswe  
 Itm a corpax w<sup>t</sup> the case p<sup>e</sup> on syde tawney saten | the op<sup>r</sup>  
 syde of rede w<sup>t</sup> a fflowr<sup>e</sup> of damaske  
 Itm a corpax w<sup>t</sup> a case p<sup>e</sup> on syde rede veluett | p<sup>e</sup> op<sup>r</sup> syde  
 gren sarsenett flowred w<sup>t</sup> brodered warke  
 Itm a corpax w<sup>t</sup> a case of Gren bawdekyn of p<sup>e</sup> on syde &  
 white on y<sup>e</sup> op<sup>r</sup> syde  
 Itm an op<sup>r</sup> lyke to y<sup>e</sup> same  
 Itm a Corpax case of rede veluett on veluett w<sup>t</sup> gren trulove  
 flowres and a cloth of dyap for the pyxte p<sup>in</sup>.

frontels Itm a ffrontell of cloth of gold w<sup>t</sup> a Cloth therto  
 and lynen Itm a nother of rede silk w<sup>t</sup> sterrys of gold w<sup>t</sup> a cloth therto  
 Auter Itm a nother ffrontell of whyte damask  
 Clothes. Itm a nother ffrontell of silke with werkys  
 Itm a nother ffrontell of Tawny veluett with whyte roses  
 Itm a nother ffrontell of Cadas<sup>3</sup> w<sup>t</sup> birdys  
 Itm a ffrontell of blew silk enbrowded w<sup>t</sup> flowres without a Cloth  
 Itm v auter Clothes of dyaper  
 Itm iiij auter clothes playn<sup>4</sup>  
 Itm ij howselyng towellys of diap  
 Itm iiij smale towellys iiij Dyap and j playne for preestes to  
 wype on peir hondes.

(Added in same hand)

Itm iiij lynen Clothes for frontels

(Added in another hand)

Itm ij awlter<sup>e</sup> clothes of Dyapr & a towell of the gyft of S'  
 John Donton

(Added in a different hand)

The xxv day of Juyn a<sup>e</sup> lxxvj...ij awlter clothes & towell labbrd

(In another hand.)

It' a awt<sup>e</sup> cloth of y<sup>e</sup> gyft of aveys haill w<sup>t</sup> ihc in y<sup>e</sup> medyll.

<sup>1</sup> i.e., figure.

<sup>2</sup> Frontal means the narrow strip sewn as  
 an apparel to the linen altar cloth, now  
 called *superfrontal*.

<sup>3</sup> Cadas, or *carduus*, an inferior silken stuff.

<sup>4</sup> This line erased These are the linen  
 altar cloths.

Clothes for Itm j Cloth to hang afore y<sup>e</sup> rodeloft steyned of the lyf of  
Ymages Seint margarete

Itm an other Cloth for the same rode loft of the passion of  
our lord

Itm j Cloth to hang afore the rode in lent

Itm j Cloth steyned to hang afore Seint margarete.

Itm a nother Cloth to hang afore our lady

Itm a cloth to hang afore Seint Kateryn steyned

Itm a new cloth steyned for the lectorn

Itm j old Cloth for the lectorn steyned

Itm j Cloth of whyte & blew called a vayll for lent

Itm j cloth of rede worstede to lay afore the awter in high fest<sup>e</sup>

Itm v clothes steyned to hang afore the ymages of the  
Churche in lent

[f. 6 a.] Itm a crosse Gylt w<sup>t</sup> a staffe of Silv' werke

Itm a miter for Seynt Nicholas off white damaske embrodred  
with bellis of gold

Itm a Grete cloth of Tapestri werke for to hang uppon the  
Walle by hynde the Sepulcur

Itm a steyned Cloth of Sepulcur werke w<sup>t</sup> the Ressurreccion.  
the Passyon . and w<sup>t</sup> other werkis

It' ij crosse staves paynted w<sup>t</sup> silv'

Itm a blake cloth for mortuaryes

Itm a Canpye of grene cloth of Bawdekyn frendged w<sup>t</sup> silke.

Baners. Itm a Banner of red silke beton w<sup>t</sup> lyons of Silver.

Itm a baner of silke beten w<sup>t</sup> the armes of Maist' Atherley

It' anoder banner of blewe bokeram beten w<sup>t</sup> gold.

Itm a stremer of blewe bokeram betyn with gold

Itm a nother Stremer of silv' betyn w<sup>t</sup> Davy Treblefeld<sup>e</sup>  
arnes.

Itm iiij banners on steyned of Seint George Anod<sup>r</sup> steyned  
w<sup>t</sup> a vernacle Another steyned w<sup>t</sup> the holy goste

Itm a nother Steyned w<sup>t</sup> the ymage of our lady

It' ij white banners steyned w<sup>t</sup> the passyon of our lord

Itm ij crosse banners of grene silke that on of theym beten  
w<sup>t</sup> the resurreccion And the top' of theym beten w<sup>t</sup> the  
ymage of Seynt Margaret

Itm a crosse cloth steyned w<sup>t</sup> the resurreccion

Itm ij smale pynons of silke w<sup>t</sup> the armes of Maist' Atherley

(Added in another hand)

Itm a new Crosse cloth of y<sup>e</sup> assupcon of o<sup>r</sup> lady w<sup>t</sup> saynt mar-  
gett & saynt Kat'yn and w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> v. woundes of o<sup>r</sup> lord the  
ground y<sup>e</sup> of is gren sarsenett . and ij smale belles on y<sup>e</sup> staffe.

Surpleis Itm iij newe Surpleis

Itm a rotchett for a child

Itm a Chiste bounden w<sup>t</sup> Iron In the Vesti

Itm a nod<sup>r</sup> Chiste in the same Vestiary bownden w<sup>t</sup> Iron

Itm ij Kuyshons of diapir werk

Itm a Canapye cloth steyned for corp<sup>s</sup> xpi day

Itm ij sakeryng belles

Itm ij Surpleices

Itm iij smale bellis for the Canape

Itm a rotchett of the gyft of Thirilkyl

(Added in another hand.)

Itm iiij. new Surples bowght be John Jeffray & Witm

Bothom Churchwardens in y<sup>e</sup> yere of Sov'ayn lord the  
kyng henry the vij<sup>th</sup> the xxij<sup>th</sup> the p<sup>le</sup> . . . . xxj<sup>e</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>.

Itm vij. smale bellis and a lynen w<sup>t</sup> a Redde crosse to hynge  
up on the dedycacon day

Kerchefes Itm a kerchieff of lawne w<sup>t</sup> taselx of white silke And iiij  
knoppes of silv<sup>r</sup> & silke

Itm a nod<sup>r</sup> kerchief of uinple w<sup>t</sup> iiij knoppis sett w<sup>t</sup> perill<sup>1</sup>

Itm ij other kercheffes of lawne w<sup>t</sup> iiij taselx either of theym

(In another hand)

Itm a valans of Blacke bokeram frynged w<sup>t</sup> Cruell wryton  
w<sup>t</sup> greate l<sup>res</sup> of Gold | desyr reste | of y<sup>e</sup> gyfte of m<sup>r</sup>  
ange<sup>l</sup> don' (*Donne* or *Dunne*) and xxiiij<sup>th</sup> small pendentz

[f. 6 b.]<sup>\*</sup>

Here Aftyr ffolowyng. been the Ornamentes. And gyfts. that was  
Gotten And gyvene to the use propyrlie. of Seynt Margarete  
Patten Church. Standyng In the towre strete end In london.  
The wiche is gotten and. labored to be hadd. for the same  
Chirche use. by maist' Tho<sup>m</sup>as howghton. than beyng parsson  
of the same Chirch And by maist' Robt Bangyll. and by maist'  
Johan Thrilkyl Grocers of london of the same parysshe. In their  
tyme off their Wardeynshipp. off the same Chirch That is is [*sic*]  
to Witte. from the fyrst day off marche. In the yere of our lord  
god. xiiij<sup>th</sup> lxxxix<sup>o</sup> unto the vij day off Marche In the yere of our  
lord god. xiiij<sup>th</sup> lxxxvj. att their gevyng upp off their Accowmpt.

In p<sup>m</sup><sup>o</sup> we labored to have A vestymnt. the hole sute  
of red tyssewe. that is to witte preest. Decon. and  
subdecone. w<sup>t</sup> a cope. for the wiche we paid flore Sm<sup>a</sup> } 1<sup>a</sup>. marc'.

Itm A White Cope of Damasseke powderd with Arch-  
angelles and the Offeraries of the same of nedyll  
werke. of a parte of the lyffe of Seynt Margarett. to  
the whiche payment of the same Cope. We had of  
the bequest of Richard Bowell and Elyzabeth his wyff  
by the handz of Sir John Plomer preest and Executor  
to p<sup>e</sup> Sm<sup>a</sup>—viij li st and we paid the ov<sup>r</sup>plus } ix<sup>li</sup>

Itm ij White Copes of white Damaske powderd w<sup>t</sup>  
flowres of silke and gold And the Offeraries of red-  
velowett the which we had geven to the Chirche flor  
the sowle off Sir John Thoode preest by the handz of  
our forsaid parsones price of theym } ix<sup>li</sup> xiiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

Itm A Sygyl Vestement had for the soule of sir John  
thoode preest of redboordalisaund<sup>r</sup> w<sup>t</sup> rosez of gold In  
the crosse of the same on the bakke p<sup>o</sup>f is (red<sup>2</sup>) } x<sup>s</sup>  
grenebordealisaund<sup>r</sup> p<sup>le</sup>ce

<sup>1</sup> These are pyx cloths.

<sup>2</sup> Erased.

- Itm A nother Syngill. Vestement had for the same  
 sowle by the handz of our said parson of red silke w<sup>t</sup>  
 white roses and the crosse on the bake perof is white  
 silv'e And is name written In the middes of the same  
 crosse p<sup>l</sup>ce } xvj<sup>s</sup>
- Itm A vestement of white Bokeram . for to serve for  
 lenton had by the handes of our said parson w<sup>t</sup> red  
 spottes and a redcrosse on the bake and J<sup>h</sup>s writt' in  
 the myddes of the same crosse price of the Same  
 vestymēt } x<sup>s</sup>
- [f. 7 a.]  
 Itm a Vestymēt w<sup>t</sup> greenbordealisawnder w<sup>t</sup> a redcrosse  
 and White Spottes of silv' and roses of gold the  
 which we had for the Soule of maist<sup>r</sup> Drope aldremen  
 price } xiiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>
- Itm A Vestymēt of the bequest of mast' John Darbye  
 Aldremen of white cheker Coloure red and grene with  
 a rede crosse on the bak and his name In the myddes  
 p<sup>o</sup>f } x<sup>s</sup>
- Itm we have of the bequeste of the forsaid Richard  
 Bowett and Elysabeth his wyff by the handz of the  
 forsaid Sir John Plom̄er executour to the same . A  
 Crosse silv' and gylt w<sup>t</sup> mari' and John weying by  
 troy Weight . lxxxvij ounces & iij quarterns
- Itm of the Gyfte of Annes Wym'ke a paxbred silv'  
 & gilt weying vj ounces di . w<sup>t</sup> blewe rosez and w<sup>t</sup>  
 the salutacion of our lady . the wich paxbred is geven  
 for the soule of Sir Thomas Aveleñ preest price } }
- Itm of the gyfte of Annes wymarke ij kuysshons of  
 tawney chekr werke w<sup>t</sup> tassellz of blew threde price  
 vjs viij<sup>d</sup> It' a Coverlett of the gyft of the same Annes  
 Wym'ke of grene tapest' werke of flowrez . to ley ou'  
 the grownd to fore the high awter. vij<sup>s</sup> } xiiij<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>
- Itm by the handes of our said mast' parson iij kuysshons  
 +<sup>1</sup> w<sup>t</sup> iij pellicanez on theym of tapest' werke p<sup>l</sup>ce vijs It'  
 + of the same mast' parson j bankur of tapest' werke w<sup>t</sup>  
 + ffloures price iiij<sup>s</sup> It' by our said parson a White  
 Coverlett of tapest' werke w<sup>t</sup> yelow fflours and grene  
 lyned with canvas p<sup>l</sup>ce ixs Sm<sup>a</sup> toī } xx<sup>s</sup>
- Itm ij newe awter Clothes ffor lenton of our said m̄  
 parson on above the awter w<sup>t</sup> the crucifixe of our lord  
 and a nod<sup>r</sup> be neyth the awter w<sup>t</sup> the Sepulcur of our  
 lord Sm<sup>a</sup> } xx<sup>s</sup>
- Itm off maist' Robt Bangyff Groc' A masse boke covered  
 w<sup>t</sup> white ledd<sup>r</sup> price } x . marc'
- Itm a lang Curteyn steyned w<sup>t</sup> Seynt Margaret i hang-  
 ying to fore her by m̄ pson } viij<sup>s</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Added in the margin.

# 322 INVENTORIES OF ST. MARGARET PATTENS, LONDON.

Itm A crosse staffe graven and gylt like goldsmyth werke w <sup>t</sup> the crown of Seint Margarette by the same Mast' parsson price	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Itm the rode aboven the Roodlofte In our Chirch with mari and John the same Crosse newe made and newe paynted and gilted by the cost of the said m̄ parson	xxxiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
It A Crosse staffe like white silv' newe paynted of the coste of Richard Kyrkby payntor	v <sup>s</sup>
[f. 7 b.] Itm iiij Stavys paynted ffor the Canapye w <sup>t</sup> corp <sup>o</sup> x <sup>p</sup> i uppon theym And w <sup>t</sup> iiij angellz gilt to stand uppon theym by our said maist' parson price xx <sup>s</sup> Itm a crosse and a Crosse staffe to serve for lentton payntid green withoute ymages w <sup>t</sup> iiij white silv' nailis by the gyft of our said mast' parson price iiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> Sm <sup>a</sup>	xxiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Itm the fflownte in our Chirch newe ledid and newe gilt and w <sup>t</sup> all p <sup>t</sup> langes p'to by m̄ parson	xx <sup>s</sup>
Itm a nod <sup>r</sup> crosse for the Sepulcur havynge relikes therin by our said m̄ parson	iiij <sup>s</sup>
Itm an awter cloth oñ aboven the awter and a nother beneyth white steyned w <sup>t</sup> gold braunches w <sup>t</sup> a rynnynge vyne thorowe w <sup>t</sup> a Crucifixe above and w <sup>t</sup> Seynt John the Baptist beneith by our said Mast' parson price	xxiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Itm a frontel of white damaske doble w <sup>t</sup> rosis of gold and ymages of Seint margarett made In nedill werke Sm <sup>a</sup> xxj <sup>s</sup> It' a ffoote for our best crosse gilt by mast' parson xx <sup>s</sup>	xxij <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Itm a nother fote for the Silver crosse made by the coste of Richard Kyrkby payntor	xij <sup>d</sup>
Itm a boke callid an ymner notid thorow. and an olde manewell and ij berjall bokes oñ of theym noted w <sup>t</sup> drige price of theym had by mast' parsone	viiij <sup>s</sup>
Itm a braunche the wich standes to fore Seynt Margarett of the Gyfte of Elsabeth wym'ke	xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Itm we labered to be had in the same tyme . viij Corporaxis casis with Corporaxis p'in oñ of theym blew tissewe Itm a nod <sup>r</sup> of theym white damaske w <sup>t</sup> ij archangellz It' a nother redvelowette with a fflourdeluyse <sup>1</sup> It' the v <sup>th</sup> w <sup>t</sup> the grounde red and a white flour of Silv' bordered rounde aboute w <sup>t</sup> yelow and blewe It' the vj <sup>th</sup> w <sup>t</sup> redsilke and byrdes of white silke It' the vij <sup>th</sup> w <sup>t</sup> blake silke and redrosez It' the viij with the ground redsilke And a redcrosse of gold In the myddes w <sup>t</sup> oylett holis of silv' had by mast' peon price of the same xxvj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> . Sm <sup>a</sup> to <sup>l</sup> of theym	

<sup>1</sup> The fourth is not given.

Itm an awter Clothe of diapir of the gyfte of Annes  
 Wym'ke the werke therof is flourelusis and crownez  
 w<sup>t</sup> v redcrossis theron and J<sup>h</sup>s in p<sup>e</sup> middes It' a  
 noder diapir Cloth off fyne diapir had for the soule of  
 Sir John Dowton w<sup>t</sup> ij crossis in the myddes and J<sup>h</sup>s  
 + h<sup>e</sup> In the myddes of theym w<sup>t</sup> a crowne of grene sylke +  
 defic<sup>t</sup> Itm a nod<sup>r</sup> awter cloth crossdiamowndes w<sup>t</sup> v  
 crossis In hitt of the gyft of mast' Thirilkild and  
 his wyff It an nod<sup>r</sup> awter cloth of diapir w<sup>t</sup> J<sup>h</sup>c  
 crowned in the myddes w<sup>t</sup> a lett'. a. und<sup>r</sup>neith of the  
 gyft of annes hatt It' an nod<sup>r</sup> awter cloth of byrdes  
 eyon werke w<sup>t</sup> a crosse In the myddes and writt'  
 und<sup>r</sup>neith of the gyft of Bowenpersons wyff basket-  
 maker Itm a grene silk cloth for to serve for the  
 pulpitt and to ley uppon dedcorsis. of the parish w<sup>t</sup>  
 serpentis p'in of mastres bangillz gyft

Itm iiij newe paxbreds ij of the Resurreccion of our  
 lord and the top' ij of Seynt Margaret.

Itm ij lectron Clothes steyned of the gyft of mast'  
 parson price of theym

Itm the cloth for the rood In lenton steyned by the said  
 maist' parson price

[i 8 a.]

Itm xvj bolles of latton langyng ffor the rood lofte small  
 and grete p<sup>e</sup> which cost

Itm a Tabernacle w<sup>t</sup> the Creuite and w<sup>t</sup> a hovell aboue  
 hitt In the quere on the Sowth side at the high awter  
 had by the same Maist' pson p<sup>l</sup>ce

Itm had off my lady Edward iiij banners ffor the tyme  
 of Est' of silke and betyn w<sup>t</sup> gold and silver w<sup>t</sup> mast'  
 Edwardes armes In theym and the armez of london

Itm We had of the bequest of the forsaid Richard Bowell  
 and of Elysabeth his wyff the which she her self by her  
 lyff delyv'd unto our for said mast' pson ffor to pay  
 for sylgng of the yle. and the South side of our Chirch  
 thorow

And our said Maist' parson pd more paid more on his  
 purs above that

With many other necessities done, and Ocupied to the  
 behoofe of the forsaid Chirch Seynt Margaret Patten  
 the which he will natt have rehersed nor knownen

Itm a Vestement off grenebordealisawnd<sup>r</sup> w<sup>t</sup> a crosse In  
 the bakke theron off blewe chekyrwerke off the gyfte  
 of Mast' John Thrilkyld and his wyff. price

(Added in a different hand)

Item a Cope of Whyte damaske fflowryd w<sup>t</sup> fflowre de  
 lyce brodyrd w<sup>t</sup> gold off | ve<sup>n</sup>yse<sup>1</sup> off p<sup>e</sup> gyfte off  
 mast' harry Wayte m<sup>c</sup>' & merchand off p<sup>e</sup> stapull  
 and dekynd & subdekynd longynge to y<sup>e</sup> same.

<sup>1</sup> Gold of Venice.



It' we have all so ij masers on by p<sup>e</sup> gyfte of my lady  
adyrley and anop<sup>r</sup> By p<sup>e</sup> gyfte off Wylyyam Þorneton  
hyr s'vand }

It' a dyapur clop<sup>e</sup> ffor p<sup>e</sup> hye Awter off p<sup>e</sup> gyfte off  
modyr staynysmore owre tenant The lengp<sup>e</sup> p<sup>e</sup>off  
iiij yardes }

It' a Covyr ffor p<sup>e</sup> sakyment | or ffor p<sup>e</sup> best Crosse off  
changeabuff sylke by p<sup>e</sup> gyfte off Richard pownd }

It xl<sup>e</sup> off money By p<sup>e</sup> beqwest off Wylyyam Johnson  
basketmaker Apon Hose sowle J<sup>h</sup>c have mercy gyvyn  
p<sup>e</sup> x<sup>th</sup> yere off p<sup>e</sup> regne off Kyng harry The vii<sup>th</sup>  
That tyme beyng Wardens off p<sup>e</sup> seyde seynt marger  
paresche John Wryght & John Jeffrey }

It a masse bocke by p<sup>e</sup> gyfte . off mast<sup>r</sup> adyrley lymyd  
w gold }

[f. 8 b.]

(In another hand)

Itm an Autter Cloth at the gyffit of the wyffe of Ric'  
pound of dyapp to the honor of god & Seynt margitt  
the yer<sup>r</sup> of o<sup>r</sup> Sovereyn lorde Kyng henry the vii<sup>th</sup>  
xiiij<sup>th</sup> }

Itm by the bequeste be of margit wyolett wyddow to the  
hono<sup>r</sup> of god & Seynt margit a torche on whos Sovle  
J<sup>h</sup>u have m'cy }

Itm we have a Canstyk of latten at the gyfte of margit  
harpph<sup>m</sup> the yerre & tyme affo<sup>r</sup>seid }

Itm a torche at the bequeste of mastres pynde to the  
honor of god & Seynt margit on whos Sowle J<sup>h</sup>u  
have m'cy }

Itm we have an avtter Clothe of dyapp to the Avtter  
Affore mastres Stavntton,<sup>1</sup> the wychemastres Stavntton  
gaf it to the honor of god and seynt margaret the xv<sup>th</sup>  
yerre of Kyng h the vij<sup>th</sup> }

Itm we have iiij torches at the gyft of mastres bretien  
ffo<sup>r</sup> the Sovle of mavde her dowghter the whiche  
mavde decesid the laste day of App'ile A<sup>o</sup> h vij<sup>o</sup> xv<sup>o</sup>  
on whos sowle J<sup>h</sup>u have m'cy }

Itm we have a Savtter of olde hand written Cyv'id w<sup>t</sup>  
whit leddyr the Saltter Sy<sup>r</sup> John Skelton gave it to  
the honor of godd & Seynt margit the yerre and tyme  
to ffore seid that tyme beyng Chyrche warddens John  
Smyth & hywg madderson of p<sup>e</sup> same Chyrch }

(In another hand.)

Itm A Suete of Blake veluett. p<sup>a</sup>. is to wytt . vestment .  
Decon . and subdeacon . w<sup>t</sup> a Cope of the same w<sup>t</sup>  
orfrays of nedle warke w<sup>t</sup> the appostolles & pphetes of  
the Gyfte of Rob<sup>t</sup> may John Wylson and John<sup>a</sup> p<sup>r</sup>  
wyffe on whos ssowles J<sup>h</sup>u have M'cy . the p<sup>c</sup>' }

xxij<sup>ll</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There must be some error here.

Itm j Suet of whyte damaske w<sup>t</sup> Orfrays of Redde veluett . w<sup>t</sup> flowres of nedle warke p<sup>t</sup> is to wytt . vestment . deacon . & Subdeacon . of the Gyfte of mast<sup>r</sup> henry wayte

Itm a Cote for Sent margarett of white damaske . werged w<sup>t</sup> blake veluett & lyned with gren bokeram . w<sup>t</sup> an owch of Sylv<sup>r</sup> Gylt & enameled & a ston cowched in sylv<sup>r</sup>

Itm a Cote for our lady of white damaske braunched w<sup>t</sup> Roses | an op<sup>r</sup> of cloth of Gold

Itm a pait of veluett Rowed white . Redd . and blew

Itm a cloth of white sylke for p<sup>r</sup> Canopye w<sup>t</sup> taselles of Redde sylke

Itm ij clothes of Redd sylke for p<sup>r</sup> pyxte on w<sup>t</sup> balles of gold

[f. 9 a.]

Itm ij Sudarys of Redd sybt<sup>1</sup> p<sup>r</sup> on ys frynged w<sup>t</sup> blake

Itm ij . lytyll botels of Glasse w<sup>t</sup> Jhc xpc wryton on p<sup>em</sup>

Itm iiij tacelles of Sylke sette w<sup>t</sup> perle & pyseled Gold } for p<sup>r</sup> canope

Itm iiij tacelles of Redde sylke for the Canape

Itm a thyng to ber<sup>t</sup> holy candle in | on Candlemasse day for p<sup>r</sup> p<sup>r</sup>ste

Itm a prykett Candell stycke

(In another hand, the same that made the first additions to this list)

It<sup>r</sup> we have a shyppe ffor to put yn ffranke ensens off sylv<sup>r</sup> psell gylt w<sup>t</sup> a sponne off sylv<sup>r</sup> p<sup>r</sup>yn by p<sup>r</sup> gyfte off John Wyllson & robard maye & jone p<sup>r</sup> wyffe p<sup>r</sup> xx yere off p<sup>r</sup> regne off Kyngge herry p<sup>r</sup> vij<sup>th</sup> Chyrche Wardens p<sup>t</sup> tyme beyng John Jefferey and Wyll<sup>m</sup> bothom

It<sup>r</sup> we have a awt<sup>r</sup> clop<sup>r</sup> off p<sup>r</sup> gyfte off Jone maye & a towell off dyap

[f. 9 b. Blank.]

(On another page, but in the same hand as the inventory)

[f. 10 a.]

Itm a myto<sup>r</sup> for seynt Nycholas of white sylte w<sup>t</sup> sterrys & p<sup>r</sup>cyouse stones<sup>2</sup>

Itm a Crosse staffe Gylte w<sup>t</sup> a napkyn p<sup>r</sup>for.

[ff. 10 b, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. Blank.]

[f. 16 a.]

This is the Inventory of all the goodes Juellx and Ornamentis belongyng unto the Chirche of Seint Margaret Pateyns in London made the xxiiij<sup>th</sup> [sic] day of the Moneth of January The yere of oure Lorde god M<sup>l</sup>. V<sup>c</sup> XI And in the iiij<sup>de</sup> yere of the reigne of Kyng Henry the viij<sup>th</sup> that tyme beyng pson Maister Rowland Philipp And wardeyns of the same John Sampson Salter and John Momforde . otherwise called John Smythe Plaisterer Citezeris . of London

<sup>1</sup> Sic, for "sylke."

<sup>2</sup> This entry is erased.

(The following entry and the weights appended to the items below, are interpolated in a different hand)

M<sup>d</sup> Here folowith a new content of weight of all the pcelles underwretyn trulye the 6<sup>th</sup> day of Aprell 1526 . in the p'sens of p son John Champneys John Sampson John Smyth John Geoffrey Richard brown John Cary Robert Millis Henry Clerk & George Spragyn

Juelx ffirst a Crosse of silv'e and gilt with a Crucifix and mary and John in the same of the gifte of Richard Bowell and Elizabeth his wiff weying lxxxvij unces iij q<sup>r</sup>terons  
lxxxxix onz q<sup>r</sup>

Itm a Crosse of sylver w<sup>t</sup> a Crucifixe in the same pcell gylte weying lv unces di lvij onz q<sup>r</sup> di

Itm the best chaleys of Sylver and gylte w<sup>t</sup> a crucifixe and mary and John enameled in the same And in the fote of it iij half mones . otherwise called Knappes. And in the pateyn of the same the holy lambe . enameled w<sup>t</sup> a Chaleys graven under the same<sup>1</sup> weying xvij unces  
xvii onz & q<sup>r</sup> d

Itm a Chalyce of sylver and gilte and a hande graved in the pateyn of the same weying xij unces iij q<sup>r</sup>terons di  
xij onz

Itm a Chaleys of sylver and pcell gylt and a Patene wretyn in the fote of the gifte of the Brethern of Seynt Margaret Patentes weying xxv unces di q<sup>r</sup>tez xxv onz di q<sup>r</sup>

Golde<sup>2</sup> Itm a Chaleys of sylver and pcell gilt and a small vernakytt gravyn in the Patene of the same weying xiiij unces j q<sup>r</sup>t' di

<sup>3</sup>A Chalis M<sup>d</sup> this Chalis was solde 4 yers past by the assent of the pissh and a nother Chalis broken w<sup>t</sup> a patent weied now . & dd to henry Clerk for to amend poiz | xj onz iij q<sup>r</sup> di

Itm a Monsteez with a fote of sylver and gylte of the gifte of Sir John Dunton preist weying lvj unces j q<sup>r</sup>t'  
lb j onz q<sup>r</sup>

Itm a Pixe of sylver pcell gylte and the Trynite gylted in the toppe of the same w<sup>t</sup> saynt Margaret in the fote of the same weying xxvij unces iij q<sup>r</sup>t' di xxix onz q<sup>r</sup>

[f. 16 b.]

Item a paire of Candelstyckes of Sylver and pcell gylte weyin8 xxxiiij unces xxxij onz iij q<sup>r</sup>

Itm twoo Basons of Sylver and pcell gylte with Rooses in the myddes of the same weying xxiiij unces i q<sup>r</sup>teron  
xxiiij onz q<sup>r</sup>

Itm twoo Sensours of Sylver pcell gilte weying liiij unces lxxxij onz iii q<sup>r</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A very unusual device.

<sup>2</sup> Interpolated when the plate was re-

weighed.

<sup>3</sup> The whole of this entry is interpolated.

Itm a Shippe of sylver pcell gilte w<sup>t</sup> a lambe gilte and a  
sponne concernyng to the same of the gifte of Robert Maye  
John Wylson and Joha<sup>n</sup> their wiff weying xv unces j q<sup>rt</sup>'  
xv oñz q<sup>r</sup>

Itm a paxe of Sylver and pcell gylte w<sup>t</sup> blew Rosez and w<sup>t</sup>  
the Salutacion of oure Lady in it of the gift of Agnes  
Wym'ke for the soule of Sir Thomas Avelen Preist weying  
vj unces di vj oñz di

M<sup>d</sup> Itm a Crismatory of sylver pcell gilt weying xiiij unces. j  
q<sup>rt</sup>'

Itm a pixe of Ivery for the Sacrament of the alter to be putt  
yn and bounden aboute With sylver . weying iiij unces  
iiij q<sup>rt</sup>' iiij onz iiij q<sup>r</sup>

Itm a Relyke of sylver and ou' gylt sett w<sup>t</sup> stones [and a pece  
of the Holy Crosse<sup>2</sup>] in the same weying ij unces  
j oñz iiij q<sup>r</sup>

Itm a Case of sylver and gylte and saynte Kateryn of sylver  
and gylt closed within the same weying iiij q<sup>r</sup>terons of j  
unce iiij q<sup>r</sup> of a oñz

Itm an Oche of Sylver and gylt w<sup>t</sup> a garter enameled in the  
myddes of the same weying di unce di q<sup>rt</sup>'  
di oñz jd q<sup>r</sup> weight

Itm twoo Masoures w<sup>t</sup> bondes of sylver and gylte w<sup>t</sup> booses  
in the myddes of the same one of theym of the gifte of  
Maistres Thorneton with Ihuc in the same Booso and in  
the bonde of the same wretyn Domine salvū me fac  
weying ix unces di q<sup>rt</sup>'

And the other Masoure is w<sup>t</sup> a Boose gylted in y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>t</sup>oute  
amell' and on the bonde on the oute syde of the same  
wretyn Of goddes hande blissed he be . That taketh this  
Cuppe and drynketh to me . And on the Inne side of the  
same bonde is wretyn . God that suteth in Trynnye . sende  
us peax'e and vnyte . Weyng xij unc' j q<sup>rt</sup>' di  
bothe together poiz xxj oñz q<sup>r</sup>

(Added, in the same hand as the inventory.)

Itm a Rechester of sylver<sup>3</sup> .

<sup>4</sup>Itm a p of Cruettes of Silver pcell gilt weying xij oñz di

[f. 17 a.]

Copes. Itm a Cope of Redde Tyssew

Itm a Cope of white damaske w<sup>t</sup> arkeangelles the Orferas of  
the same of nedylt Warke with parte of the life of Saynt  
Margaret of the gifte of Richard Bowell and Elizabeth  
his wiff

Itm twoo white Copes of white damaske powdered with  
fflowres of sylke and gold and the Orferas of the samu  
Redde veluett of the gifte of Sir John Thoodo Preist

<sup>1</sup> Added.

<sup>2</sup> These words erased.

<sup>3</sup> Was this a book marker ?

<sup>4</sup> This line added when the plate was reweighed.

Itm a Cope of White Bawdekyn w<sup>t</sup> Byrdes  
 Itm a Cope of grene Bawdekyn with branches and Birdes  
 Itm a nother Cope of grene and black Bawdekyn  
 Itm a Cope of black veluett the Orferas of the same of nedyll  
 worke With the Apostelles and pphetys of the gifte of  
 Robert Maye John Wylson and Joha<sup>n</sup> their Wiff  
 Itm a Cope of Redde veluett the Orferas.  
 Itm twoo grene Copes of olde Bawdekyn  
 Itm an olde Cope of Cheker Workes  
 Itm iij Copes for Childerne

[f. 17 b.]

Vestymentes In p<sup>i</sup>mis a Sute of Redde tyssewe for preist Deacon and  
 Subdeacon the Orferas of the same grene tyssew  
 Itm a Sute for Preist Deacon and Subdeacon of White  
 damaske the Orferas of the same of Redde veluett w<sup>t</sup>  
 fflowres of nedyll warke of the gifte of Maister henry  
 Wayte  
<sup>1</sup>Itm a Suet of Black veluett for preist Deacon and Sub-  
 deacon the Orferas of the same browdered with Imagez of  
 the gifte of Robert Maye John Wylson and Joha<sup>n</sup> their  
 wiff<sup>2</sup>  
 Itm a Suet of whyte Bawdekyn for Preist Deacon and Sub-  
 deacon the Orferas of the same redde sylke browdered with  
 fflowres and grene leefes  
 Itm a Suet of Redde veluett olde for Preist Deacon and  
 Subdeacon the Orferas of the same of nedyll worke  
 Itm a vestymet of Redde veluett the Orferas of the same  
 blewe browdered with sterres  
 Itm a vestymet of White sylke the Orferas of the same  
 blewe browdered with sterres  
 Itm a olde vestymet of White sylke the Orferas blewe  
 browdered with Crownes

The next five folios are lost; but there is a loose one left which *may* be 23.

[f. a.] Item a Banner cloth of olde sylk w<sup>t</sup> armes of hertes heddes  
 Itm twoo steyned Banners of Clothe of one of the vernacle  
 and a nother of oure lady w<sup>t</sup> sonne beames in the same  
 Itm twoo Banner Clothes of the passhion steyned for lent  
 Itm a vayle for lent to hange before the high awter  
 Itm a Crosse cloth for lent to hange before the Roode  
 Itm a Clothe for lent to hange before the Srevyng pewe<sup>3</sup>  
 Itm viij olde clothez to cov'e sayntes w<sup>t</sup>all in lent  
 Itm iij small Banners of lenyn clothe paynted s'vyng to hang  
 aboute the pascall at Ester

<sup>1</sup> Inserted in the margin "Here laka a deken."

<sup>2</sup> See note *ante*, as to whether the woman had two husbands living.

<sup>3</sup> The confessional.

Stremers In p<sup>is</sup> iij strem's of sylk of the gifte of M Angell Dunne  
and wherof one of the stapull armes of Calice a noder of the  
standerdes Grocers armes the iij<sup>de</sup> of the armes of london and the  
iij<sup>th</sup> w<sup>t</sup> an unycorne made in sylv'e w<sup>t</sup> Crosses of gold in  
the same

Itm iij other strem's of sylk wherof one of theym is w<sup>t</sup> black  
Choughes a nother strem' of black sylk w<sup>t</sup> fres of gold  
wretyn Knowe thy self a nother of the Grocers armes and  
the iij<sup>th</sup> of the armes of london [Itm ij of the stremers  
Be cloth]<sup>1</sup>

Itm a strem'e of blewe Bokerham w<sup>t</sup> barres of gold and  
sylver in the same

Itm a stander of sylk w<sup>t</sup> a Rampion lyon in the same

Itm a strem' of Canvas w<sup>t</sup> blewe trayfulles in it

Itm a stander of sylk w<sup>t</sup> iij splayed Egels of golde twoo  
black lyon heddres and iij Crosses of sylver in the same

[f. b.] Itm a Canapie s'vyng for Corpus xpi day to bere in the  
pcession ou' the Sacrament w<sup>t</sup> iij stavys and angelles  
concernyng to the same

Itm twoo Angelles for the Sepulcre.

Itm iij Castelles s'vyng for iij torche staves on Corpus xpi  
day

Cotes Itm ij Cotes of damaske for saynt Margaret one of theym of  
s'vyng for white damaske bordered with blew veluett

Seynt Itm a noder of black damaske bordered above w<sup>t</sup> Clothe of  
golde frenged beneth with sylk and a Shelde of the salters  
armes in it of the gifte of John Sampson

Itm a longe Kerchieff of Syppers frenged w<sup>t</sup> sylk at bothe  
endes for seynt Margaret of the gifte of Johan Sampson

Itm twoo Cotes for oure lady one of tawny clothe of golde  
and a noder of white damaske browdered w<sup>t</sup> fflowres

Peawter Itm a peire of Candelstyckes of peauter

Itm iij payres of Crewettes of peauter

[f. 24 a.]

M<sup>d</sup> that the xxviii day of Jenefer the x yere of our soverayne lord  
kyng henry the eight restes in sterlyng money in the lytell  
howche lvjii where of M<sup>r</sup> John Smyth paynter hathe on key &  
M<sup>r</sup> John Jeffrey tyler hath a nother key

M<sup>d</sup> that maist<sup>r</sup> mōmōrs and maist<sup>r</sup> Sampson hath recevyd for the  
churche parte a Image of silver licke a woomā w<sup>t</sup> chylde and a  
nother Image licke a gētyll woomā . and a plate of Selver w<sup>t</sup> the  
pycture of a gētyll woomā . and a plate of Selver of the pycture  
of a hedde of a woomā . and a harte of Selver gylte . all the  
same weyth xij unces the whych ys all dyue to sant margaretes  
churche Itē recevyd of havferey mōmōrs the xij day of decemb  
an<sup>o</sup> 1521 | for the reste of my parte in fulte payment iij<sup>a</sup> ster<sup>r</sup>  
Rowland Inkyss.

<sup>1</sup> Added.

### 330 INVENTORIES OF ST. MARGARET PATTENS, LONDON.

M<sup>a</sup> that the iiij day of July A<sup>o</sup> dñi . 1536 . A<sup>o</sup> . 28 . H . 8 . in the  
p'sence of m<sup>r</sup> John Grene parson of seint Margaretes paten M<sup>r</sup>  
Will<sup>m</sup> Gybson Cherche wardens Rob<sup>t</sup> Mylles Willi<sup>m</sup> Rewe Jem<sup>o</sup>  
Elys [& . I . John Sampson<sup>1</sup>] Rauf Dyer . & George Spragye

I John Sampson hathe takyn to kepe thees pselles ffolowyng

[In prym<sup>o</sup> a pyxe gylt of the gyfte of Syr . Joh<sup>n</sup> donton preste]

[Also twoo crewettes parsell gylt]

[Also a boxe of sylver & gylte & seint Kateryn w<sup>t</sup> in y<sup>t</sup>.]<sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Thes parsells abovfe wreten the xxvij day of Jully An<sup>o</sup> 1536 | be  
delyv'd to John Hawkyngs to kepe beyng church warden w<sup>t</sup> wyllym  
gybson

delyv'd to M<sup>r</sup> Gybson beyng chercwarden the twoo grete masers  
for to sell

Also a boxe of sylv' and gylt that p<sup>e</sup> pese of the holy crosse was in for  
to sell

Also a bokyll of sylv' & gylt for to sell

Also the same day delyv'd to Thom<sup>s</sup> Iagarde Irenmonger . beyng oure  
paryshe clerke the Chalyce & the paxe of sylv' & gylt for to kepe

[f. 24 b.]

On the 7 d of ffebrewr

an<sup>o</sup> 1548 and the 2

yer of Kenge edward the 6

Itm Recefed on tow the handes of edwar Rowe | and Robart Dosset  
cherche wardens of the pares cherche of sent margett paten the day  
and yer a for sayde

Itm ij kopes of wyt damasske

sold barth.....champnes

Itm j of cafa damasske

Itm iiij of sellke coler gren

sold Robard toket

Itm j of cheked wellfet

Itm 3 of sondre coler for boyes

Itm a weste ment for a cheylde

Itm a wyt wyt west ment of cafa .

Itm j of Red wosted

Itm j of Red damasske wet bels

Itm j of leyans on gren selke [*lyons*]

Itm x of defars and sondre colers [*divers & sundry colours*]

Itm v olde awbes

Itm vj corpos caces

Itm iiij playn cano be stafes [*canopy staves*]

Itm j autar clot of blake selke [*altar cloth*]

Itm xvij staynd clotes for sayntes

Itm iiij cross clotes of selke

Itm x paynted baner clotes

Itm iiij torche stafes

Itm ix stremers | and a crosstafe

(The remaining 12 folios are blank, except an entry on  
207b).

The last folio is 208.

<sup>1</sup> All these entries in brackets erased.

<sup>2</sup> This entry was inserted when the items above it were erased.

## ON THE DIFFERENCE OF PLAN ALLEGED TO EXIST BETWEEN CHURCHES OF AUSTIN CANONS AND THOSE OF MONKS ; AND THE FREQUENCY WITH WHICH SUCH CHURCHES WERE PAROCHIAL

By the Rev. J. F. HODGSON.

(Continued.)

I come now to an examination of the second of the five propositions before me, viz., this :—"That a church of canons has peculiarities which differ altogether from those which we find in the churches of any of the monastic orders, one of the commonest of these being that the nave has only one aisle. That a church with only one aisle was characteristic of the order." What those peculiarities, which cause a church of canons to differ so completely from one of monks may be, are—with a single exception—unfortunately not stated ; and the omission, I cannot but think, is one much to be regretted, because a knowledge of them would enable the most superficial observer to tell in every case at a glance, and without risk of failure, to which class any given conventual church before him belonged—a matter, oftentimes, as things go, of much doubt and perplexity. Of how much—even to the ablest and most skilled archæologist—a further reference to the Carlisle meeting will shew conclusively. Taking his stand before the cathedral church there, Mr. Freeman—and I know no better authority—putting himself in the place of an entire stranger bent on deciphering its history by the light of general knowledge and internal evidence only, tells us that :—"he would know at once that he was under the shadow of a great church, and it would not take him very long to find out the character of that great church. The first question he would ask was, This is something more than a parish church ; it has buildings about it. What is it ? Is it a regular, or is it a secular church ; He would soon see that it was a regular church. He would note the surrounding buildings, and above all, this fraternity or refectory, parallel with the nave, and he would know that this building, parallel with the nave of a church, must be a refectory and nothing else. Again, if he had been dropped down at Furness and Calder abbeys before he came to Carlisle, he would easily see that it was not a Cistercian church, because, apart from it being in a town, the refectory of Cistercian churches was not parallel to the nave. Then he would have to doubt a little. *He might think it was a church of Benedictines : he could not tell by the light of nature that it was a church of Austin canons.*" Now here, I think, we have perhaps, as complete and crucial a test as could be wished of the accuracy of the assertion that a church of canons has peculiarities which differ altogether from those which we find in the churches of any of the monastic orders ; for, on the one hand, Mr. Freeman, as all will



allow, is among the keenest of observers; and on the other, Carlisle cathedral church is, in an exceptionally full sense, one of canons; for not only was it built in the first instance for canons secular, but—as regards all its more important features—rebuilt afterwards by and for, canons regular. Here then, if anywhere, we should expect to find some at least of those peculiarities which mark off so distinctly the churches of canons, and draw such sharp lines of separation between them and those of monks. But they are not forthcoming. The church, Mr. Freeman tells us distinctly, might, for anything he could see to the contrary, be one of Benedictines. There was nothing to distinguish it from a Benedictine church; nothing in the building itself to shew to what order it belonged: absolutely nothing to so much as suggest that it was one of Austin canons. I will only say—"This witness is true." But Mr. Freeman pushed his enquiries beyond these limits. Still "occupying the place of the (locally) unlearned," he said:—"A further question he would ask was, Is this simply a conventual church, or is it something more—is it the church of a bishop? . . . As to the history of the building, the inquirer would see that we had here a Norman minster of moderate size, of which there are still fragments in the two transepts and what remained of the nave. He would also see that the nave must formerly have been much longer, but he would need local information as to the circumstances in which it came to be shortened. Then he would guess that this nave had been the parish church, as was so common a custom with the Austin canons, though this feature would at once distinguish this church from any of the old-standing cathedral churches in England proper, except Lincoln." To the enquirer's question whether the church were that of a bishop or not, we all, of course—though the building itself be mute—know the answer, and it is one which by natural transition brings us to the consideration of the most important section of all the churches of canons, viz., those which were cathedral; whether conventual, as in this solitary instance of Carlisle, or secular, as in all the rest. But, before touching on this branch of the subject, and while the case of Carlisle is still before us, it may be well to point out, perhaps, that it was by no means so singular among churches of cathedral dignity in having a parochial nave, as Mr. Freeman for the moment imagined.

I say for the moment, because his paper on "The case of the collegiate church of Arundel" shews that he is aware of the existence of at least one other instance besides that of Lincoln above referred to; and, as I have little or no doubt, of yet another and incomparably more important one still. I refer to the Benedictine cathedral church of Rochester, and the metropolitan secular canons' church of old S. Paul's—the grandest, in some respects, in all England. At Rochester, the nave, or a considerable part of it, was for a very long time indeed, from the building of the cathedral, in fact, down to 1423, a parish church, when, by a similar process to that adopted at Lincoln, viz., the building of a separate church for them outside by the monks, the parishioners were finally got rid of. The case of old S. Paul's (where the parishioners retained undisturbed possession to the last) was doubly curious, for not only was the crypt of the presbytery parochial, but the parish church of S. Gregory was attached to the western part of the nave southwards (much as S. Andrew's was to that of the great Benedictine abbey church of S. Alban's northwards), a combination which gave rise to the remark of old Fuller,

"Well might S. Paul's be called a *mother church*, for she carried one child in her arms and another in her womb!" Thus, as regards their parochial character, it will be seen that it is no more possible to draw a line of distinction between the churches of monks and canons which were of cathedral, than between those which were of abbatial, or lower rank. The circumstance, in every case, will be found to have been purely accidental: as purely accidental indeed, as that of the church affected by it being one of canons or of monks. Let us, for instance, take the case of Lincoln. When in 1173, the see was removed thither from Dorchester by Remigius, and a new cathedral church had to be built, it was found that part of the supremely "eligible building site"—then of very limited area—was already occupied by a parish church. Three courses, as usual, were open to the bishop and his chapter—as it happened, one of secular canons. First: either the site, which nature and necessity alike dictated must be abandoned; or, secondly: the church, instead of being as they would have it, "exceeding magnifical," must be so "cribbed, cabined and confined," as to be unworthy alike its "sovrain hill," and the vast diocese of which it was the head; or, thirdly: the less must give place to the better, and the parish church must come down. Common-sense—common, happily, to canons and monks alike—prevailed; and the parishioners, dispossessed for a season of their church, found shelter within the bosom of the "*Lady of Cathedrals*." But, can any one doubt that precisely the same thing would have happened had the chapter—as might so easily have been the case—consisted of Benedictines instead of seculars, of a prior and convent instead of a dean and canons; or suppose for a single moment that, in such case, their work would have surpassed in richness or dignity, that which was actually accomplished? If so, I will only say that Remigius, as it happened, was a Benedictine. And if from Lincoln we betake ourselves to Rochester, and S. Paul's, we shall see that there again the attendant circumstances were as nearly alike as possible. At Rochester, indeed, they would seem to have been practically identical throughout—a parish church occupying part of the required minster site; the dislodged parishioners housed for awhile within the minster nave; and then—the arrangement, as usual, proving mutually unpleasant—finally removed to a new and independent structure erected for them elsewhere. At old S. Paul's, though no parish church interfered with the erection of any part of the Norman minster, one was nevertheless found to stand very much in the way of that eastern development which, in churches of its class, became afterwards so common. And so, in 1255, when it was determined to build the magnificent presbytery of eight bays in continuation of the newly-rebuilt choir of four, it became as necessary for the carrying out of that design to clear away the parish church of S. Faith, as it was at Rochester and Lincoln, those of S. Nicholas and S. Mary Magdalene. With respect to the parishioners, however, a local feature offered a hint which the canons were not slow to profit by. Like that of many other Norman minsters, the choir of old S. Paul's possessed a crypt; and an extension of this beneath the whole vast area of the presbytery—no less than a hundred feet in breadth, by about a hundred and seventy-five in length, and forming incomparably the grandest as well as latest structure of its class—provided at once the necessary accommodation, and effectually freed the church from their presence at the same time. Yet here again, it is manifest that the presence of the parishioners was as purely

accidental as in the preceding cases. For, had the parish church of S. Faith happened to stand only a few yards north or south of its actual site, the new work would have passed it by, and the difficulty been avoided. Standing where it did, however, right in the way, either the parishioners must be provided for in some such way as that devised, or else, the crowning glory of the church, a work, as far excelling all others of its kind, as the crypt all other crypts, must have continued unachieved. As to S. Gregory's, it would seem to have been simply in contact with, not in any way open to, the nave, as was S. Andrew's at S. Alban's ; and its parishioners, therefore, would have no footing in the nave at all. The churches were next door neighbours ; nothing more.

Failing then to find any difference, as to parochial character, between the cathedral churches of monks and canons, let us now proceed to a comparative analysis of them in respect to plan, and see whether it be possible to detect any such peculiarities as cause a church of canons to differ altogether from those of monks in that direction or not. By limiting our enquiries on the subject, in the main, to churches of this particular class, we shall not only bring under review a sufficient number of examples for the purpose, but secure the following palpable advantages :—First, that these churches being beyond comparison the most fully developed and important of their respective kinds, any peculiarities attaching to either will naturally be most pronounced and apparent in them ; second, that the whole of them are perfectly preserved ; and third, that they are all not only generally well known, but may, for purposes of comparison, be at once referred to in works so readily accessible as those of Britton, Storer, Billings, or the later and most excellent handbooks of Mr. Murray. And it will serve, I think, to make our examination the more complete and satisfactory if—with the single exception of Manchester which neither is, nor ever was, anything more than a mere glorified parish church, and essentially different in character from the rest—we include in it those churches of monks and canons which alike and quite fortuitously have been raised from abbatial, or collegiate, to cathedral rank, from the time of the general suppression to the present day. For these examples, though usually of secondary rank, will be found in all respects quite as characteristic and typical as those of larger scale and older standing ; and they possess also the advantages of being equally well preserved and well known.

Taken one with another, they number in all twenty-six, and are pretty equally divided between the two groups : twelve, viz. : those of S. Alban's, Bath, Canterbury, Chester, Durham, Ely, Gloucester, Norwich, Peterborough, Rochester, Winchester, and Worcester, having belonged to the Benedictines ; and fourteen, viz. : those of Bristol, Carlisle, Chichester, Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield, Lincoln, Oxford, old S. Paul's, Ripon, Salisbury, Southwell, Wells and York to the canons ; Bristol, Carlisle, and Oxford to the Augustinians or canons regular, the rest to the seculars.

Now, taking a broad and general survey of these churches (as most of my readers can probably do in their mind's eye), it will, I think, be sufficiently obvious how hopeless and unprofitable a task it would be for anyone to attempt to array the one class against the other, and claim a collective superiority for either. Nor, would it be much less so, perhaps, even in regard to individual churches of similar rank and dignity, seeing

that each one possesses its own peculiar excellencies, and each one too, perhaps, its own peculiar and counterbalancing defects. But happily, our enquiry does not enter on the sterile field of invidious comparison, or require judgment on matters of mere taste. What we are concerned with is, to see whether or not we can discover any such distinctive marks about these churches as may enable a person of ordinary intelligence to know at once to which class any one of them belonged; or rather, to speak more precisely—for there is a difference as well as a distinction—whether among those of the canons we can find certain, though unspecified, peculiarities, which, as it is alleged, cause them to differ *altogether* from those of the monks.

Deferring such considerations for a moment, however—and indeed before one can bring oneself to take account of them—the first thing that strikes the mind on a careful revision of these churches is the fact that, the three transcendantly grand examples, which in point of scale and architectural splendour surpass all the rest, are those of old S. Paul's, York and Lincoln—all churches of secular canons. Of these, again, we shall see that the great church of S. Paul's was enormously the largest, exceeding even that of York in area by more than twice as much as York exceeds Lincoln, and Lincoln that of Ely—by far the largest and noblest of all the Benedictine churches. Taking in every case the superficial area of the main building with its aisles proper; and excluding all such excrescences as the low, slight, and comparatively speaking, trumpery chapels which on plan and in figures give such a misleading and fictitious value to buildings like Winchester, for example; that of old S. Paul's, according to the very careful and elaborate calculations of Mr. Ferrey, will be found to amount to no less than 76,000 square feet; York, to 60,542 feet; and Lincoln, exclusive even of the great chapels attached to the western screen, to 53,264; while Ely, including the destroyed half of its western transept, covers only 46,360 feet; that is to say, some 7,000 feet less than the least of these three great canons' churches. As to the chiefest remaining Benedictine churches, they fall far behind. Thus Durham, which comes next to Ely, has an area of only 43,380 feet; Winchester—reckoning even the western part of the nave with the two Norman towers destroyed by bishop Edington on his remodelling of that part of the church in the 14th century—42,500; Canterbury, 39,110; and Peterborough, 37,330; an area, less by nearly 16,000 feet than that of Lincoln, and a good deal less than half that of old S. Paul's.

But grandeur of scale is far from being the only point that strikes one in the three great churches of the seculars. The next, and most remarkable, is that they exhibit two wholly opposite types of plan. That of old S. Paul's and York is of the utmost simplicity; that of Lincoln, of the most studious and elaborate complexity. In the one case we have a perfectly plain cross, the transverse, and two longitudinal limbs of which are, as nearly as may be, equal, and of which the circumscribing lines are unbroken by any extraneous additions whatever. In the other, not only is the cross double, but it stands, so to say, upon a base or Calvary, formed, as at Peterborough and Ely, by the great western screen and chapels to the east of it. All the great masses of the building too, are broken up and contrasted throughout by the juxtaposition of subsidiary parts; an arrangement productive of infinite play of line, of ever varying effects of light and shade,—of intricacy, wonder, mystery.

And here, what is specially to be noted and to our purpose is the fact that the same two types—seen in their utmost possible development in the above three churches of secular canons—will be found in a minor degree, and with diverse modifications, to run indifferently and without distinction, through the whole series of these cathedral churches, whether of canons or of monks. Here—whatever the origin of the church may be, it is the one type, there—the other that prevails; so that in almost every case it would be quite impossible to hazard more than a mere guess—and that an utterly vacuous one—as to which class any particular church belonged. Canterbury indeed—the only Benedictine church which at all rivals Lincoln in the multiplicity of its parts, and where the Norman system still largely dominates the choir; Norwich—which alone retains its aisled apse, and two out of the three original surrounding Norman chapels; and Gloucester—where, though the main, or central apse has been most cleverly got rid of, the circular sweep of the surrounding aisle with two of its attached chapels also still remain, are the only three which could, I think, with any shew of likelihood be assigned to the Benedictine class, and that solely on the ground of their apsidal termination and—after a fashion—radiating chapels,—features not generally found in the churches of canons as they have come down to us. But then, so far at least, as the churches of *Austin canons* are concerned, it must be observed that both Norwich and Gloucester were built at a period long anterior to the introduction of that order into England, and when—with ample means for indulging in it—a different fashion of church building was in vogue; while Canterbury, till the time of prior Conrad, A.D. 1107—was entirely without either apsidal aisles or chapels of any kind, and his “glorious choir” was built, as was its humble predecessor, that of Ernulf—in its turn, a development of the ancient Saxon one—under the influence, and by the aid of a French monk—archbishop Anselm. Not indeed, that these features were at all peculiar to the Benedictine, or any other churches of monks, either then, or afterwards. Quite the contrary. If we would see the apsidal plan in its perfection, or realize the effect of radiating chapels when carried to the utmost limits, and on the grandest scale, we must look beyond the rudimentary attempts of these English examples to the great cathedral churches of France and Spain, or to such German ones as those of Fribourg, Tournay, Antwerp, or Cologne—all churches of canons secular.

The truth is, however, that for some reason or other, now difficult, if not impossible to specify—considering that there was no such thing as any previous national style worth mentioning, and that all the great post-conquest churches were the work of the Norman invaders, or of natives working under their direction—the apsidal form, whether simple, or aisled, or with the addition of circling chapels, seems never to have taken kindly root amongst us, and was soon, and everywhere, speedily discarded. Turn where we will, and to whatever class of churches, the same result appears, whether in cathedral, or simply conventual ones—in those of canons, and in those of monks alike. If the two orders had any difference of view as to church planning in other respects, it is perfectly clear that they had none at least, in this. If, from the third quarter of the 12th century, the church were a new one, it was built square ended; if old, then as soon as opportunity occurred, the apse and its appendages were resolutely swept away. At Gloucester and Peterborough, indeed, then two great Bene-

dictine churches pure and simple, it is true that the difficulty was got over by a sort of half measure, and—curiously enough—in a diametrically opposite way. Whatever the cause—whether want of means, as was most likely, or want of inclination to displace altogether the ancient arrangement, the effect in either case was sufficiently striking. As we have already seen, in the former instance, the circular aisle and its chapels were left standing ; but the central apse was pulled down from top to bottom, and the side walls carried forward, not in a straight line—though that would have been surprising enough—but, strange to say, somewhat expanded outwardly, and in a direction contrary to the original one, so as to allow the utmost possible space for the gigantic east window. At Peterborough, some hundred years later, the choir was made square on plan by projecting the Norman aisles—which till then had stopped square as at the curve—so as to overlap the central apse, and then connecting them by means of a chapel of five bays called the “new work”—fan vaulted, and carried out at the same level. At Winchester and Canterbury too—both Benedictine cathedral churches of old standing—though the apses were destroyed, their foundations—for economical reasons—were in part made use of to the considerable disadvantage of the later choirs ; the pinching in of that of Canterbury in especial, producing first in the convergence, and then in the prolonged and parallel lines of the walls, a degree of confusion and unsightliness utterly destructive of architectural effect, and against which mere beauty of detail avails nothing. Elsewhere, however, the destruction, whether in churches of monks or canons, was complete and radical. At Durham, Chester, Ely, Worcester, Bath and S. Albans, among those of the Benedictines, and at Carlisle, York, Lichfield, Lincoln, Southwell, Exeter, Chichester, S. Paul’s, Bristol and Hereford, among those of the canons, not a trace of the apsidal plan is to be seen above ground. All thenceforward were built squarely, and with chapels attached to the transepts, or set transeptally to, or in prolongation of, the aisles, or choir ; and, as regards the two classes of churches, without any, even the least perceptible difference of system whatever.

But, as might be expected, it is in comparatively few cases that either of the two types above mentioned will be found rigidly adhered to and carried out in its integrity. The severely simple one—exhibiting throughout an unbroken cruciform outline, and in which the central choir and its aisles terminate eastwardly in the same straight line—receives, as we have already seen, its most vivid illustration in the two great canons’ churches of old S. Paul’s and York. It is found also in those of the same class at Carlisle, Ripon, Cartmel, Thornton, Howden, Guisborough, and elsewhere ; and among those of the Benedictines, at Bath and Ely. But setting aside these two last—and as may possibly be urged, exceptional—examples, how entirely fallacious the inference would be that the simple cruciform, square ended plan was at all special or peculiar to churches of canons, causing them to differ altogether from those of any of the monastic orders, may readily be seen by extending our survey somewhat outside the cathedral circle. Suppose, for illustration’s sake, we take the case of York—the best known and most striking, perhaps, of all—and compare it with the very grandest Benedictine, and other monastic churches, either in its own neighbourhood, or elsewhere. As most people are aware, there lie within a stone’s throw of it, the remains of one of the richest Benedictine abbeys in England, and with a church

such as few, if any of them, could rival—I mean S. Mary's. Built all at once, and at the very culminating period of mediæval art—1270-90—when purity of form and richness of detail went hand in hand; on the most splendid scale, and with the aid of enormous wealth, we find precisely the same plan adopted in it as in the minster—a rigidly severe cross, of nearly equal limbs, square ended, and without any parasitical attachments whatever. And if, leaving S. Mary's we proceed northwards to the earlier Benedictine church of Whitby, or southwards to that of Selby—slightly later as regards its rebuilt choir; to the great Cistercian church of Rievaulx, with its sumptuous choir, also rebuilt, and intermediate between the two; or to that of Jervaulx, earliest of all, and one of the finest and purest of its class, we shall find the same grand simplicity of plan reigning supreme in all. It is the same too at Whalley, at Netley, at Tintern, at Malvern, and New Shoreham; the proportions of the cross, indeed, fluctuating constantly, but its rigid outline never. Benedictine, Cistercian, Augustinian, Secular—whatever the denomination—the churches follow just the same plan, and are quite undistinguishable one from another.

But, the class of square ended, aisled choirs is not confined to such as are bounded by a straight eastern line alone. Sometimes the line is broken by the projection, more or less pronounced, of the central mass. At Oxford—Augustinian; at Worcester—Benedictine; at Iona—Cluniac; and at Melrose—Cistercian; the main, or central choir stands forward beyond the eastern walls of the aisles by a single bay: at Bristol—Augustinian; at Southwell and Elgin—secular; and at Rochester—Benedictine; by two. Again, where the choir is simple, and unbroken by the projection of chapels, but where the eastern termination is only partly square, we have interesting examples of parallelism in those of Peterborough (originally) and Worksop—Benedictine and Augustinian, respectively. Both are, or were—for the choir of Worksop is now destroyed—of noble size and Norman date, Peterborough consisting of four, and Worksop of six bays. In both, the aisles were square ended; but the central choir, instead of projecting squarely as in the instances above mentioned, curved forward into an apse.

And there is yet another class of simple, square ended aisled choirs, which must be noticed, and which, at first sight might seem to be peculiar to the various orders of monks, viz., that in which the aisles are not stopped short at the eastern wall-line of the choir proper, but carried across it transeptally, so as to form a procession path with a range of chapels to the east of it. Peterborough, in its present, or altered state, now offers, as we have seen, one of the best known and most remarkable instances, perhaps, of this arrangement, and Evesham—also Benedictine—another; but there, both choir and eastern chapels are all of one period—the thirteenth century—and form parts of a single and uniform design. Byland abbey—Cistercian, presents one of the earliest and finest examples of the kind to be found anywhere, perhaps; and Romsey—Benedictine, one of, if not *the* very earliest, being of pure Norman work contemporaneous with the rest of the choir. Here, however, the aisle is single, and without any structural division between the chapels, or altar spaces, and procession path, as in the other and later examples. Abbey Dore—Cistercian, like Byland, and also like it of transitional character, is a very striking example—one of the most beautiful of its class—and

happily, unlike Byland—thanks to the piety of lord Scudamore in the seventeenth century—in perfect preservation. Another illustration of this peculiar plan is also to be seen in the great abbey church of Glastonbury—Benedictine, and that twice over, for it formed part of the original plan when the church was rebuilt in the twelfth century, and was repeated when early in the fourteenth, the first choir of four bays was increased in length to six. And now, it might be thought, perhaps, that here, at any rate, if hitherto we have failed to find any of those peculiarities which cause a church of canons to differ altogether from those of monks, we have at least found one which causes those of monks—or some of them—to differ altogether from those of canons, for there is not, so far as I can recollect, a single instance of this arrangement to be found in England, either in the churches of canons regular or secular. If so, we have only to cross the border, however, to see how soon and completely the delusion vanishes. For, at Glasgow cathedral church—one of secular canons, we shall find the self-same plan carried out in the most perfect and sumptuous manner possible. In this case, moreover, the exterior effect—very different from that in the English and other examples—Dore, Ebrach, and Riddagshausen for instance, is altogether dignified, for, owing to the falling away of the ground level, and the presence of the magnificent crypt below the choir, it is built in two stories, and thus that mean, lean-to, shed-like appearance, there so painfully conspicuous, is altogether obviated. Indeed, the view of the east front of Glasgow, with this great transeptal, double-storied aisle, terminated northwards by the boldly advanced mass of the tower-like chapter-house, is one of the stateliest and most imposing of all. And there is another Scottish example too, of the same system, more famous and better known, a great deal, perhaps, than even that of Glasgow, and that is the collegiate church of Rosslyn—"chapel," as it is commonly but most erroneously styled—immortalised by Scott, and of never failing interest to the tourist class as containing the mythical "prentice pillar." Here again, the plan is carried out in the most perfect manner, and with the most prodigal luxuriance of detail. And here again too, the same happy accident of site, combined with the monumental construction—which in roofs and walls alike is of ashlar stone—lends much of the same dignity to the design as at Glasgow, the ground falling away so rapidly to the east as to leave the aisle precipitous upon the very verge. Thus, we see that even this arrangement, though apparently so promising of drawing, after all, a boundary line between the churches of canons and some, at least, of those of the monks, fails to do so as completely as all the rest;—on the contrary, indeed, contributes its witness to the fact that there is really no difference between them whatever.

But, if it does no more, it helps, at any rate, to forward our enquiry by introducing us naturally to the second of the two types of churches, viz., that in which the more elaborate system prevails; and in which the chapels, no longer confined, as there, to mere aisle compartments, assume distinct, external, architectural form, and make up more or less separate and independent features of the building.

The earliest, and perhaps one of the most interesting examples of this departure—a clear development of the system last noticed—is found in the choir of the cathedral church of Hereford—one of secular canons, con-



structed originally, with three distinct eastern apses. These were completely cleared away late in the twelfth century, when, in lieu of them, a cross aisle was built across the whole of the eastern end from side to side—thus connecting the hitherto disconnected side aisles. But this eastern aisle, be it observed, was not bounded—as in all the examples of that class heretofore noticed—by the outer lines of the choir aisles themselves, but projected a bay beyond them on either side, so as to form a veritable transept. To the east of this aisle again, were four chapels, two on each side; while in the centre, ranging with the choir, was a fifth—the splendid lady-chapel, which, with its ante-chapel, or vestibule—continuous with, and connecting the side chapels—very greatly exceeded the choir itself, both in length and richness.

The next arrangement of this sort, in point of date, as well as the most extensive of all, is found in the cathedral church of Winchester—one of Benedictines. Here again, the Norman apsidal plan having in due course been got rid of, a new work, on a somewhat different plan to that at Hereford, was set out. It has not the transeptal form found in that instance; but consists rather of a species of retro-choir of aisles only, for the choir proper, or presbytery, with its clerestory—nipped in at the last bay as at Canterbury—stops short at the line of the original apse. It is of three bays in length, and formed by the prolongation of the aisle walls eastwards to that extent. Beyond the third bay, the face of the walls on either side is slightly recessed to mark off an eastern chapel of a single bay; while the central aisle, prolonged a bay further still, forms the lady-chapel. The latter, which, like the rest, is of Early English character, but Perpendicularized, is not, however, a work of much importance; and in comparison of that of Hereford, whether as regards size or richness, utterly insignificant.

We come next to Salisbury—another church of seculars, where the system of eastern chapels, if later than at Hereford, or less extensive than at Winchester, is certainly more uniform and beautiful than in either of those churches; the whole having been built at one time, and laid down from the first as integral parts of the structure. Besides the great central transept, Salisbury—unlike them—has, it will be remembered, a second, midway in the length of the choir, of less projection than, but of the same height as the first, and with two eastern chapels on either side. Beyond these transept chapels, the lateral aisles are continued for two bays till they reach the line of the eastern gable of the choir. Eastward of that, they continue uninterruptedly, but under distinct and separate gables, two bays further; the first, or westernmost bays forming part of the procession path; the second, or eastern ones, chapels. Beyond these, centrally—of the same breadth as the choir proper, and projecting two bays further still—is the lady-chapel, divided into three aisles,—of the most marvellous and phenomenal lightness of construction, and one of the most scientific, as well as beautiful specimens of 13th century architecture extant. In no English church whatever, probably, shall we find the group of eastern chapels more charmingly designed or more dignified than in this:—a clear proof that however stately or attractive the examples of the Benedictine, and other churches of monks may be, those of the canons come in no way behind the very chiefest of them.

After Salisbury comes Chichester—also a church of secular canons.

Like Hereford and Winchester, Chichester cathedral church has had its original Norman apsidal termination removed : unlike them, however, its choir was lengthened by a couple of bays which were projected as far eastward as the limits of the circumscribing Norman aisle—thus, not only allowing a passage way for processions, but forming a square ended retro-choir proper. Of this, the lateral aisles, which are continued beyond it eastwards for a single bay under gabled roofs, and flanked—like the main gable to the rear of them—by octagonal turrets and spires, form north and south eastern chapels. The central space, as usual, is reserved for the lady-chapel—in this instance, a building of very considerable dimensions, being not less than five bays in length; the first, or westernmost, of which—ranging with the chapels and separated from them by solid walls—is entered by the great eastern arch of the retro-choir, and forms the ante-chapel. As it stands, the lady-chapel is an elongation of that erected at the same time as the retro-choir, but which, late in the 13th century, was enlarged and recast in a beautiful Geometrical style by bishop Gilbert de St. Leofard (1288-1305). In part, however, it occupies the place of the original Norman lady-chapel—the central of the three radiating ones which opened from the aisle of the apse, as in the Benedictine examples of Norwich, Gloucester, and St. Augustine's, Canterbury. And thus we see that, in its primitive, as well as later arrangements, the choir of Chichester, with its attendant groups of chapels differed nothing at all—except, it may be, in the greater dignity and importance of the lady-chapel—from the completest and most highly developed forms in use by the monks.

Next comes the case of Exeter—another example of a church of seculars. Of the plan of the original Norman cathedral church of secular canons, as constructed by William Warlewast (1107-36)—the successor of the Saxon Benedictine abbey church of St. Mary and St. Peter, in which the episcopal throne was first set up—there is no remaining evidence; the two transeptal towers which still probably occupy the same relative position as they did at first, being the only visible portions of it. On its rebuilding in the 13th and 14th centuries, however, which, as usual, was commenced towards the east, the system of chapels with ambulatory, as then in vogue among English monastic churches of the first class, was carried out in its fullest integrity. First of all was built—circa 1275—a lady-chapel of three bays, the westernmost of which opened on either hand into a lateral chapel of nearly the same width as its own, but of only a single bay in length. West of these came the procession path, opening to the choir proper by two arches pierced through its eastern wall; and then the choir itself—a magnificent structure of eight bays broken midway in its length by another pair of chapels, which form secondary, or aisle-transepts, and which, equally with those composing the eastern group, formed part of the uniform and original design. Another pair of chapels was at the same time also thrown out from the transept-towers eastwards—thus completing a group of seven. Nothing indeed—according to the contemporary English ideas—could well be more perfect or complete than the plan of this church as rebuilt by the seculars; nor would it now be possible for even the most skilful expert to affirm to what order it owed its existence—whether monks or canons, regulars or seculars.

One more instance only of this class of churches of the more complex

type need here, I think, be mentioned, viz. : that of Wells—again one of canons secular. As in other churches of early—almost transitional—date, the choir of Wells, like that of the great neighbouring Benedictine abbey of Glastonbury, was on its first erection comparatively short, consisting of three bays only, with probably—as in that instance, and in the very similar one of Lichfield—a procession path and chapels to the east of it. Later on—in the 14th century—both at Wells and Glastonbury, the canons and monks alike determined to enlarge their choirs by extending them greatly eastwards; and it is not a little curious and instructive, in this connection, to note how the two communities proceeded. At Glastonbury, the Benedictines contented themselves with closely imitating the forms and details of the original late 12th century work, adopting single lancet lights for their windows, and in all respects assimilating the new work so closely to the old, that only the trained eye of an expert can detect where the one leaves off and the other begins. The old system, moreover, was reproduced with as close a regard to precedent as were the general architectural forms and details; the simple, unbroken line of procession path and chapels being repeated with the most literal exactness. At Wells, a diametrically opposite course was pursued. There, everything was carried out on the most elaborate system; with the utmost sumptuousness; and in the fullest fashion both of plan and detail. In the first place, the original choir of three bays was either wholly taken down or recast, excepting only the three pier arches on either side. To these, other three were added eastwards, which thus, at once, doubled its length exactly. But it is beyond this work that—from our present point of view—the chief interest of the design is seen—the most intricate and elaborate, as well as charming, perhaps, to be found in any English church whatever. Somewhat later in date than the corresponding work at Exeter (at any rate, the earlier part of it), this at Wells, which, to some extent, is made up of similar parts, nevertheless has those parts differently arranged, and brought into closer and more artistic combination. At Exeter, the transeptal chapels, or aisle-transepts, it will be remembered, were placed midway in the length of the choir, and so separated by a considerable space from the group of strictly eastern chapels. At Wells, on the contrary, they form part of that group, being placed in a line immediately east of the choir, to the eastern gable of which they, or rather the procession path connecting them, open by three arches, as that of Exeter does by two, and those of Hereford and Chichester by one. East of these transeptal chapels are two others, one on either side, in line with the aisles of the choir which they terminate; and east of these again, centrally, the beautiful octagonal lady-chapel; the richly vaulted roofs of which, and of the retro-choir in their midst, form certainly, with the supporting pillars, one of the most intricate and picturesque combinations conceivable, and distinguish the eastern end of Wells from that of every other English church, whether cathedral or conventual.

We come now to another and somewhat different arrangement of the eastern ends of churches of this type, and which, like all those heretofore noticed, will be found common to those of canons and monks alike. In the whole of the examples just passed in review, the central, or lady-chapel, though sometimes of greater height, as well as breadth and length, than the rest, has always been strictly subordinated to the choir of the

church—an adjunct in fact ; and, however rich or dignified, yet only a chapel—more or less detached—and nothing else. In the class to which I now come, we see another treatment. The central compartment, instead of forming an appendage to the choir, of inferior elevation, and separated from it by a retro-choir, or procession path, or both, is formed by a prolongation of the lines of the choir itself, and corresponds thereto in respect alike of height and breadth ; the aisles only being stopped. Of this plan, the earliest example, I think, is found in the Benedictine church of Rochester, where—though the south transept eventually came to be assigned to the lady-chapel—the original intention of placing it at the east end—just as in all the previous instances—seems perfectly clear and indisputable. The whole fabric, it should be observed, inclusive of the great transept eastwards, is a piece of thirteenth century rebuilding, which, as in other cases, was commenced at the eastern extremity, about 1204. It consists of a choir—plain, heavy, unattractive, and chiefly remarkable for having its aisles, like those of St. Alban's—another Benedictine church—separated from it, not by arcades as usual, but by walls of solid stone. Eastwards of it is a second, or choir transept, with two chapels on each side ; while beyond them in the centre, and extending two bays further eastwards is—what undoubtedly appears to have been originally designed for—the lady-chapel ; continuous with the choir and inter-transept, and of the same length, breadth, and height exactly as the choir itself.

Next to Rochester, but incomparably superior to it in all respects, comes the nearly contemporary example of Beverley minster—a church of secular canons. East of the great transept the ground plans of the two churches are very similar. Beyond the choir of four bays is found—just as at Rochester—an eastern transept of the same height, with two chapels on each side, and beyond these again—what I suppose must once have been—the lady-chapel ; of exactly the same breadth and height as the choir itself, but, with a projection of one bay only instead of two as in that instance. The eastern gable—one of the most strikingly beautiful compositions in the kingdom—is filled with an inserted Perpendicular window which, so far as the space admits, may fairly be said to rival that of York in majesty ; and, like it, probably served not only to adorn the choir generally, of which it formed so fitting a termination, but primarily and more immediately, the lady-chapel in which it stood. It is not a little curious, however, to know that this arrangement, at once so noble and appropriate, was not the original one ; for conclusive witness exists in the fabric itself (see York vol., p. 7), that at the very first, the church was designed to terminate in a line with the western wall of the choir transept—in other words, at the end of the choir proper—but that almost immediately—perhaps, indeed, before the work was well completed—the existing extension took place, when the site of the high altar was fixed beneath the eastern arch of the crossing, and in line with the arcades which separate it from the eastern aisle or chapels—a situation which allowed the free circulation of processions, while leaving the lady-chapel itself unincroached upon.

Two other illustrations of this plan may suffice—those of Southwell and Lichfield, both again, churches of seculars. The whole of the choir of Southwell, like that of the Benedictine church of Rochester, was an enlarged thirteenth century rebuilding of a previously existing and much

simpler Norman one, which was joined on to a remaining Norman nave ; the transepts, which at Rochester were also rebuilt, being at Southwell left as they were. The work is all of one period—advanced, but pure and rich Early English throughout, and presents consequently, the complete and well-matured conception of a single mind. On plan (see Lincoln vol., p. 214) it greatly resembles the work at Exeter, partly combined with that at Wells, but on plan only, for in elevation the character of the central compartment differs entirely. The choir, which is of seven bays, has the first or westernmost on either side, adjoining the piers of the central tower, solid, the six eastern ones being pierced with a very rich and fine arcade. Opposite the sixth bay from the west are a pair of chapels forming an aisle-transept, immediately east of which are two others, as at Wells, which terminate the choir aisles. Beyond these, in uninterrupted continuation of the choir, and of the same height and breadth with it is—what again, I suppose was no doubt originally—the lady-chapel, two bays in length, and two stories in height ; and lighted towards the east by eight lancets—four in each storey. At what precise point the high altar formerly stood, I cannot say, having no memoranda on the subject, but analogy would clearly point to one in a line either with the eastern pier of the fifth bay, i.e., immediately west of the transeptal aisle-chapels, as at Exeter ; or to one a bay further east still, leaving a procession path behind it, and west of the lady-chapel, as at Beverley.

At Lichfield, with which I will conclude this part of the subject, we have the finest and most striking illustration of all. Precisely as at Wells, during the early part of the fourteenth century, the whole of the early English choir, save only the three western pier arches on each side, was taken down and sumptuously rebuilt of twice its original length. East of the high altar, which was placed in line with the easternmost pillar of the sixth bay, was the retro-choir of two bays with its aisles, the latter terminating in chapels ; while east of these lay the beautiful lady-chapel of three bays, continuing in unbroken line the rich and splendid vaulting of the choir, and terminating gloriously in a three-sided apse—the only example of such an arrangement to be found 'in any English conventual or collegiate church whatever. Filled as its great eastern windows now are with the magnificent ancient glass from Herckenrode, the long vista of the church which they terminate so grandly—especially as seen from the north-western angle of the nave—is one of such enchanting loveliness that the eye can scarce tear itself away ; and in positive beauty is, perhaps, quite unequalled.

Although among the various fashions which distinguished the choir and choir-chapel arrangements of these churches of monks and canons, then, there is, as we have now seen, no perceptible difference whatever ; that is to say, nothing at all so peculiar to those of either class as to draw, even to the most observant eye, any sort of demarcation between them ; there yet remain for comparison other features in which some characteristic points of difference or other may quite possibly be held to exist. And first of all as to transepts, which in respect of use and position alike, claim naturally our first attention after the choirs and their chapels. The real use of transepts, it may not, perhaps, be quite unnecessary to state—especially in face of the modern professional architect, who, apparently, quite unconscious of, or indifferent to the fact, habitually builds even

village churches with such appendages, and then packs them as full of pews as they will hold—was that of chapels, aggregate or sole ; which were always, and without exception, furnished with one or more altars according to size and circumstance. Of the true transept, that is to say, one of equal height with the main building, there may be said to be four main varieties:—First, that which consists of a simple rectangular projection on either side the crossing ; secondly, that which has one or more square, or apsidal chapels of inferior height attached to it on either side the crossing eastwards ; thirdly, that which, with a frequently greater degree of projection, has a series of chapels—two, three, or even four in number in similar positions, separated from it by an arcade and assuming generally all the appearance of an aisle ; and, fourthly—the most perfect form of all, viz. :—that in which the arcade is found on the western, as well as on the eastern side, and which consequently makes the transept as a whole, as complete and symmetrical throughout, as either the nave or choir. There are also four positions in which the transept is found : First, a central one—to the east of the nave, and between it and the choir, and commonly known—where there is a second—on account of its superior size, as the great transept ; and above which—where there is one, as usually happens in cruciform churches—is placed the central tower ; secondly, an eastern one—that of the choir transept—usually in a line with the east end of the choir, and separating between it and the retro-choir, or lady-chapel, as at Salisbury and Worcester ; thirdly, an extreme western one, with a west central tower, as at Ely and Bury St. Edmund's ; or, with a screen backed by a pair of towers and lateral eastern chapels, as at Lincoln ; or, by a screen with towers on a level with it, and set beyond the line of the aisles, as at Wells ; or, by towers alone, flanking a broad (originally) aisleless nave, as at Ripon ; and fourthly, an extreme eastern one, beyond which there is no projection whatever, as at Durham and Fountains ; though this last arrangement is altogether exceptional, being confined, so far as I know, to those two churches—Benedictine and Cistercian respectively—alone. And there are, further, four ways in which these transepts are applied:—First, singly ; in a more or less central position—as usual in all cruciform churches—as at old St. Paul's and Norwich, for example ; sometimes, however, nearly at the east end—a fashion much affected by the Cistercians—as at Buildwas, Roche, &c. ; or, nearly at the west end, as in the remarkable case of Kelso ; secondly, coupled ; that is to say, a main central one in combination with an eastern, or choir transept, as at York, Beverley, &c. ; thirdly, a central, in combination with a western one, as at Ely and Peterborough ; and fourthly, a central one in combination with both an eastern and western one, as at Lincoln—the only instance, I think, in which all three are found united in the same building.

Let us now, therefore, with these data before us, see—as we have already done with respect to the choirs and their chapels—whether, either in the character, position, or combination of these several kinds of transepts, any distinction between the two classes of churches can be detected or not. And to this end, it may be well, perhaps, to keep to the order above enumerated, and begin with the simplest form of central transept—that which forms a mere rectangular projection on either side the crossing.

Most noteworthy among the examples of this most rudimentary class—

especially as occurring in so large and dignified a church—is that of Worcester—Benedictine, where the projection of the main transept is little more than half the square of the nave—indeed, just about equal to the breadth of the aisles. It is, probably, the most relatively insignificant to be found in a great conventual church anywhere; certainly, at present, in one of such rank and importance. At Rochester—also Benedictine, where, however, there was no central tower, the original transepts were of an almost equally small and undeveloped kind, though in an opposite direction, for while projecting further north and south, they were much narrower, east and west, being only of the same breadth as the aisles. At Bath—also Benedictine, we see, and that moreover in the very latest phase of sixteenth century Gothic—1500-34—a form and proportion of transept which, though intermediate between those of Worcester and Rochester, being an exact square of the aisle—in this instance of somewhat greater proportionate breadth—is quite as stunted as in either of those churches. A similar instance of a dwarfed transept existed originally too in the case of the abbey, now cathedral church of Chester—also Benedictine. The south limb was rebuilt during the fifteenth century, on an immense scale—four bays in length, and with east and west aisles—as the parish church of St. Oswald, but the north one remains of the original size—very small, as at Worcester, and of little more projection than the breadth, or square of the nave aisles. In the priory church of Scarborough—Cistercian, the transept is much better proportioned, projecting beyond the line of the aisle walls by the square of the nave itself. At Pershore abbey church—Benedictine, the same proportion is also observed; as is the case in the great Benedictine abbey church of St. Augustine, Canterbury; but even in these three last instances, the dimensions, as compared with those of the nave and choir, are very trivial and insignificant. And thus in many other cases.

Let us now turn to the churches of canons, where, as might be expected, similar examples of disproportionately small and simple transepts are plentiful enough, though possibly—as regards those of the highest class—to a less extent, and in a less degree. At Hereford—secular, for example, there seem good reasons to think that the north transept, before its magnificent rebuilding of the 13th century, was as aisleless and chapelless as that to the south, which projects by just the square of the nave beyond the line of the aisle walls; and the same may be said of the transept of Bristol—Augustinian, where the projection is somewhat less, and where, before the erection of the lady-chapel to the north, there would seem to have been no eastern chapels at all. St. John's, Chester—also secular, had apparently, transepts of much the same character as those at Bristol; while at St. Bartholomew the Great, London—Austin canons, the transept, though perfectly simple, was much larger, being considerably more than the square of the nave in projection, north and south. The extremest case of all, perhaps, among the more important class of canons' churches, is to be found at Worksop, where the transept, though of much less projection than the square of the nave, is yet much greater than that of the aisle as at Worcester—being just about half-way between the two.

We come now—for the further multiplication of examples would be useless—to the next class—that in which the transept has one or more

chapels of inferior elevation attached to its eastern sides. And here again, we shall find that the system is equally common to both classes of churches. Among those of the Benedictines, the most remarkable, probably, as regards its abnormally dwarfed dimensions is that of the great metropolitan church of Canterbury, where, notwithstanding enormous development in other directions—length, breadth, and height—the transept has only the primitive dimensions given to it by Lanfranc, projecting beyond the aisles by very little more than the breadth of the aisles themselves. So shallow are they indeed, that the two later chapels of our Lady and St. Michael which have superseded the original and smaller apsidal ones, are skewed outwards to such an extent as to project further north and south than the ends of the transept itself; and thus it happens that here, at Canterbury, what is technically the great transept, is very considerably less than even the small, or choir-transept. At Gloucester—also Benedictine, the proportion, though very nearly the same, is somewhat bolder; but still, the single small chapel on either side, occupies the entire space between the choir aisle and the transept front. Very similar to it is the transept of Tewkesbury abbey church—a building of the same class as Gloucester, and bearing a very strong resemblance to it in other respects—where one of the two original deep apsidal chapels still remains perfect. At Lindisfarne priory church—Benedictine again, there is a similar arrangement, but with, if I remember rightly, a still bolder projection of the transept. At Norwich—another Benedictine church, where the same plan is followed, the development of projection is very marked indeed, being equal, not merely to the breadth of the nave and one of its aisles, but of the massive dividing wall as well.

Turning to the canons' churches, similar examples may be found in that of Carlisle—Augustinian, where the transept, with originally a single chapel on each side, is very similar in proportion to those at Gloucester and Tewkesbury: St. David's—secular, where the transept, exactly equal in projection to the square of the nave, has the chapels not set centrally, but in a line with the outer walls: and Southwell minster—also secular, where the projection is somewhat greater, but where the two original chapels have long since been destroyed. At Exeter—secular, the transepts are formed—uniquely in England—by the two towers, which—in their lower part of Norman construction, and of exactly the same square as the nave—have each a Decorated chapel of the same date as the rest of the church, attached to their eastern sides. At Chichester—also secular, and where the work is also Norman, the transept—like that of Norwich—is of much greater projection than the square of the nave, and had originally, as in that instance, an apsidal chapel on each side, though set, not as these, centrally, but towards the extremities, as at St. David's. And so too, doubtless, with very many other examples of either class.

Of transepts with double apsidal chapels on either side the crossing, the examples are, and always were, I think, very rare. Indeed among existing English instances, I can only call to mind two such, viz:—those at Canterbury and Lincoln—Benedictine and secular respectively; and in each case it is the eastern, or choir-transept to which the chapels are attached. Both are of about the same date—1178, and 1180—but at Canterbury, both transept and chapels are alterations by William of Sens and William the Englishman, of the earlier work of Ernulf; while



at Lincoln, both form part of the original construction of St. Hugh. St. Alban's abbey church—Benedictine, had originally, however, two such chapels on either side the great transept; and so had St. Martin's priory church, Dover, which though converted eventually through the bitter hostility of the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury, into one of Benedictines, was built, or in great part built, in the first instance, by archbishop William de Corbeil, as a church of Austin canons; but the chapels of the one, and the entire church of the other are now destroyed. A peculiar, and so far as I can recollect, solitary example exists of a curious compound arrangement of chapels—square, however, and not apsidal—and that is at Glastonbury—Benedictine, where the transept in addition to its eastern aisle has also two distinct and separate chapels to east of that again. It seems just possible therefore, that here, after all, we have come across a Benedictine plan which differs altogether from anything to be found in the churches of canons, though, as I have before pointed out—that is one thing; while constantly finding features in churches of canons which cause them to differ altogether, as alleged, from those of monks—is quite another.

We come now to the class of transepts having their eastern chapels on the usual aisle system—two, three, or even four on a side, though the last number is, of course, very exceptional indeed. Among the churches whose transepts have two such eastern chapels may be reckoned those of Lichfield and Ripon—secular; Whitby—Benedictine; Egleston and Torre—Premonstratensian; Byland, Roche, Rievaulx and Jervaulx—Cistercian; and Brinkburn, Kirkham, Hexham and Bolton—Augustinian. Among those with three are Salisbury and Lincoln—secular; Peterborough and Durham—Benedictine; and Easby—Premonstratensian; and the same is, or rather was, the case, probably, with very many others of both classes.

Of churches whose transept had four chapels on each side the crossing, the only example I know of, and, most likely, the only one in England at all, was that of old St. Paul's, to which I shall have occasion to revert by-and-bye. In extent and splendour, it was certainly without a rival anywhere in other respects; and, as I am inclined to think, in this also.

As to the last, and most perfect form of transept—that which possesses western, as well as eastern aisles, the number is naturally limited, for it usually occurs only in churches of the highest class, and very rarely even in them. And it is observable that, though—like the other kinds—it is found both in those of monks and canons, the larger proportion belongs to the churches of the latter, whether regulars or seculars. Winchester and Ely are the only two Benedictine churches which possess this feature perfectly developed; and Byland, the only Cistercian one; for Westminster, though *planned* with a double aisled transept, has the west aisle of its southern limb absorbed by the cloister. As to the churches of the remaining orders of monks, not a single one, I believe, is so distinguished. Against these three monastic examples, however, we have no fewer than five to set from among the churches of canons, viz: those of old St. Paul's, York, Beverley, Oxford, and Wells, of which—beyond all comparison—that of old St. Paul's stands out pre-eminent. No Benedictine church in the world, I suppose—using the term even in its most comprehensive sense—had anything at all comparable to it. Indeed the dimensions of this great transept alone, equalled, if they did not surpass those of an entire monastic church of the first class, being no less than

three hundred feet in length, by a hundred feet in breadth, and a hundred and two feet in height to the point of the vaulting—which, unlike that of York, was of stone, not wood.

It is clear, therefore, that in every variety of transept, and transept-chapel planning—just as in every variety of choir, and choir-chapel planning—the same forms were adopted by canons and monks indifferently: and, if the Glastonbury plan happen to differ—as perhaps it may—from any to be found in a canons' church, it differs just as completely from any in the churches of the Benedictines themselves, and of other monks, elsewhere; while as to the great transept of St. Paul's, the difference is one, not of kind, but of degree.

Turn we now to a comparative view of the several positions of transepts.

That of the main, or central one, need not, of course, detain us, for it is common to all kinds of cruciform churches, everywhere. Very few, however, possess the distinguishing feature of a choir-transept, *i.e.*, one of equal height to the choir itself, and not a mere lateral projection of the aisles. But, rare as it is, it is found in both classes of churches, and nearly equally in both: though, as with the double-aisled transept, more frequently among those of the canons than of the monks. Out of a total of seven examples, three occur in Benedictine churches, *viz.*: those of Canterbury, Rochester, and Worcester; and four in those of seculars, *viz.*: York, Beverley, Lincoln, and Salisbury.

The extreme western transept—also of rare occurrence—will also be found no more a special feature than the choir transept. The earliest instance of it probably—though now much altered and enlarged—is that of Lincoln—secular; after which, perhaps, came that of Bury St. Edmund's—Benedictine; then Ely—also Benedictine; after, or partly, perhaps, contemporary with which, is that of Wells—secular; then Ripon—also secular; and last of all, Peterborough—Benedictine; but even this is of pure early English work, after which period the fashion would seem to have dropped.

The extreme eastern transept is found, as I have said, at Durham—Benedictine, and Fountains—Cistercian, only; both of which are of the same period—the 13th century—and both alterations and extensions of earlier and quite different plans; that of Durham being originally an apse—whether with a surrounding aisle or not is uncertain—and that of Fountains, the usual Cistercian one east of the crossing, which was completely swept away to make room for the long aisled choir and eastern chapel of the Nine Altars which now occupy its place. Like the transept at Glastonbury, they may, I think be regarded as altogether exceptional. “Naught but themselves can be their parallel.”

It remains now only to take account of the several combinations of these various kinds of transept as they occur in the same building.

Of the central transept in connection with an eastern, or choir transept, there are, as we have already seen, but seven examples; for in all the seven where the latter occurs, there is a central one as well; and, as we have further seen, they are common to Benedictines and seculars alike.

Of central transepts in connection with western ones, we have also noted the examples; for wherever the latter occur, it is equally also in connection with a central transept; and that plan too, as we have further seen, is common to churches both of monks and canons.

The only example of all three occurring in the same building is, as I

have before stated, to be seen at Lincoln—a church of secular canons, pre-eminent for size and splendour; and exceeding in this particular, as in most others—not excepting such as are thought to be more specially characteristic of those of monks—every Benedictine church throughout the kingdom.

And now, having disposed of the subject of transepts and their chapels, there seems only that of towers left open for investigation.

That the simple central tower alone was usually adopted in all the smaller and less important churches of both classes without distinction, may be shown conclusively by innumerable examples; and such was the case also, in some of the highest rank and dignity. Thus, among those of the seculars, it is found singly at Salisbury, St. Andrew's, St. David's, and Kirkwall cathedrals; among those of the Benedictines, at Norwich, Worcester, Sherborne, Rochester, Tewkesbury, Bath, and Gloucester; among those of the Augustinians, at Carlisle, Oxford, Jedburgh, and St. Saviour's, Southwark; and among those of the Cistercians at Byland, at Rievaulx, Jervaulx, Tintern, Kirkstall, Furness, and almost all others—Scarborough alone of their number, I think, having had two western ones in addition, and, Fountains, one—very late—at the extremity of the north transept.

The very peculiar and interesting fashion of two towers, one central, the other western, will also be found common to the churches of monks and canons, equally.

Chiefest among them is that of Ely,—Benedictine, though its great central octagon—only of wood—can, perhaps, strictly speaking, hardly be called a tower at all. Hereford—secular, formerly also possessed a western tower—a fourteenth century afterthought and addition—not square as usual, but, like that of Bath, broader than long; being contrived in a makeshift way across the western bay of the Norman nave—which was never designed to carry such a feature. Shrewsbury abbey church—Benedictine, unlike Hereford, has preserved its western, or parochial tower, while it has lost its central, or monastic one—destroyed, together with all the eastern part of the church at the suppression. At Wymondham—Benedictine, and a well-known example, both towers, one square, the other octagonal, are still fortunately standing. Christchurch-Twineham, and Bolton priory churches—Augustinian, had also, perhaps, both central and western towers; though the central one at Christchurch has disappeared, and the western one at Bolton was never completed. A singularly interesting and effective instance of this arrangement is that at Wimborne Minster—secular, where the two towers, one Norman, and the other Perpendicular—admirably proportioned to each other and to the church—are both perfectly preserved; and another also existed at Lewes—Cluniac.

But besides the above-mentioned examples, which are all symmetrically planned, there is, or rather was, a curious instance of the use of a central and a western tower at Glasgow—secular; where the western one was not in a line with the nave, but stood almost detached, at the west end of the north aisle. The history is not a little curious—and, in a *restorational* way, instructive. The tower referred to was of two dates; the lower part belonging to the thirteenth, the upper to the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. A corresponding tower at the end of the south aisle, though commenced was, it would seem, left permanently unfinished, and

in process of time was converted into a dwelling-house. This, during a fit of public "taste" was swept away as an unsightly excrescence; and then, the other tower—which *was* finished—followed suit as being *unsymmetrical!* In similarly all but detached positions, however, to that of the completed tower at Glasgow, are those of Brechin and Dunkeld, where corresponding south-western ones certainly never existed, even in commencement; but whether those churches ever had central towers or not, I cannot recollect sufficiently well to say, nor have I, at present, any plans of them to refer to. But at least two curious instances of the same arrangement seem to have obtained in England in churches where there were *certainly* central towers, viz.:—those of Leominster and Dunstable; again—curiously enough—Benedictine and Augustinian, respectively. In both cases the western towers are at the north-west extremity of the north aisle, and, unlike the Scottish examples, engaged, having their western faces level with the west fronts. The explanation of their existence would seem to be that they formed the parish steeples—for both churches were parochial as well as monastic—and have thus been preserved; while the central, or monastic steeples perished, along with those parts of the churches to which they were attached, at the Dissolution.

There remains for us now, I think, only the three-towered plan to take account of in conclusion—if indeed, in the face of so many well-known examples, it be at all necessary to show that it was followed indifferently in the chief churches of all orders, those of Cistercians, Carthusians, and Mendicants only excepted. It may be observed, however—since it is hardly possible to leave so important a section of buildings as those where it obtains entirely unnoticed—that it is found, among others, in those of the Benedictines at Canterbury, Durham, Chester, and originally, at Winchester and St. Alban's. At Peterborough, too, it would seem to have been at least designed, after a fashion, but only the central, and one of the western towers—such as they are—were ever completed. In the churches of seculars, we see it more abundantly represented at Wells, Chichester, Lincoln, Lichfield, York, Ripon, Southwell, Elgin, Aberdeen, St. John's, Chester, and originally, perhaps, at old St. Paul's. Among those of the Cluniacs, at Castle Acre. Among those of the Gilbertines, at Malton. Among those of the Tironensians, at Abberbrothoc; and among those of the Augustinians, at Bristol, originally, Guisborough, Bridlington, Worksop, St. German's, Thurgarton, and the royal abbey church of Holyrood, Edinburgh. In the churches of monks, and in those of canons, in short, it was adopted equally and without distinction.

Thus then, so far as I can tell, we have exhausted every single point in which it is possible to institute a comparison between the two classes of churches—and, as we have seen, nothing peculiar to either has been discoverable anywhere. One point of difference only, it will be remembered, has actually been specified among the many suggested, and that is that the naves of the canons' churches are either aisleless or have only a single aisle—peculiarities which, as alleged, cause them to differ altogether from those of the monks.—"The church of a house of canons has peculiarities which differ *altogether* from those which we find in the churches of any of the monastic orders. One of the commonest, and at first sight most unaccountable, of these is that the nave has only one aisle." . . . "The canons took the cruciform . . . type of

parish church . . . and glorified it by making it larger . . . but still keeping its characteristic want of aisles."

That many of the churches of the Austin canons had aisleless, or only one aisled nave is, no doubt, perfectly true; and the fact is one which I am not in the least concerned to deny. What I am concerned in denying, and what, in answer to the second of the five propositions before me I have undertaken more particularly to refute is that, this circumstance—for "peculiarity," strictly speaking, it certainly is not—causes them to differ *altogether*, as alleged, from those of any of the monastic orders. And this I now proceed to do by appending an account of no fewer than one hundred and thirteen examples of Benedictine, and other churches of monks, in which the same "peculiarities" are found. Not that even this represents the full number, far from it:—that, of course, could only be reached by the careful personal examination of an untold number of obscure ruins scattered broadcast over the country, and accompanied in many cases by digging—but only of such as I have been able to collect evidence about, either by means of books or epistolary correspondence, leaving an immense proportion positively untouched. So far as they go, however—and they go quite far enough for my purpose—these instances may be seen as follows in:—

#### BENEDICTINE, AND OTHER CHURCHES OF MONKS HAVING AISLELESS, OR ONE AISLED, NAVES ONLY.

**ABERGAVENNY ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, MONMOUTHSHIRE:** *Benedictine*.—This priory was a cell to the monastery of St. Vincent at Mans. The church consists of a choir with north and south aisles, transept, central tower, and nave with a north aisle only.

**ALDEBY PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK:** *Benedictine*.—Aldeby was one of the cells of the cathedral priory of Norwich. The church is an irregular cruciform building with a central tower. It consists of an aisleless chancel, and an attached chapel of the same length, which is prolonged as far as the west side of the tower southwards; an aisleless north transept, and a long aisleless nave with a north porch. View, plan, and historical account, published, and kindly forwarded by the vicar, the Rev. J. Gillett.

**AMESBURY ABBEY CHURCH, WILTSHIRE:** *Benedictine*.—A large, and originally, entirely aisleless cruciform church with a low central tower, the spire of which was destroyed in 1540. It consists of an aisleless chancel, transept, and nave with a late south aisle only. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xxxvii, 164-5.

**ANDWELL ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, HAMPSHIRE:** *Tironensian*.—Andwell was a cell to the abbey of Tyrone. The church is a simple aisleless parallelogram, occupying the north side of the cloister quadrangle. *Archæological Journal*, ix, 246, note.

**ARTHINGTON PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, YORKS.:** *Cluniac*.—A simple aisleless parallelogram, sixty feet long by twenty-four feet wide. "The

churche, lx ffoote long and xxiiij ffoote wyde, wherof the chauncelle xxiiij ffoote and lyke brode, w<sup>t</sup> the high alter and viij stoolys to syt upon. Item at the high alter one glasse wyndow conteynynge xl ffoote of glasse, and ij other wyndows at the southe syde conteynynge xxx ffoote of glasse, and a wyndow at the north syde conteynynge vj ffoote of glasse.

"Item the quere xxxvj ffoote longe and xxiiij ffoote brode, w<sup>t</sup> xvij olde stalles of woode for nonnes, ij wyndowes conteynynge xxiiij ffoote of glasse, and a roode lotte of tymbre.

"Item alle the churche and chauncelle seyled above w<sup>t</sup> bordes, and the walles of lyme and stone xvij ffoote depe, and a stepulle of bordes." Survey, temp. Hen. VIII. Public Record Office; copied, together with eleven other similar entries relating to Yorkshire houses, and kindly communicated by W. Brown, Esq., Arncliffe Hall, Yorks.

**ASTLEY ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, WORCESTERSHIRE:** *Benedictine*.—This priory was a cell to the abbey of St. Taurinus at Ebroix. Astley church consists of an aisleless chancel, and nave with a north aisle only. Letter of the Rev. H. W. Crocket, rector.

**AVEBURY ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, WILTSHIRE:** *Benedictine*.—Avebury was a cell to the abbey of St. George at Bochart in Normandy. Originally, this church would seem to have consisted of an aisleless Saxon nave, to which, some little time after the foundation of the priory, a Norman aisle was added towards the north. Later still, another aisle was added towards the south. The Saxon chancel which, like the nave, was aisleless, was renewed early in the sixteenth century. Letter, with sketches, of the Rev. Bryan King, vicar.

**BARDSEY ABBEY CHURCH, CARNARVONSHIRE:** *Benedictine*.—Apparently an aisleless parallelogram. Pennant says:—"Not far from the abbot's house is a singular chapel or oratory, being a long arched edifice with an insulated stone altar at the east end."

**BARROW GURNEY PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, SOMERSETSHIRE:** *Benedictine*.—This church, of which the chancel is destroyed, consists of a nave, with a single aisle to the south, which formed the conventual chapel of the adjacent nunnery, and a western tower. Letter, with sketch ground plan, of the Rev. A. Wadmore, vicar.

**BAYSDALE PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, YORKSHIRE:** *Cistercian*.—A simple aisleless parallelogram:—"The churche conteynith in length lxvj ffoote and in bredith xx ffoote, w<sup>t</sup> a low rooffe couereyd w<sup>t</sup> leade, and xiiij litle glasse wyndowes conteynynge by estymacion—ffoote of glasse, goode stalles, the high alter, ij alters in the quire, and one benethe," &c. Survey, temp. Hen. VIII., P.R.O.

**BEAULY PRIORY CHURCH, ROSHIRE:** *Cistercian*.—An entirely aisleless church, of very remarkable character and plan. Though assuming the form of a long latin cross on the exterior, it is practically, inside, a simple parallelogram, a hundred and fifty feet in length, by twenty four in breadth, without any kind of structural break whatever; the two transept-like projections being cut off by solid walls, and entered only by doorways.

Though simple, the architecture of the eastern part, which has been rebuilt, and is by far the finest part of the building, is remarkably bold, original, and good. *Spring Gardens Sketch Book*, iv, Plates 53-7.

ST. BEE'S PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, CUMBERLAND : *Benedictine*.—Originally, an aisleless cruciform church, to the nave of which north and south aisles were added at a later period. Letter of the Rev. R. H. Knowles, principal of St. Bee's college.

S. BENET AT HOLME ABBEY CHURCH, NORFOLK : *Benedictine*.—Of this large and important church—as the mitred abbot of which, the bishop of Norwich still sits in the House of Lords—the eastern parts, which were extensive and very irregular, are now almost totally destroyed. The north transept was aisleless ; and there was also a long and entirely aisleless nave. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xxxvi, 18, and plan.

BOXGROVE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, SUSSEX : *Benedictine*.—This church, which was a cell to the abbey of L'Essay, is peculiar in having above half of the north side of its nave—not the whole of it—aisleless ; the cloister, as usual, occupying the suppressed aisle space. Originally, it was in all probability, wholly aisleless on that side ; the western part where the aisle exists, as also a considerable part of the wall eastwards where it does not, being of much later character than the crossing and the parts immediately adjacent. *Chichester vol.*, where see plan, &c.

BROMHOLM PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK : *Cluniac*.—According to the plan given by Harrod (*"Castles and Convents of Norfolk"*), Bromholm abbey church consisted of a choir of three bays, with broad—and apparently, either added, or enlarged—aisles, reaching nearly but not quite to the east end, very short transepts, nearly absorbed by the choir aisles ; and a broad aisleless nave.

BUCKLAND ABBEY CHURCH, DEVONSHIRE : *Cistercian*.—Remarkable for having escaped the usual fate of monastic churches at the dissolution, by being converted into a dwelling house—in which state it continues still. "It consists of a spacious nave which has no aisles, and has never had any. A low central tower, which is still intact at the crossing—if that term may be applied here—where there is but a single transept on the south side, and no north transept. Present appearances are against the supposition that there has been a north transept, but the fact can only be determined by observation." *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xxxix, 74.

BRADWELL PRIORY CHURCH, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE : *Benedictine*.—"The chauncell conteyneth in lenght lxj fote and in brede xxiiij fote.".... "Itm a chapell adioynnyng to the chauncell ..... which conteyneth in lenght xvij fote and in brede xvj fote ..... Itm a chapell on the sowth side the chauncell uttlie dekaid ..... Itm the sowth ile of the church, cont. in lenght xxxvj fote and in brede xxiiij, and newlie buyldid w<sup>th</sup> verie slender tymber ..... Itm the north isle of the church, in lenght xxxvj fote and in brede xxiiij fote, newlie buyldid with slender tymber and cov'd with tile."

"Ss. The church conteyneth in lenght lxxij and in brede xxiiij. ....

Itm ij ilez nygh to the church dore, oon of the north side and the other of the sowth side, and either of them cont. in leng xxxviiij fote, and in brede xij fote ..... Itm the steeple is latalie buylded w<sup>t</sup> bords thereupon uncou'd," &c.—Survey, temp. Hen. VIII.

Thus, it appears that Bradwell priory church was cruciform, consisting of an aisleless chancel sixty one feet in length, by twenty four in breadth, with a small chapel on each side; aisleless transepts, or aisles, as they are called—that is, cross aisles, each thirty six feet in length, by twenty four in breadth; and a nave, seventy two feet in length, by twenty four in breadth, with north and south aisles of about half its length and each twelve feet broad. Originally, it would appear to have been a simple structure, consisting of an aisleless nave and chancel only—if, as the survey would seem to indicate, the transepts then newly built, were *throughout* “of very slender timber.” The short aisles attached to the west end of the nave, apparently, would certainly be no part of the original design. They were doubtless chapels—probably mortuary ones—and extending beyond the limits of the cloister, westwards.

**BROMFIELD PRIORY CHURCH, SHROPSHIRE:** *Benedictine*.—Bromfield was a cell to the abbey of S. Peter at Gloucester. The church, which was badly restored about 1840, consists of an aisleless chancel, and nave with north aisle only. The remains of the monastic buildings adjoin it towards the south. Letter of the Rev. W. Selwyn, vicar.

**BURWELL ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE:** *Benedictine*.—This was a cell to the abbey of S. Mary Silvæ Majoris, Bordeaux. The church is a small building with an aisleless choir; an aisleless nave; western tower, and south porch. Letter of the Rev. C. A. Allington, rector of Muckton.

**CARDIGAN PRIORY CHURCH:** *Benedictine*.—Consists of a western tower; nave (apparently aisleless); south porch, and “large chancel forty-six feet four inches long, by twenty-three feet wide,” having “a door leading to priory from south-east corner of sanctuary.” Letter of the Rev. W. C. Davies, vicar.

**CANWELL PRIORY CHURCH, STAFFORDSHIRE:** *Benedictine*.—“The church and chauncell there be under oon rofe and buylded w<sup>t</sup> godd substanciall tymber and covered w<sup>th</sup> tyle, which church and chauncell conteyn in lenght iiij<sup>xx</sup> and iiij fote, and in brede xxij fote.

“Itm there is a chapple of our Ladie on the north side the chauncell which conteyneth in lenght xlij fote and in brede xiiij, whereof pte is covered w<sup>t</sup> tyle and pte uncovered, and the tymb. thereof dekaid and roten.” Survey, temp. Hen. VIII.

Canwell priory church is thus seen to have consisted (like so many more of the same class) of an aisleless chancel, with an attached, and doubtless later, lady-chapel to the north of it; and an aisleless nave.

**CARISBROOKE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, ISLE OF WIGHT:** *Benedictine*.—Carisbrooke priory was a cell to the abbey of Lira. “The church consists of a tower, and nave of two aisles divided by an arcade: an aisleless chancel, which formed a continuation of the northern one, is now destroyed.” Letter of the Rev. E. B. James, vicar.



In other words, Carisbrooke church may be described as consisting of an aisleless chancel, and nave, with south aisle only.

CHESTER PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS : *Benedictine*.—"Pennant says, the church was twenty-two yards long and fifteen broad and supported in the middle by a row of pillars." Dug., iv, 312-13.

That is to say, there were two parallel naves as at Carisbrooke ; or, a nave proper with a single aisle, as it may please anyone to describe it. A view of the ruins is given by Buck, and a plan may be seen in Lysons' *Magna Britannia*.

CLYNNOOK VAUR ABBEY CHURCH, CARNARVONSHIRE : *Cistercian*.—A large cruciform, aisleless church, with a western tower.

CROSSRAGUEL PRIORY CHURCH, Ayrshire : *Cistercian*.—Crossraguel was a cell to the abbey of Paisley. The church is a small, but remarkably well-built structure, and consists of a simple aisleless parallelogram, terminating in a semi-octagonal apse. The sides of the latter were filled with broad and rich windows, but the whole of the tracery, which appears to have been fitted in within arches of construction, is now destroyed. For some excellent views of this church and its very bold and fine chapter-house, see Billings's *Antiquities of Scotland*, i.

COLCHESTER, S. JOHN'S ABBEY CHURCH : *Benedictine*.—According to the small plate—taken from an ancient drawing—which is given in the *Monasticon*, this was a fine church consisting of a choir with aisles ; central tower ; aisleless transept and aisleless nave ; the latter with a large chapel in the centre of the south side. Dug., iv, 606 plate.

CYMMER ABBEY CHURCH, MERIONETHSHIRE : *Cistercian*.—A simple parallelogram, one hundred and four feet in length, having a species of aisle to the north only. This, however, is entirely shut off by a solid wall from the church except towards its western end, where it opens to the nave by three arches : eastwards of these, a transverse wall cuts off all further communication, save such as is gained by a doorway. There is a western tower. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xxxiv, 464 and plan.

ST. CYRIAC AND ST. JULIET PRIORY CHURCH, CORNWALL : *Cluniac*.—This priory was a cell to that of Montacute ; and apparently—from Messrs. Lysons' account of it—a small, aisleless parallelogram.

DEEPING S. JAMES PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK : *Benedictine*.—Deeping was a cell to the abbey of Thorney. The church consists of an aisleless chancel ; and nave, with a south aisle only. Letter of the Rev. J. George, vicar.

DEERHURST ABBEY, AFTERWARDS PRIORY CHURCH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE : *Benedictine*.—This church—of Saxon foundation—consisted originally of an apsidal aisleless chancel ; transept, with an eastern chapel on each side ; an aisleless nave, and western tower. The western part of the nave has had aisles added to it during the thirteenth century. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, i, 9.

**DENNY PRIORY CHURCH, CAMBRIDGESHIRE :** First *Benedictine*, Second *Templars*, Third *Minoreesses*.—A large choir with aisles, which was rebuilt for the "Poor Clares" in the fourteenth century, in lieu of the original one—which was probably small and aisleless; a central tower, with north and south transepts; and a short nave, having a south aisle only.

**DUDLEY PRIORY CHURCH, WORCESTERSHIRE :** *Cluniac*.—Dudley priory was a cell to that of Wenlock. The church, judging from the view given in the *Monasticon*, appears to be a simple parallelogram; consisting of an aisleless nave, and a certainly aisleless choir—the latter vaulted. Dug. v, 82, and plate.

**DUNSTER PRIORY CHURCH, SOMERSETSHIRE :** *Benedictine*.—Dunster priory was a cell to the abbey of S. Peter at Bath. The church, at the time of the foundation of the priory, was clearly a simple, aisleless, cruciform building with a central tower; and so, in the main continued till about the middle of the 15th century. Then, aisles of two bays were added to the western portion of the chancel, and one of four to the eastern half of the north side of the nave; the western half, which abutted against the cloister, being still left aisleless. A second aisle, extending the whole length of the nave, was also added at the same time towards the south. Thus altered, the plan of the church will be found curiously to reproduce that of Boxgrove, the position of the aisled, and aisleless portions of the north side of the nave only being reversed. *Archæological Journal*, xxxvii, 273, and plan.

**EASEBOURNE PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, SUSSEX :** *Benedictine*.—An aisleless chancel; and nave with south aisle only:—the latter served as the chapel of the adjoining nunnery.

**ELLERTON PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, YORKS :** *Cistercian*.—Aisleless choir and nave, with a western tower. Letter of the Rev. Canon Raine, York.

**ESHOLT PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, YORKS :** *Cistercian*.—"The church or abbey conteyneth in length xxiiij yardes and in bredith vj yardes di, wherof the quere xij yardes longe w<sup>t</sup> xvij seates for nonnes, and the bodye of the church xij yardes long w<sup>t</sup> xiiij seates of stooles to sitt upon.

"Item alle the roofe w<sup>t</sup>yn is seyld w<sup>t</sup> waynscottes and w<sup>t</sup>out coueryd w<sup>t</sup> slate.

"Item a roode lofte bytwine the quere and the chauncell.

"Item stepulle of litle thack bordes coueryd w<sup>t</sup> slate and much in decay" &c. Survey, temp. Hen. VIII. P.R.O.

Esholt priory church then, was, as we see, a simple aisleless parallelogram, divided into a body, or choir; and a chancel, or sanctuary, of equal length.

**ECCLESFIELD ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS :** *Benedictine*, afterwards *Carthusian*.—A simple, small, aisleless parallelogram. Letters of the Rev. Dr. A. Gatty, vicar.

**EWENNY PRIORY CHURCH, GLAMORGANSHIRE :** *Benedictine*.—Ewenney was a cell to the abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester. Originally, the church

was in all probability a simple, aisleless, cruciform one. At present, it consists of an aisleless choir; one limb of a transept; and an aisleless nave.

**EWYAS HAROLD PRIORY CHURCH, HEREFORDSHIRE: *Benedictine*.**—This priory was another cell to Gloucester abbey. "Our church is not cruciform, but consists of chancel and nave with western tower. There was once a north aisle to the nave, which has been taken down." Letter of the Rev. H. Bullocke, vicar.

**FAREWELL PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, STAFFORDSHIRE: *Benedictine*.**—All that now remains of the original building is the choir of the religious, which still retains their stalls. The nave was rebuilt in brick during the last century, but probably upon the old foundations. It is aisleless. Letter of the Rev. W. Outhwaite, vicar.

**FINCHALE PRIORY CHURCH, DURHAM: *Benedictine*.**—Finchale was a cell to the great cathedral priory of Durham. The church is a very fine and pure 13th century structure, the history of which is not a little curious. Built in the first instance with aisles to both nave and choir, these were in the second quarter of the following century removed entirely, the arcades built up, and traceried windows inserted within the arch spaces; thus reducing it to a purely aisleless church, in which condition it remained till the dissolution. Plates and plans may be seen in Perry and Henman's *Mediæval Antiquities of the County of Durham*; Billings's *Durham County*; and a plan, with many interesting documents in the Finchale vol. of the Surtees Society.

**GLOUCESTER, CHURCH OF THE FRIARS PREACHERS: *Dominican*.**—A simple aisleless parallelogram, about ninety feet in length, by twenty-five in breadth, internally, with a short transeptal projection to the north; westward of this is a long narrow chamber like an aisle, but completely shut off from the nave by a solid wall. *Archæological Journal*, xxxix, 296, and plan.

**GLOUCESTER, CHURCH OF THE FRIARS MINORS: *Franciscan*.**—A very fine nave, of seven bays, with north aisle only. The two are gabled, and of equal width. Eastwards of the southern aisle, or nave proper (against which the cloister corbels are fixed, shewing that there never could have been another nave or aisle in that direction) are the fragments of a slender bell-tower. The chancel, which was to the east of this, is now destroyed, but, following the almost universal rule, it certainly would be aisleless. *Archæological Journal*, xvii, 326.

**GORLESTON PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK: *Augustine Friars*.**—W. of Worcester's measurements of this church are as follows:—"Longitudo totius Ecclesiæ Fratrum Sancti Augustini de Gorlyston prope Jermuth cum choro 100 gressus. Latitudo navis ecclesiæ 24 gressus." From which it appears that the entire length of the building was about 166 feet, with a breadth in the nave of 40 feet; in other words, that there was an aisleless choir—probably about 25 feet wide—with a nave of about the same width, and a single aisle of 15 feet.

GROSMONT PRIORY CHURCH YORKS: *Benedictine* (*Order of Grammont*).—"The churche conteynyth in length lxx ffoote and in bredith xxiiij ffoote w<sup>t</sup> a low rooffe coueryd w<sup>t</sup> leade, hauynge iij glasse wyndowes conteynynge by estymac'on xl ffoote of glasse, and xvj stalles of tymber, and the high alter, and ij alters in the body of the churche" &c. Survey, temp. Hen. VIII. P.R.O.

That is to say, a simple parallelogram, entirely aisleless.

HATFIELD PEVERELL PRIORY CHURCH, ESSEX: *Benedictine*.--This priory was one of the cells of S. Alban's abbey. The church consists of an aisleless chancel, and nave with a spacious north aisle only. Letter of the Rev. F. N. Toulmin, vicar.

HACKNESS PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS: *Benedictine*.--Hackness priory was a cell to the abbey of Whitby. For a considerable length of time the nave of this church—originally aisleless, in all probability—had but a single aisle towards the south. At a later date, a north aisle was added.

"It has not aisles to the choir ... On the south side the aisle is separated from the nave by two Norman arches; on the north side by three early English arches." Letter of the Rev. C. Johnstone, vicar.

HALYSTANE PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, NORTHUMBERLAND: *Benedictine*.—"The church of S. Mary the Virgin at Halystane consists of only chancel and nave—an arch at the entrance to chancel. There are no striking features." Letter of the vicar of Alwinton and Halystane.

HEREFORD, ST. PETER'S PRIORY CHURCH: *Benedictine*.--S. Peter's priory was a cell to Gloucester abbey. Its interesting church—which still retains the stalls of the monks—consists of an aisleless chancel, with lady-chapel, and tower and spire to the south; and a nave, with an aisle of five bays towards the north—only. In 1793, a modern narrow aisle was added to the south, flush with the southern face of the tower. Till that time, however, no aisle at all existed there. Letter, accompanied with view, ground plan, and historical notice, kindly communicated by the Rev. H. Stephens, curate.

HANDALE PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, YORKS: *Benedictine*.--An aisleless parallelogram. "The churche conteynyth in length lx ffoote and in bredith xvj ffoote w<sup>t</sup> a low rooffe coueryd w<sup>t</sup> leade, hauynge vij glasse wyndowes conteynynge l ffoote of glasse by estymacon, w<sup>t</sup> a high alter, ij alters in the quyer, and one benethe the quere," &c. Survey, temp. Hen. VIII. P.R.O.

HORKESLEY, LITTLE, PRIORY CHURCH, ESSEX: *Cluniac*.--This church consists of a simple chancel, and nave with a south aisle only.

HULNE PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND: *Carmelite*.--The church of Hulne priory, which remains in remarkably perfect preservation, and possesses good early details, consists of a long aisleless parallelogram, without a break from end to end. The western half, or nave, forms the north side of the cloister square. For plan, with view and details, see Newcastle vol. of the Royal Archaeological Institute, p. 266.

**HURLEY PRIORY CHURCH, BERKSHIRE : *Benedictine*.**—Hurley priory was a cell to the royal abbey of Westminster. The church has an aisleless chancel, and there are “no aisles to the nave at all, and never could have been.” Letter of the Rev. F. J. Wethered, vicar.

**JARROW ABBEY, afterwards PRIORY CHURCH, DURHAM : *Benedictine*.**—This abbey, originally of very early Saxon foundation, became after the Danish spoliations and subsequent Norman conquest, a cell to the cathedral priory of Durham. The church consisted till lately—when the nave was for the second time rebuilt—of an aisleless choir—the nave of the primitive Saxon church, built by Benedict Biscop in A.D. 686; a central tower, and a long aisleless nave. For views of the church in its monastic state, see Buck's plates.

**INISCOURCEY ABBEY CHURCH, DOWN : *Cistercian*.**—The church of Iniscourcey, which was a cell to the abbey of Furness, was apparently cruciform and aisleless. Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 122.

**ISLEHAM ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, CAMBRIDGESHIRE : *Benedictine*.**—Isleham priory was a cell to the abbey of St. Jagitto in Brittany. The church, an interesting Norman structure, now used as a barn, is still in very perfect condition. About a hundred feet in length, it consists of a simple aisleless parallelogram terminating in a semi-circular apse, which is supported by six slightly projecting buttresses. Inside, are two transverse Norman arches, marking the division of the choir and sanctuary. Letter, accompanied by plan, of the Rev. F. R. Hawkes Mason, priest in charge.

**IONA ABBEY CHURCH, HEBRIDES, SCOTLAND : *Cluniac*.**—Choir, with south aisle towards the west; central tower; aisleless transepts, and aisleless nave. Billings's *Scotland*, iii, plates.

**KELSO ABBEY CHURCH, ROXBURGHSHIRE : *Tironensian*.**—This was a very fine cruciform church of transitional character, consisting of a choir with aisles; central tower; aisleless transepts, and short aisleless nave. The ground-plan is singular in its disposition; for though composed of a simple Latin cross, the usual arrangement is exactly reversed—the short limb, or head, being placed towards the west. For very fine views of this singularly beautiful and interesting structure, see Billings's *Scotland*, vol. iii.

**KIDWELLY PRIORY CHURCH, CARMARTHENSHIRE : *Benedictine*.**—“This church is one of the most remarkable in South Wales.....It consists of a nave of the extraordinary span of thirty-three feet in the clear, without aisles, small north and south transepts, and an ample chancel,” also without aisles, “forming altogether a simple and uniform cross.....The tower stands at the north western angle of the nave, forming a north porch, opposite which is an ordinary porch on the south side. There is also an ample sacristy on the north side of the chancel.” Report of the late Sir G. G. Scott, kindly forwarded by the vicar, the Rev. W. H. Sinnett.

“I may add that we still possess here a figure of the Virgin and child, in white alabaster, and in very fair preservation. Within the last twenty years it was *in situ* above the main entrance to the church in the south

porch. It was pulled down by the late incumbent, and is now preserved in the vestry." W.H.S.

KIRKLEES PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, YORKS. : *Cistercian*.—"The church conteynyth in length iiij<sup>xx</sup> foote and in bredith xxj foote, w<sup>t</sup> a high rooffe coueryd w<sup>t</sup> slates, hauynge—glasse wyndowes conteynynge l ffoote of glasse w<sup>t</sup> the high alter, ij alters in the quere, and ij benethe, and xxij stalles in the quere for the nones," &c.—Survey, temp. Hen. VIII. P.R.O.

LAPLEY ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, STAFFORDSHIRE : *Benedictine*.—The priory of Lapley was a cell to the abbey of St. Remi, at Rheims. The church is, or rather was, cruciform, consisting of a long aisleless chancel ; fine central tower ; aisleless transepts, now destroyed ; and an aisleless nave. Letter, accompanied by fine folio plans, of the Rev. A. H. Talbot, vicar.

LINDORES ABBEY CHURCH, PERTSHIRE : *Tironensian*.—A fine cruciform church, two hundred and thirty feet in length, with an aisleless choir ; transept, with eastern chapels ; and nave, with north aisle only.

LODERS ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, DORSETSHIRE : *Benedictine*.—Loders was a cell to the abbey of Mountsburch in Normandy. The church consists of an aisleless chancel, aisleless nave, and western tower. Letter of the Rev. I. Stewart, vicar.

LONDON, S. HELEN'S, BISHOPSGATE, PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS : *Benedictine*.—An aisleless parochial nave and choir, lying side by side with an aisleless monastic nave and choir.

MALPAS PRIORY CHURCH, MONMOUTHSHIRE : *Cluniac*.—The priory of Malpas was a cell to that of Montacute. The church is a small, but interesting Norman building, consisting of an aisleless chancel, an aisleless nave, and a western bell-cot.

MARLOW LITTLE, PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE : *Benedictine*.—From Willis's account, the conventual church of Little Marlow would seem to have been, as in so many other examples of its class, a small aisleless structure. He says :—"The church, or chapel, was a small tiled building, cieled at top. Against the east wall are still to be seen some painting of the Virgin Mary : on each side of her was a saint." At the present time there are said to be no remains of the building whatever.

MARRICK PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, YORKS. : *Benedictine*.—The church of Marrick, now very much altered and destroyed, consisted originally of an aisleless choir ; western tower ; and nave with north aisle only. The western half of the nave and its aisle was appropriated to the nuns : the eastern, with the chancel, to the parishioners—the eastern end of the aisle being further screened off as the choir, or chantry chapel of the founder.

MINTING ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE : *Benedictine*.—

Minting was a cell to the French abbey of S. Benoit sur Loire. The church is a small edifice, consisting of an aisleless chancel, and nave, with a north aisle only. The latter, with its arcade of three pointed arches carried on clustered pillars, is by far the finest portion of the building, and may, not improbably, have formed the more strictly monastic portion of it. Letter, with plan, of the Rev. L. Basforth, vicar.

MINSTER LOVELL ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, OXFORDSHIRE: *Benedictine*.—The priory of Minster Lovell was a cell to the French abbey of S. Mary de Ibreis. The church is one of singular interest, built on a uniform plan, and at a single effort. It is cruciform, with a central tower, and entirely aisleless throughout. Letter of the Rev. H. C. Ripley, vicar. A plan of this church may be seen in *Archæological Journal*, iii, 303.

MINSTER PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNE, SHEPPEY: *Benedictine*.—An ancient Saxon chancel and nave, both aisleless; to the latter of which a second, or lateral nave was added in the 13th century. *Archæological Journal*, xl, 54.

MONKWEARMOUTH ABBEY, AFTERWARDS PRIORY CHURCH, DURHAM: *Benedictine*.—Originally an independent abbey, the monastery of S. Peter, Monkwearmouth, became in post-conquest times, a cell to the cathedral priory of Durham. Like the sister church of S. Paul at Jarrow, that of S. Peter at Wearmouth was built by the famous Benedict Biscop, but ten years earlier than that *historically* more famous structure, viz. : in A.D. 674. As first constructed, it formed a very lofty aisleless parallelogram, terminating, as there is every reason to think, in an eastern apse, and with an open western porch which was subsequently raised into a tower; but this primitive arrangement was altered in the 13th century by the substitution of a long aisleless chancel in the place of the apse, and the addition of a single aisle on the north side of the nave. The south wall of the nave was rebuilt—during the 14th century probably—slightly within the line of that of the Saxon church, but, as the cloisters abutted on that side—without an aisle. Of Benedict Biscop's work, the western gable and porch still continue in their integrity, together with the tower which was raised upon the latter, probably in early post-conquest times. For a full account of this most interesting church, accompanied with numerous illustrations, see Transactions of the Architectural and Archæological Society of Durham and Northumberland, i.

MONKLAND ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, HEREFORDSHIRE: *Benedictine*.—Monkland priory was a cell to the abbey of Conches in Normandy. The church, which is still in use, consists of an aisleless chancel, aisleless nave, and western tower. Letter of the Rev. W. H. Barnard, vicar.

MONK, OR WEST SHERBOURNE ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, HAMPSHIRE: *Benedictine*.—The priory of Monk Sherbourne was a cell to the abbey of Cerisy.

“The church . . . consisted of a spacious choir or chancel; transepts, and a central tower; with two chantry chapels adjoining the choir and the transepts; and a small nave without aisles.” Report of the late Sir G. G. Scott, kindly communicated by the rector, the Rev. H. D. Bourne.

**MOUNTGRACE PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.:** *Carthusian*.—A purely aisleless, cruciform church with central tower; which is still, with the exception of the roofs and part of the chancel, quite perfect.

**MONKTON PRIORY CHURCH, PEMBROKE:** *Benedictine*.—An aisleless choir, ruined; single transept to the north, with tower opposite, to the south; and aisleless nave—all vaulted with stone. Letter of the Rev. D. Bowen, vicar.

**ST. MICHAEL'S MOUNT ALLEN PRIORY CHURCH:** *Benedictine*.—This priory was a cell to that of St. Michael in Periculo Maris in Normandy. The church is apparently small, aisleless, and cruciform. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*.

**NUNKHEELING PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, YORKS:** *Benedictine*.—"The church conteynyth in length xlvj foote and in bredith xx ffoote w<sup>th</sup> yn, wherof the quere xxxvj foote long and the bodye of the church x ffoote, and ix litle glasse wyndowes conteynyng by estymac'on l ffoote, w<sup>th</sup> xvij fayre stalles carvid and bourdid w<sup>th</sup> waynscott, and a high rooffe coueryd w<sup>th</sup> leade, and a lytle closett in the church for the lady to here seruyce yn. a hye alter, ij alters in the quire, and one in the body of the church," &c.

"Item the belfray at the nether ende." Survey, temp. Hen. VIII. P.R.O.

Here again, as in so many other examples in Yorkshire and elsewhere, we have a church of nuns consisting of a simple aisleless parallelogram, with an open bell-cot.

**NUN MONKTON PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, YORKS:** *Benedictine*.—A church of singular, if not unique character, though of the simplest plan. It consisted originally of an aisleless—now destroyed—choir, and nave which were continuous, with a small internal bell-tower occupying the central part of the west gable, and rising barely above its apex. From the marked peculiarities of its architecture, there cannot, I think, be a doubt but that it proceeded from the same hand as did the original, but now destroyed nave of Ripon Minster, a restored elevation of which by the late Sir G. G. Scott is given in vol. xxxi, 309, of this *Journal*. Of that building, Mr. Gordon Hills, in a recent number of the *Journal* of the British Archaeological Association has observed that, to his mind, the most interesting point is that it presents us with an example of aisles which have been added to a nave originally aisleless. Now, of Nun Monkton church I may, perhaps, be allowed to say that, to my mind, one at least, of the most interesting points is that, we there see in its unaltered and unaisled nave, precisely the same plan applied by the same architect to a Benedictine, as at Ripon, originally, to a canons' church. But Ripon, as all the world knows, is one of the leading stock illustrations of a canons' church with an originally aisleless nave. Nun Monkton church serves to shew what the illustration is worth; and further to indicate what—later on, and in another instance—I shall be able to prove, viz.: that the question of aisles was a purely architectural one, and entirely disconnected with any sort of ecclesiastical, or monastico-ecclesiastical principles—real or imaginary—whatever. It is again worth observing in this connection,



perhaps, that at Ripon, the choir of the canons was from the first an aisled one; whereas at Nun Monkton, that of the Benedictines was aisleless; and yet again, that whereas in the former case aisles were subsequently added to the nave, in the latter they were not, but that it continued aisleless to the last—down even to the present day.

**NUNEATON PRIORY CHURCH, WARWICKSHIRE:** *Benedictine*.—This is a purely aisleless cruciform church, and has recently been restored to purposes of divine worship. Letter of the Rev. H. W. Bellairs, vicar of Nuneaton.

**OTTERTON ALLEN PRIORY CHURCH, DEVONSHIRE:** *Benedictine*.—Otterton was a cell to the abbey of S. Michael in Periculo Maris, Normandy. "The old church of Otterton, which occupied the place of the present structure, appears to have consisted of the nave and one aisle (south) at the eastern end of which latter was the tower—and as this was the only portion of the old structure preserved and incorporated into the new structure, it occupies the same position that it did in the old. Dr. Oliver's opinion was that the walls of the choir had extended further to the east, and that this portion was destroyed, and the parochial portion alone preserved." Letter of Dr. Brushfield, kindly communicated by the vicar, the Rev. J. B. Sweet.

From a view of the original church taken in 1795, it would seem to have consisted of two aisles or naves, of the same height and breadth, under separate gables; the northern one terminating eastwards in a short chancel or chapel, the southern in a tower; in other words, of two distinct churches, possibly, the one monastic and the other parochial, lying side by side; the monastic chancel projecting eastwards of the tower which, perhaps, served severally for both.

**PENWORTHAM PRIORY CHURCH, LANCASHIRE:** *Benedictine*.—An entirely aisleless church. "This church is not cruciform. It has no aisles to the chancel. It had no aisles to the nave until the year 1856, when north and south aisles were added." Letter of the Rev. W. E. Rawstorne, vicar.

**PILLE PRIORY CHURCH, PEMBROKESHIRE:** *Benedictine*.—The church of this priory, situate in the parish of Staynton, was cruciform, and probably aisleless throughout. "There is little more standing," says Fenton, "than the east side of part of the tower wall, yet enough to inform us that the building was cruciform; the tower in the centre, supported on arches, one of which remains entire, a little pointed, but very plain and rude, without the least trace of sculptured ornament anywhere."

**PLUSCARDINE PRIORY CHURCH, MORAYSHIRE:** *Cistercian*.—A beautiful cruciform church with a low central tower—in all respects, except the roofs, perfect. It consists of an aisleless choir; transepts, with two eastern chapels each, and an aisleless nave. For beautiful plates of this fine church see Billings's *Scotland*, iv.

**PRESTON CAPES PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE:** *Cluniac*.—Originally, and during its occupation by the four Cluniac monks placed

in it by Hugh de Leycestre, this church was probably entirely aisleless, as the chancel continues to be still. At an early period—probably towards the end of the 12th century—a south aisle with massive round pillars, and nearly semi-circular arches, would seem to have been added to it; and, later on, a north aisle also. Letter of the Rev. V. Knightley, vicar.

POLESWORTH PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, WARWICKSHIRE: *Benedictine*.—An aisleless chancel; and nave, with a north aisle only. To the east of the latter, and flanking the chancel is the tower. A view of this somewhat singularly designed feature is given by the late Rev. J. L. Petit, in his *Remarks on Church Architecture*.

REDLINGFIELD PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, SUFFOLK: *Benedictine*.—A simple aisleless parallelogram.

RICHMOND, S. MARTIN'S PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.: *Benedictine*.—This priory was one of the cells of St. Mary's abbey at York. The church is a simple Norman building without aisles.

RICHMOND, CHURCH OF THE GREY FRIARS, YORKS.: *Franciscan*.—A simple cruciform church, entirely aisleless, the limbs of which are much shattered and curtailed, but still surmounted by a rich and beautiful central tower of admirable design and execution, which is perfect even to its pinnacles. There is a good, but somewhat inadequate view of it in Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, i.

RUMBURGH PRIORY CHURCH, SUFFOLK: *Benedictine*.—Rumburgh was another cell to St. Mary's, York. "On the south syde the cloyster standeth the churche and chauncell under one rof, and is covered w<sup>th</sup> leade, cont. in length iiij<sup>x</sup>viiij fote, and in bredith xxij fote." Survey temp. Hen. VIII.

"Rumburgh church has no aisles at all: it is a long narrow church, with an oak screen dividing nave from chancel." Letter of the Rev. J. Cash, vicar.

SEWARDSLEY PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE: *Cistercian*.—This now utterly destroyed church, of which the foundations were long ago dug up, was, according to Bridges, forty-six feet in length by twenty feet eight inches in breadth (outside measurement), and round at the east end: in other words, a simple, aisleless, apsidal parallelogram.

SALLAY ABBEY CHURCH, YORKS.: *Cistercian*.—A fine cruciform church, with unusually short, but aisleless nave.

STOKE COURCY ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, SOMERSETSHIRE: *Benedictine*.—This priory was a cell to the abbey of Lonlay in Normandy. The church is an interesting cruciform building in which the usual arrangements are reversed; the chancel being aisled, and the nave aisleless. *Archæological Journal*, xxxvi, 406, and letter of the Rev. J. L. M. King, vicar.

SOMPTING PRIORY CHURCH, S SSEX: *Benedictine*.—This church—famous for its ancient Saxon tower—consists of an aisleless chancel; transepts, of which the northern limb has two eastern chapels; aisleless

nave ; western tower ; and chapel attached to tower and western part of nave towards the north. *Archæological Journal* xi, 141.

**STANLEY ST. LEONARD PRIORY CHURCH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE : *Benedictine*.**—The priory of Stanley St. Leonard was a cell to the abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester. The church, a small, but perfectly preserved cruciform building, consists of an aisleless choir ; aisleless transept ; aisleless nave, and central tower. *Archæological Journal*, vi, 44, plate.

**SANDWELL PRIORY CHURCH, STAFFORDSHIRE : *Benedictine*.**—"The chauncell there is in lenght xlii ffote, and in brede xviii ffote, and syled o'r and cov'd w<sup>t</sup> shyngull and in deokay." . . .

"It'm the belframe standyng be't the chauncell and the church, whiche cont. xviii fote in lenght and xvi (xviii?) in brede, w<sup>t</sup> a litle sanct<sup>m</sup> bell in the same, and cov'd w<sup>t</sup> tyle and shyngull. The church cont. in lenght lvii fote, and in brede xviii ffote, w<sup>t</sup> an ile on the sowth side the church cont. in lenght lvii fote and in brede ix ffote, which church and ile ben. cou'd w<sup>t</sup> tyle ptelie in deokay and the tymber of it metlie good." . . .

"It'm a chapell on the north side of the belframe cont. in lenght xxvii ffote and in brede xviii ffote, selyd and cou'd w<sup>th</sup> tyle" . . . "which chapel adioyneth to the howse and ryght necessare to stand and payyd."

"Item a chapell on the north (south?) side the belframe cont. in lenth ... ffote and in brede xviii ffote, selyd and cov'd w<sup>t</sup> tyle." Survey, temp. Hen. VIII.

From the above contemporary account we learn that the church was a cruciform one, 111 feet in length, by 72 in breadth across the transept, and with a central tower : further, that it consisted of an aisleless chancel, 41 feet by 18 ; a north transept, 27 feet by 18 ; a south transept, probably the same ; and a nave 57 feet by 18, with a south aisle only of the same length and half the same breadth, on the side opposite to the cloister.

**SPETISBURY ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, DORSETSHIRE : *Benedictine*.**—Spetisbury was a cell to the abbey of Preaux in Normandy. The church consists of an aisleless chancel ; and nave, with a north aisle only. Letter of the Rev. J. S. Woodman, rector.

**SWINE PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, YORKS : *Cistercian*.**—"The hole church conteynyth in lenth lxxvi ffoote w<sup>tn</sup> and in bredith xxj ffoote, stone walles and a hye rooffe coueryd w<sup>t</sup> leade, and seylyd w<sup>tn</sup> w<sup>t</sup> boardes paynted ; wherof the quere conteynyth liii ffoote long, w<sup>t</sup> xxxvi goode stalles alle alonge bothe the sydes of waynescott bourdes and tymber for the nonnes ; and ane alter in the quere, and ij alters benethe the body of the church, w<sup>t</sup> xii wyndowes glasid in alle conteynyng by estymac'on c ffoote of glasse," &c. Survey, temp. Hen. VIII. P.R.O.

In this church of nuns we have again, it will be seen, a long and perfectly simple aisleless building.

**THETFORD PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, NORFOLK : *Benedictine*.**—Apparently, an aisleless cruciform church. "There is no trace of any aisle ever having existed. The church (now a barn), appears to have been cruciform,

and there is one arch left which seems to have opened into a transept." Letter of the Rev. A. Fowler Smith.

**TAVISTOCK ABBEY CHURCH, DEVONSHIRE:** *Benedictine*.—William of Worcester gives the following measurements of this building :—"Longitudo Ecclesiæ Monasterii Taystoke continet præter capellam beatæ Mariæ 126 steppys : et ejus latitudo continet, cum 14 steppys latitudinis navis ecclesiæ, 21 steppys.....Longitudo navis dictæ Ecclesiæ tantum usque ad chorum continet 60 steppys. ... Longitudo chori 42. Longitudo capellæ cum transitu 36 steppys." From all which it appears that the entire length of the church, exclusive of the lady chapel, was about 170 feet, that of the nave being about 100, and of the choir, 70 feet. That the nave had only a single aisle is clear from its width being given at 14 steps, or about 23 feet ; while in the full, that is to say, along with its aisle, it was 21 steps, or about 35 feet. The proportion of this single aisle to that of the nave, it will be observed, was the usual one—one half.

**TOFT MONKS ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK:** *Benedictine*.—The priory of Toft Monks was a cell to the abbey of Preaux. The church consists of an aisleless chancel ; aisleless nave ; and octagonal western tower. Letter of the Rev. C. Wace, rector of Haddiscoe.

**THICKET, OR THICKHEAD PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, YORKS:** *Benedictine*.—"The churche lx ffoote brode whyn, and a lowe rooffe coueryd w<sup>h</sup> leade hauynge v glasse wyndowes conteynnyng xliij ffoote of glasse, w<sup>t</sup> xvj stalles in the quyre, and the high alter, ij in the quyre, and one benethe," &c. Survey, temp. Hen. VIII. P.R.O. Again, an aisleless parallelogram.

**TYKEFORD PRIORY CHURCH, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE:** *Cluniac*.—Tykeford priory was a cell to the abbey of S. Martin Majoris, Tours. The church was an entirely aisleless cruciform structure with a central tower, as appears by the following survey, taken temp. Hen. VIII. "The church is substanciallie buyldid with a fair rofe of tymber work in the bodie of the said church which conteyneth in length 80 fote, and in brede 21 fote.

"It'm the ile (*i.e.* transept) on the north side ov the belframe, the rooffe whereof is good and substanciall tymber, which conteyneth in length 30 fote, and in brede 21 fote.

"It'm the ile on the sowth side the belframe is substanciallie buylded in the rofe with tymber, and conteyneth like lenght and brede as the fore-said ile doeth.

"It'm the belframe is substanciallie buylded with ston and much good tymber within the same, a 3 bells of the value of—

"It'm the chauncell there is voted with ston and tymber work ov' the same, which conteyneth in lenght 45 fote, and brede 21 fote.

"It'm a litle chapell adioynyng to the chauncell, which conteyneth in lenght 16 fote, and in brede 12 fote."

**UPAVON ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, WILTSHIRE:** *Benedictine*.—This priory was a cell to the abbey of Fontanelle in Normandy. "The church consists of a nave, chancel and northern aisle only : no aisle to the chancel." Letter of the Rev. H. E. Windle, vicar.

**USK PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, MONMOUTHSHIRE :** *Benedictine*.—The priory of Usk was founded by the famous Sir Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke and lord of Striguil, and his son Sir Gilbert, about the middle of the 12th century. The church, which was parochial as well as monastic, has been much mutilated. Originally cruciform, it has now been shorn of both transepts; the southern one having been absorbed in the priory buildings; while the northern—long desecrated as a school-house—has at length been pulled down, and the site thrown into the churchyard. The priory buildings, which still exist, lie to the south and east. The monastic choir is aisleless; and the parochial nave has one aisle only, from which it is separated by a central arcade, or spine. Letter of the Rev. S. C. Baker, vicar.

**WANGFORD PRIORY CHURCH, SUFFOLK :** *Cluniac*.—Wangford was a cell to the priory of Thetford. The church has an aisleless chancel, and nave with a north aisle only. Letter of the Rev. C. H. Lacon, vicar.

**WEST MERSEY ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, ESSEX :** *Benedictine*.—The priory of West Mersey was a cell to the abbey of S. Ouen at Rouen. The church is small, consisting of an aisleless chancel, and nave with a south aisle only. Letter of the vicar of West Mersey.

**WEEDON PINKNEY, OR WEEDON LOYS ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE :** *Benedictine*.—This priory was a cell to the abbey of S. Lucien, near Beauvais. The church is an interesting one; on plan, somewhat resembling that of Otterton, but with a tower to the east of the northern, instead of the southern nave. It is composed of a north aisle or nave, 37 feet 7 inches in length, by 18 feet 3 inches in breadth; a tower to the east of this nave about 20 feet square; and a chancel 25 feet 6 inches in length, to the east of this again. On the south of these is an unbroken aisle or nave, continued uninterruptedly from the west end to as far as half the length of the chancel eastwards, to which latter it opens by an arch—one of the arcade of five which connects it with the northern part of the building. South of this aisle is a porch. Letter of Sir H. Dryden, Bart., with plan.

**WILMINGTON ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, SUSSEX :** *Benedictine*.—This priory was a cell to the abbey of Grestein. The church has an aisleless chancel, with small chapels to the north and south; an aisleless nave; and slender tower and spire.

**WILTON ABBEY CHURCH, WILTSHIRE :** *Benedictine*.—All that is now known of this church is comprised in the following brief notice of its length and breadth by William of Worcester :—*Ecclesia Monasterii de Wylton ..... continet in longitudine circa 90 steppys meos. Item, continet in latitudine navis ecclesiæ cum duabus elys circa 46 steppys meos.* That is to say, it was about 150 feet long, by 76 feet wide across the aisles. Now, allowing 26 feet, the usual proportion, as the probable width of the nave and choir, that of the aisles (if we understand *side aisles* to be meant, would be no less than 25 feet each—dimensions out of all proportion for those of a monastic church of the size of this. But, if we understand here—as in so many other cases we are obliged to

do—cross, instead of side aisles to be intended, then everything becomes at once clear and consistent ; since, in place of a disproportionate church of exaggerated parochial type, we shall have a normally shaped, cruciform, monastic one ; the choir, transept and nave of which would each have a length of about 75 feet.

**WILBERFOSS PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, YORKS. : *Benedictine*.**—“The church conteynith in length lx ffoote and in bredth xxij ffoote w<sup>t</sup>yn, and seyled about w<sup>t</sup> goode substancyalle bourdes, and coueryd w<sup>t</sup> slates, hauynge xvj goode stalles in the quere for the nonnes, and the high alter w<sup>t</sup> a fayer new frontalle gilted which conteynith by estymac'on xli (ffoote), ij alters in the quere and one benethe, ix glasse wyndowes.” Survey, temp. Hen. VIII. P.R.O.

**WYKEHAM PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, YORKS. : *Cistercian*.**—“The hole church conteynyth in length iiij<sup>xx</sup> ffoote and in bredith xxij ffoote w<sup>t</sup>yn, w<sup>t</sup> a lowe rooffe coueryd w<sup>t</sup> leade and alle one hole story, w<sup>t</sup> xij glasse wyndowes conteyning iiij<sup>xx</sup> ffoote of glasse by estymac'on, w<sup>t</sup> one high alter and ij alters in the quere and ij in the body of the church, and — stalles of bourdes in the quyer for the nonnes,” &c. Survey, temp. Hen. VIII. P.R.O.

**WOOTTON WAWEN ALIEN PRIORY CHURCH, WARWICKSHIRE : *Benedictine*.**—Wootton Wawen was a cell to the abbey of Conches. The church, originally, an aisleless Saxon building with a central tower, still remains. “In the thirteenth century, a south aisle was added to the nave.” “The next alteration took place early in the fourteenth century when the chancel was rebuilt upon a much larger scale.” “It is evident that the lady-chapel, though almost contemporary in style with the chancel, was yet a little later, as the south wall of the chancel contains a three-light window which the erection of the lady-chapel immediately afterwards rendered it necessary to wall up. This large and finely proportioned chapel was erected when the Saxon south transept was removed, probably few years after the rebuilding of the chancel.” Report of the late Sir G. G. Scott, kindly communicated by the vicar, the Rev. T. H. Slocock.

From this it appears that the church, as left by the monks, consisted, as at present, of a chancel, with a lady-chapel to the south ; a central tower ; and nave with a south aisle only.

**YEDDINGHAM PRIORY CHURCH OF NUNS, YORKS. : *Benedictine*.**—“The church conteynith in length iiij<sup>xx</sup> ffoote longe and in bredith xx ffoote, alle one story w<sup>t</sup> a low rooffe coueryd w<sup>t</sup> leade, xxj wyndowes conteyning by estymacion iiij<sup>xx</sup> ffoote of glasse, the hygh alter, and one alter in the quere, and ij in the church.”

“Item the quere conteynith in length xlvj ffoote w<sup>t</sup> olde stalles of tymbre and bourdes payntid.” Survey, temp. Hen. VIII. P.R.O.

(To be continued.)

## DEDICATION NAMES OF ANCIENT CHURCHES IN THE COUNTIES OF DURHAM AND NORTHUMBERLAND.

By JOHN V. GREGORY.

In treating of the church-names of Northumberland and Durham, there is a difficulty which meets us in some of the remote districts, to which more southern counties are less subject, namely, that many of our churches had originally no dedication-names at all. Some remain unnamed, and to others names have been given at a subsequent time, and we cannot always distinguish which are of modern origin. Mistakes, too, have been made through ignorance or neglect, so that the original ascription is sometimes doubtful.

**HOLY TRINITY.** Dedications in this name are found in the Trinity House chapel in *Newcastle*, and in the Northumberland churches of *Embleton*, *Bewick*, *Cambo*, *Widdrington*, and *Whitfield*; but the three last mentioned are probably all examples of names bestowed on rebuilding in modern times. The church of *Berwick-on-Tweed* was so named at its building in the seventeenth century. As regards *Embleton* the name is not without doubt, for in Bacon's *Liber Regis* and in Randall's "State of the Churches under the Archdeaconry of Northumberland" (c. 1778) it is stated to be dedicated to St. Mary. The only undoubtedly ancient dedication to the Holy Trinity in Northumberland is the chapel of *Bewick*, which is not a parish church. In *Durham*, *Washington* is stated by Surtees (*Hist. of Durham*) to be dedicated to the Virgin, but in the Ordnance map it is called Holy Trinity, apparently without authority. In *Gateshead* was a hospital of the Holy Trinity, subsequently united with that of St. Edmund, and the chapel of St. Edmund, formerly in ruin, having been restored, is now the parish church of Holy Trinity. *Sunderland* Holy Trinity only dates from 1719.

Dedications of **CHRIST** church and St. Saviour are generally modern. **CHRIST**'s hospital at *Sherburn* was originally dedicated to Christ, the blessed Virgin, and Lazarus, and his sisters Martha and Mary. Christ church at *North Shields* is a seventeenth century edifice, built for the parish church of Tynemouth when the priory was ruined. *Durham* cathedral church, dedicated originally to the blessed Virgin and St. Cuthbert, was, at the dissolution of the priory by Henry VIII, re-named "the cathedral church of Christ and the blessed Virgin."

**HOLY PARACLETE**: The church of *Kirkhaugh* bears this remarkable dedication name, but it only dates from the time of a modern restoration.

**HOLY CROSS** is a mediæval name, and is ascribed in *Durham* to the church of *Ryton*, and in Northumberland to *Haltwhistle*, *Chatton*, and the ancient but now demolished church of *Wallsend*. The festival of the dedication of a church often became a parochial holiday: Edward I.

granted a fair to Haltwhistle for the day of "the Invention of the Holy Cross" old style, May 14.

ST. MICHAEL, or St. Michael and All Angels, is a dedication of very frequent occurrence, especially in the northern parts of Northumberland. As this name is said to be a survival of Celtic Christianity, and as Northumbria was converted to the faith by the Celtic mission from Iona to Lindisfarne, it is not surprising that of all ancient church names in the old diocese of Durham, next to St. Mary, and not even excepting the great local name of St. Cuthbert, that of St. Michael most prevails. There are thirteen such dedications of ancient churches in Northumberland and six in Durham. Of these no fewer than nine occur in the northern part of Northumberland, which constitutes the archdeaconry of Lindisfarne, including the important church of *Alnwick*, now generally called St. Michael's, though St. Mary and St. Michael was its mediæval designation. *Doddington* is also St. Mary and St. Michael. *Ford*, *Howick*, *Felton*, *Ilderton*, *Ingram*, *Alnham*, and *Alwinton*, are all St. Michael's, the four last named parishes forming a group adjoining each other. The ascription of Howick in Bacon's *Liber Regis* to St. Mary is, no doubt, an error. In the Tyne districts are *Wark*, *Warden*, and *Newburn*, and also the original dedication of *St. John Lee*, which, however, was superseded at an early period. In the county palatine are the important churches of *Houghton-le-Spring* and *Bishop-Wearmouth*, together with *Witton-Gilbert*, *Heighington*, *Bishop-Middleham*, and *Esh*.

ALL SAINTS, a dedication so frequent in other parts of England, is not very prevalent in the North. We have in Northumberland, *Newcastle*, *Rothbury*, *Remington* and *Ryall*, but the ascription of this name to Ryall only dates from its recent restoration. There are some remains of an ancient chantry chapel of All Saints at *Morpeth*. In Durham this dedication is given to four churches all in the south east of the county, *Stranton*, *Stainton-le-street*, *Hurworth*, and the ruined church of *Sockburn*, as well as its modern successor. *Pensher* (or *Penshaw*) is an eighteenth century foundation. There is also the doubtful dedication of Lanchester, either All Saints or St. Mary. It is now called St. Mary's, but the *Liber Regis* (Bacon), Hutchinson, and Surtees give the name All Saints. Among the instances of parochial festivals coinciding with church dedication days is Rothbury fair on All Saints' day.

ST. ANNE, the mother, according to tradition, of the blessed Virgin. Her name seems in some places to have been adopted in compliment to queen Anne, but this was not the case in Northumberland and Durham. St. Anne's, *Newcastle*, was neither founded nor rebuilt in her reign. At *Ancoft*, the parish name seems to have suggested the church name, a circumstance of which we shall find other examples at *Simonburn*, *Alston* and *Edmundbyers*. In the county palatine St. Anne's at *Bishop Auckland* is an old foundation.

ST. MARY, or St. Mary the Virgin, the most popular of all church names, and not without scriptural reason, for "all generations" revere her "blessed" memory. In Northumberland, at least nineteen churches and chapels of ancient date are thus dedicated, besides others in which another saint is joined with the name of St. Mary, and also besides the doubtful case of *Embleton*, already referred to. Some are now extinct, as the Cistercian abbey of *Newminster*, the ruined chapel of *Jesmond*, and the Carmelite priory of *Hulme*. The former parish church of *Hexham*



might also be mentioned, but in this paper vanished churches which have not even been left in ruin are generally omitted. Though the ancient buildings are gone and sites changed, the hospital and chapel of St. Mary the Virgin at *Newcastle* still flourishes, and the name of the former parish church of *Berwick* has been revived in a new St. Mary's. The other churches of this dedication now existing in Northumberland are *Holy Island*, *Belford*, *Wooler*, *Holystone*, *Leesbury*, *Ponteland*, *Bingfield*, *Stamfordham*, *Ovingham*, *Stannington*, *Morpeth*, *Woodhorn*, *Horton*, and the Premonstratensian abbey, now parish church, of *Blanchland*. *Whalton*, sometimes said to be St. Mary the Virgin is probably St. Mary Magdalen, if it had any ancient name at all. The parish church of Holy Island is ascribed by Hutchinson and by Bacon's *Liber Regis* to St. John, which Raine (*Hist. of North Durham*) deems erroneous. At Holystone the church name suggests the connection with "our Lady's well" in which Paulinus baptized his converts of Upper Coquetdale. Another instance of a popular festival coinciding with the feast of the church dedication occurs in Morpeth fair held on Lady-day.

In Durham there are twenty ancient dedications in the name of St. Mary, viz :—*Gateshead*, *Heworth*, *Whickham*, *Lanchester*, *Washington*, *Whitburn*, *Seaham*, *Easington*, *Monk-Hesleden*, *Norton*, *Long-Newton*, *Gainford*, *Denton*, *Whorlton*, *Barnard-Castle*, *Middleton-in-Teesdale*, *Staindrop*, *Cockfield*, and two in *Durham* city, St. Mary-le-Bow and St. Mary-the-Less. Lanchester, as already stated, has been ascribed apparently in error to All Saints ; and Washington is probably St. Mary's and not Holy Trinity, if it had any ancient name at all.

Of joint dedications to St. Mary and another, there are six in Northumberland, and two or three in Durham, viz :—*Alnwick*, *Doddington*, *Bolton*, *Lambley*, *Tynemouth* priory, and *Alnwick* abbey, *Chester-le-Street*, *Greatham* hospital, and possibly (but not probably) *Wolsingham*. In these cases, though St. Mary may be placed first in order, it is often a prefixed and expletive name, and the other is the special name, as St. Mary and St. Cuthbert at Chester-le Street ; but in the case of St. Mary and St. Oswin at Tynemouth, St. Oswin was a later addition. In this paper these churches are classed under the second or special name.

ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST appears to have been more popular in ancient times than St. John the Evangelist, at least in Northumberland, where we have only one ancient St. John the Evangelist, while we have five named in honour of the Baptist. These are at *Newcastle*, *Ulgham*, *Alnmouth*, *Edlingham*, and *Lowick*. Ulgham "feast" on St. John Baptist's day (old style July 5) also shows the connection between popular festivities and church dedication. In Durham there are of this name *St. John's Weardale* (or *Chapel in Weardale*), *Greatham* and *Egglescliffe* (or *Eaglescliffe*). *Finchale* priory had the joint dedication of St. John the Baptist and St. Godric.

ST. PETER : Of names of apostles that of the apostolic primate has generally been the favourite ; but it is somewhat remarkable that in the old diocese of Durham it was in ancient times surpassed in number of churches by St. Andrew, and in Northumberland, strangely enough, by St. Bartholomew. Nevertheless the earliest foundations in the north of England were dedicated to St. Peter. These were the Anglo-Saxon churches at *Lindisfarne*, where the priory ruins now stand, and the chapel which once existed in *Bamburgh* castle. St. Aidan's first church at *Lindisfarne* was a building of wood and thatch ; and when, after

having been burnt, it was rebuilt by his successor St. Finan (A.D. 651-661) it was of similar materials, and it had then no dedication name. When Theodore of Tarsus, archbishop of Canterbury (668-690) was organizing what had been till his time mere mission stations into the established church of England, he visited Northumbria, and gave the first recorded church name in this district, in dedicating, as we are informed by Bede, the church of Lindisfarne in honour of St. Peter the Apostle. The chapel at Bamburgh, probably on the site where traces of the foundations still remain within the walls of the castle, is also mentioned by Bede as "the church of St. Peter in the royal city of Bebbanburgh."

The church of *Norham*, now St. Cuthbert's, was originally dedicated in the ninth century to St. Peter, St. Cuthbert, and St. Ceolwulf.

Existing ancient churches dedicated to St. Peter in Northumberland, are those of *Chillingham*, *Long-Houghton*, *Bywell*, and *Newbrough*. The name of St. Peter's, now applied to a riverside part of Newcastle, is misleading; it was originally "Sir Peter's quay." In Durham there are churches of St. Peter at *Monk-Wearmouth*, *Elwick Hall*, *Bishopston* and *Wolveston*.

St. Benedict Biscop's twin monastic churches of Monk-Wearmouth and Jarrow had the joint dedication of ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL, St. Peter being applied to Wearmouth, and St. Paul to Jarrow. This joint dedication was common in ancient times, and some churches, now St. Peter's, were originally St. Peter and St. Paul, who may be deemed to represent respectively the centre and the circumference of the apostolic circle. The juxtaposition of the two names is seen in the abbey church of St. Peter at Westminster and the cathedral church of St. Paul in London. There is one dedication to St. Peter and St. Paul in Northumberland, in the Augustinian priory church of *Brinkburn*, which after long lying in ruin has in recent times been repaired for Divine service; not to say "restored," though it is a model of what restoration ought to be.

St. ANDREW being the patron saint of Scotland, the influence of his name has extended across the Border, which may account for the number of ancient churches dedicated to this apostle, seven each in Northumberland and Durham. The kings of Scotland held Northumberland at one period, and one church, St. Andrew's, *Newcastle*, is supposed to have been founded by the Scottish king, David I.

The most important church in the north of England, dedicated to St. Andrew, is the abbey church of *Hexham*, originally founded in the seventh century by St. Wilfrid, and though re-founded in the twelfth century as an Augustinian priory, it has retained throughout its original dedication of St. Andrew, which is mentioned by Bede. It is remarkable that Wilfrid made his earliest devotions in Rome in the church of the monastery of St. Andrew on mount Cælius, a monastery now called after St. Gregory, by whom it was founded, and from whence he sent Augustine to England.

It frequently happens that several churches of the same name are found in proximity, and thus, following the example of Hexham, the neighbouring churches of *Corbridge*, *Bywell St. Andrew*, and the old church of *Shotley* now in ruins, are all dedicated to St. Andrew.

The two churches of Bywell, St. Andrew and St. Peter, are locally called the white and black churches. The fable of these churches

having been placed together by two sisters who had quarrelled about the site may have been foreshadowed in the two baronies of Bywell. St. Andrew's, the church of the barony of Bolbeck, was appropriated to the Premonstratensian canons of Blanchland from whose white garments it was called "the white church;" Bywell St. Peter's, the church of the barony of Balliol, was granted to the black-robed Benedictines of Tyne-mouth and Durham, and so acquired the name of "the black church."

Other ancient ascriptions to St. Andrew occur in Northumberland in the churches of *Bolam* and *Bothal*. Bolam is said to have been originally founded by the Iona missionaries. *Heddon-on-the-Wall* is ascribed to St. Andrew in *Liber Regis* (Bacon), but Randall gives St. Philip and St. James, which is accepted by local repute.

In Durham is the important collegiate church of *St. Andrew-Auckland*, and also churches of St. Andrew at *Lamesley*, *Dalton-le-Dale*, *Haughton-le-Skerne*, *Sadberge*, *Aycliffe*, and *Winston*. Aycliffe is ascribed in Bacon's *Liber Regis* to St. Acca, which appears to be an example of place-name suggesting church name erroneously: Aycliffe was anciently written *Accliffe* and *Aclif*—oak-cliffe.

ST. JAMES.—Dedications to St. James may be assumed to refer to St. James the Great. In Durham are the churches of *Castle-Eden*, *Hamsterley*, and *Hunstanworth*, and in Northumberland *Shilbottle*. In *Liber Regis* (Bacon), contrary to all local authorities, *Tanfield* is ascribed to St. James; it is properly St. Margaret. The Premonstratensian abbey of *Alnwick* was dedicated to St. James and the blessed Virgin.

ST. JOHN, or St. John the Evangelist, is represented by only one parish church in Northumberland, that of *Meldon*; and in Durham the churches of *Dinsdale*, *Merrington*, and the remarkable Anglo-Saxon church of *Escombe*. In modern churches St. John is the most popular of all names in this district. *Sunderland* St. John is of the eighteenth century.

ST. MATTHEW.—The church of *Wolsingham* is commonly understood to be dedicated to St. Matthew. It would appear that the *Liber Regis* and Hutchinson's History ascribing it to St. Mary and St. Stephen are inaccurate. The old fair day at Wolsingham is St. Matthew's day.

ST. THOMAS THE APOSTLE is the dedication of the church of *Stanhope*, where also a fair is held on that saint's day.

The church of St. Thomas at *Stockton* was originally St. Thomas of Canterbury.

ST. PHILIP AND ST. JAMES.—The festivals of St. James the Less and of St. Philip are united together on May-day, which being also a popular holiday in the olden time was a likely day to be selected for the dedication of a church. Accordingly we have four ancient churches dedicated to St. Philip and St. James, *Heddon-on-the-Wall*, *Whittonstall*, and *Rock* in Northumberland, and *Witton-le-Wear* in Durham.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW.—It is remarkable that this ascription should have been so popular in ancient times in Northumberland. There have been eight ancient churches of this name in Northumberland, but only one in Durham. It is probable that although the name may have been given in honour of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, it was in some cases adopted from another Bartholomew, that being the name assumed by a native of Whitby called Tosti, on his becoming a monk of Durham, and who, following the example of St. Cuthbert, ultimately became a hermit on Farne

Island, and is known as **ST. BARTHOLOMEW OF FARNE**. He died about 1182, about which time many Northumbrian churches were founded.

At Tweedmouth, the township of *Spital* derives its name from an extinct leper hospital of St. Bartholomew; and this is also the dedication name of the church of *Tweedmouth*, which, though an eighteenth century rebuilding, is a twelfth century foundation.

The most ancient northern church dedicated to St. Bartholomew is that of *Whittingham*, portions of the present building being of the eleventh century. *Newbiggin* church is also of this dedication; and at these two places fairs are held on or about St. Bartholomew's day. Other churches of this name are at *Long-Benton*, *Kirk-Whelpington*, and *Kirk-Heaton*. On the Ordnance map Long-Benton is erroneously ascribed to St. Andrew. Kirk-Heaton has also sometimes been called St. Andrew.

In *Newcastle*, St. Bartholomew the Apostle gave the name to the church of the great nunnery which once occupied the site indicated by Nun street.

In the county of Durham the ancient chapel of *Croxdale* was dedicated to St. Bartholomew.

**ST. SIMON.** The apostles St. Simon and St. Jude are the only two of the eleven whose names are not found in ancient churches of Northumberland or Durham, unless St. Simon be the name of the church of *Simonburn*, which it probably was not originally. Of other evangelists and apostles, St. Mark, St. Luke, St. Matthias, and St. Barnabas are also wanting.

**ST. STEPHEN.** There is a doubt already mentioned whether *Wolsingham* church is dedicated to St. Mary and St. Stephen, but the presumption is in favour of St. Matthew.

**ST. PAUL** is a favourite name for modern churches, being, next to St. John, the most frequent in these two counties. But in ancient times it was not so, being in fact extremely rare when not conjoined with St. Peter. We have in Durham one ancient St. Paul's in the celebrated church of the Venerable Bede at *Jarrow*, but it owes its name to the double dedication of St. Peter and St. Paul of Wearmouth and Jarrow as already mentioned. In Northumberland there is one ancient church of St. Paul, that of *Branxton*, but this, if an ancient ascription, has most likely been a contraction of St. Paulinus (see p. 378.)

**ST. MARY MAGDALEN :** In Durham this name is given to the churches of *Melomsley*, *Hart*, and *Trindon*, and also to a ruined chapel at *Durham*; and in Northumberland to *Mitford* and *Whalton*. There is a question whether Whalton should not be St. Mary the Virgin, but Hodgson (*Hist. of Northumb.*) gives St. Mary Magdalen. Perhaps Mitford and Whalton, both very ancient foundations, were originally nameless; and Mitford acquired its name at a re-dedication after partial rebuilding, when it had become appropriated to the priory of St. Mary Magdalen, Lanercost; and the adjoining parish of Whalton seems to have adopted the same, for it is remarkable how church-names run in groups of adjacent parishes, as will be seen by comparing neighbouring churches dedicated to St. Andrew, St. Giles, St. Maurice, St. Michael, and others. There is a hospital of St. Mary Magdalen at *Newcastle*, but its chapel is dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr.

The list of New Testament names is here concluded, and those which

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follow are the Christian saints of later date. Of these the earliest we find in the old northern diocese is

ST. LAURENCE ; a Spaniard, archdeacon of Rome, who suffered martyrdom at Rome, A.D. 258. His name was brought into Northumbria by relics sent to king Oswy in the seventh century, and we have one parish church in each county to commemorate him, *Pittington* and *Warkworth*. The church of Warkworth was founded by Ceolwulf, king of Northumbria, about A.D. 736. A chapel of St. Laurence once existed at *Newcastle*, of which a few stones remain, and it has given name to the locality.

ST. GEORGE, of Cappadocia, martyred in A.D. 285. Being a Christian soldier he became idealized as a redressor of wrongs, the dragon slayer, and in the time of the crusades the patron of chivalry, and was adopted by Edward III. as the model of knighthood for the Order of the Garter, and hence St. George came to be considered the tutelary saint of England. The modern prevalence of St. George in church names is greatly due to loyal feeling during the Georgian era ; but there are ancient churches dedicated to him, of which we have one in Durham, *Middleton St. George*.

ST. MAURICE, another soldier martyr, who suffered A.D. 286, at the place now called by his name, on the Rhone in Switzerland. Why he should be commemorated in Northumberland, in the two adjacent parish churches of *Eglington* and *Ellingham*, does not appear. In Randal's list (1778) Ellingham is called St. Mary, but this is deemed inaccurate. There is a well of St. Maurice near the church. It should be noted, however, that Randal was himself vicar of Ellingham.

ST. ALBAN, the British protomartyr, A.D. 303, is commemorated in the church of *Earsdon*, which anciently belonged to the neighbouring priory of Tynemouth, and as that priory was subordinate to the great abbey of St. Alban's, the name has thus been chosen for Earsdon.

ST. MARGARET has a church in the city of *Durham*, and another in the county at *Tanfield*. This name is probably not from the legendary St. Margaret, the virgin martyr of Antioch A.D. 306, but rather is in honour of the pious and noble-minded Anglo-Saxon princess, Margaret, wife of Malcolm Canmore, king of Scotland, and mother of David I. the founder of many churches and abbeys. She was born 1046. The estimation in which she was held in the bishopric is shown by her life having been written by a monk of Durham, probably Turgot, who was installed prior in 1087. (*Surtees Society*, vol. 51). The christian name of Margaret continues one of the most prevalent in the district.

ST. CATHERINE, virgin martyr of Alexandria, A.D. 307, whose legend represents a Christianized Minerva, had her name ascribed in *Newcastle* to the Maison Dieu of Roger Thornton, now the guildhall ; and also in the county of Durham to a former chapel at *Hylton*.

ST. HELEN, the Christian empress (d. 328), who founded the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem and the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. From the circumstance that her son, Constantine the Great, was in Britain when he succeeded to the empire, Helen, or Helena, was supposed to be a British princess. She was really a native of Bithynia ; but the British tradition, revived probably in crusading times, made her name popular in this country. The churches dedicated to her memory in Northumberland are *Cornhill* (where is also a well of St. Helen), *Lony-Horsley*, and *Whitley-in-Heckhamshire* ; and in Durham, *St. Helen*.

*Auckland*, and *Kelloe*, and a gateway chapel at *Durham*. In *Kelloe* church is a remarkable ancient cross sculptured with the legend of St. Helen.

ST. ANTHONY, the Egyptian patriarch of monachism (d. 356), gives name to a church in *Newcastle* of recent foundation, but the locality has borne the name of St. Anthony's from olden times.

ST. NICHOLAS, bishop of Myra, in Asia Minor, about A.D. 326. This is the well-known dedication name of the principal, now the cathedral, church of *Newcastle*. The name is found in seaport towns, the legendary St. Nicholas being the patron of the mariner, the toiler, the captive, the poor and the children. Two churches which were originally offshoots from St. Nicholas, *Newcastle*, bear the same name, *Gosforth* and *Cramlington*, and there is another in the north at *Kyloe*. In *Durham* the church of *Boldon*, and one in the city of *Durham*, are of this dedication.

ST. AUGUSTINE.—The church of *Alston*, which, though in Cumberland, belongs to the diocese of *Newcastle*, is dedicated to St. Augustine. There is a local tradition that the church was founded by St. Augustine of Canterbury, but this is a mere plausible invention. It belonged to the Augustinian canons of *Hexham*, the chief rules of whose order were derived from the great St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo (d. 430), and the ascription may thus be derived from its connection with *Hexham*; but perhaps the parish name, which is locally pronounced "Auston," may, like *Simonburn* and *Ancroft*, have suggested the church name.

ST. PATRICK.—The church of *Lambley* in South-Tynedale, where there was an ancient nunnery, is dedicated to St. Mary and St. Patrick. Why the name of the apostle of Ireland should be found in this remote Northumbrian locality does not appear. It should be remembered, however, that St. Patrick (d. 465) was not himself an Irishman, but a native either of Britain or Gaul.

ST. LEONARD (d. 559) a Frankish saint, the patron of captives. Several ancient and vanished hospitals, as those at *Alnwick* in Northumberland, and *Butterby* in *Durham*, were dedicated to him.

ST. BRANDON, to whom the church of *Brancepeth* is dedicated, was an Irishman, who is said to have voyaged to America, nearly 1000 years before Columbus. He founded and presided over the abbey of Clonfert, and died in 577. I can discover no reason why this saint was chosen in the bishopric of *Durham*. The dedication is undoubtedly a very ancient one, being mentioned by Reginald of *Durham* in the twelfth century as the name of an earlier structure than the present church. The derivation of *Brancepeth* from the "path" of the legendary "brawn" is mythical. The similarity of the name of the saint with the place name, and the identity of the name with that of the adjacent village of Brandon, suggests that *Brancepeth* is "Brandon's peth"; the Anglo-Saxon *paeth*, represented in our modern word *path*, had also the meaning of a dene or valley (see Luke xvi, 26, in *Lindisfarne* and *Rushworth* gospels, *Surtees Society*, vol. 43.)

ST. MUNGO.—The church of *Simonburn* is said to be dedicated to St. Simon. This has obviously been suggested by the name of the village, and is of later date than the first foundation of the church. The name *Simonburn* is not from any one called Simon, but from Sigmund an Anglo-Saxon warrior. The church is one of the most ancient foundations in the county of Northumberland, having, according to tradition, been

founded by the disciples of Kentigern, otherwise Mungo, bishop of Glasgow, who died 601. A well in the vicinity of the church called "Muggers' well," appears to be a corruption of "Mungo's well." The ancient dedication, if any, being probably St. Mungo, that name has lately been resumed. Mungo was pre-eminently the saint of Tweeddale and Clydesdale, and his name is associated with some churches in the Scottish border counties which are among the oldest in that district.

St. GREGORY, or Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome, 590-604. One of the missionaries whom he sent to assist Augustine in preaching the Christian faith to the Anglo-Saxons was Paulinus. Many hundreds of Northumbrians were baptized by Paulinus in the river Glen, where now is the parish of *Kirk-Newton*, and the church of that parish, which is a twelfth century foundation, is dedicated to St. Gregory.

St. PAULINUS, came to England in 601, and became bishop of the Northumbrians in 625. In the same district where he baptised his name is found, between Glendale and the Tweed, in Pallinsburn (= Paulinus'-burn); and in the adjacent parish of *Branxton* the church is dedicated to St. Paul, which appears to be a contraction of St. Paulinus. There is a similar instance in the city of Lincoln, where Paulinus was also occupied as a mission preacher, and the church named in his honour is now shortened into "St. Paul."

St. EDWIN, the convert of Paulinus, and the first Christian king of Northumbria (d. 633) is commemorated in the church of *Coniscliffe* on the Tees. Coniscliffe means "King's Cliff," so that there is evidently an ancient connection between the names of church and parish.

St. OSWALD, king of Northumbria, 634-42, who established Aidan the monk of Iona in the see of Lindisfarne, gives name to a little church *St. Oswald's*, a few miles north of Hexham, which stands on the site where, in A.D. 634, this king fixed the standard of the cross around which he and his army made their prayer on the eve of battle against the Cymric chief Cadwallader. The place was named *Hefenfeld*, the Heavenly-field, and the original church on the site was built to commemorate Oswald's victory. In the city of *Durham*, the church of St. Oswald crowns the height opposite the cathedral church of St. Cuthbert, and his name also occurs in the Nine Altars chapel of the cathedral church. In art St. Cuthbert is represented bearing the head of St. Oswald, the head of Oswald having been placed in the coffin or shrine of Cuthbert at Lindisfarne.

St. AIDAN.—It is a matter of some surprise that there is only one ancient church in Northumberland and not one in Durham, named from this distinguished missionary bishop, the real founder, with the aid of king Oswald, of the Christian church in the northern half of England. It is remarkable also that while historians dwell upon the successful mission of Augustine at Canterbury, there seems, till recent times, to have been a want of due appreciation of that of Aidan at Lindisfarne, notwithstanding that it was a permanent success in the north, which that of Paulinus had not been. And if among southern Aidan has been overshadowed as a missionary by Augustine, among northerns he has been overshadowed as a saint by Cuthbert. As he was the first bishop of Lindisfarne (635-51), the palatinate bishops of Durham might as well have been called St. Aidan's successors, as successors of St. Cuthbert.

That Cuthbert should have been more honoured than Aidan is characteristic of the middle ages, when monastic sanctity was more esteemed than missionary enterprise. But Aidan was a Gael, and in comparison with Cuthbert suffered from the disadvantage of being to the Anglo-Saxons a foreigner. He died at *Bamburgh*, and hence the church of that parish is called *St. Aidan's*, the only one so dedicated, unless *Haltwhistle* is another. *Haltwhistle* is classed as Holy Cross, but Hodgson (*Hist. of Northum.*) gives *St. Aidan*, which appears inaccurate. In the *Nine Altars* at *Durham*, the name of *St. Aidan* occurs.

*St. OSWIN*, a humble-minded Christian monarch, king of *Deira*, murdered A.D. 651, and buried or enshrined at *Tynemouth*, of which he is called the patron saint. The priory church of *Tynemouth* was dedicated to the blessed *Virgin* and *St. Oswin* king and martyr.

*St. HILDA*, princess of *Northumbria* and abbess of *Whitby* (d. 680). Her memory is preserved in the names of the fine old storm-beaten church of *Hartlepool*, and in the principal church of *South-Shields*, with both which localities she was connected, having first established a small nunnery between *South Shields* and the *Wear*, the site of which is now unknown, and afterwards a more important one at *Hartlepool*, before she finally removed to *Whitby*.

*St. EBBA*, sister of *St. Oswald* (d. 684) is commemorated in the church as well as in the place-name of *Ebchester*, where she founded a small monastery among the ruins of the Roman station on the *Derwent*. She afterwards founded and was abbess of *Coldingham* in *Berwickshire*, where also her name survives in *St. Abb's Head*. A modern church on the *Northumbrian* coast at *Beadnell* is named *St. Ebba's* from an ancient chapel once existing on an adjacent promontory called "*Ebb's Snook*."

*St. CUTHBERT*, shepherd of *Lauderdale*, monk of *Old Melrose*, and successively prior and bishop of *Lindisfarne*, died at his retreat on the *Farne* island in 687, having filled the see of *Lindisfarne* only two years. His great fame rests on the sanctity of his personal character, which has made him pre-eminently the saint of the old diocese of *Durham*. His special church is, of course, that wherein his remains were finally deposited in A.D. 999, the grand cathedral church of "the blessed *Mary the Virgin* and *St. Cuthbert* the bishop" at *Durham*. Previously the relics of *St. Cuthbert* had been 113 years at *Chester-le-street*, which church is also dedicated to *St. Mary* and *St. Cuthbert*, and its thousandth anniversary was celebrated in 1883. In the palatinate, (which territory was "the patrimony of *St. Cuthbert*") we have also the important church of *Darlington*, and the churches of *Billingham*, *Redmarshall*, and *Satley*, dedicated to *St. Cuthbert*; and *Greatham* hospital is *St. Mary* and *St. Cuthbert*. *Reginald of Durham* mentions that the monastic church of *Lindisfarne*, when re-erected as a *Benedictine* priory at the end of the eleventh century, was in honour of *St. Cuthbert*. (*Surtees Soc.*, vol. 1, p. 45.)

*Islandshire*, *Norhamshire*, and *Bedlingtonshire*, now parts of *Northumberland*, formerly belonged to "the patrimony of *St. Cuthbert*," and remained detached parts of the county palatine down to 1844, and of the churches in these districts, *Norham*, *Carham*, and *Bedlington*, and the chapel on *Farne Island* are dedicated to *St. Cuthbert*.

The other churches of *St. Cuthbert* in *Northumberland* are *Elsdon*, which was one of the resting places of the saint's body in the wander-



ings of the monks, *Bellingham* (where also the saint's body rested, and where there is a well of St. Cuthbert mentioned by Reginald of Durham, c. 1150), *Hebbron*, *Allendale*, *Haydon*, and its modern successor at *Haydon-Bridge*, and *Bellingham*.

ST. WILFRID.—This zealous prelate (d. 709) was the great church-builder of his day, and the remarkable crypt of Hexham still remains of the church which he founded there. There are two dedications to his name in Northumberland, the church of *Kirk-Harle*, and the ruined chapel of *Guizance*.

ST. JOHN OF BEVERLEY (d. 721), at one time bishop of Hexham, gives his name not only to the neighbouring church of *St. John Lea*, but also in that contracted form to the parish itself. Here at one period of his life he dwelt in a hermitage on the hill where the church stands. The church was originally founded by Wilfrid, and at first named St. Michael's.

ST. ACCA, the friend of Bede, who succeeded John of Beverley as bishop of Hexham (709-32) has already been referred to in connection with *Aycliffe*, p. 374.

ST. BEDE, commonly called the Venerable Bede (d. 735).—Why so saintly a person should not have had churches dedicated to his illustrious memory is difficult to understand. It can scarcely be because there was no papal authority for calling him "saint," for saints became so recognised at first by popular opinion sustained by merely the authority of the diocesan bishop. Cuthbert, and Aidan, and Hilda, and many others were not styled saints because of any record of Roman canonization; which does not appear to have become exclusive till about the twelfth century. Though Bede is not commemorated in any ancient church dedication, his name was not without honour in the cathedral church of Durham. Near his tomb in the Galilee chapel was once an altar to his memory; and in the chapel of the Nine Altars, the central altar was dedicated to St. Cuthbert and St. Bede.

ST. CEOLWULF.—The church of *Norham* when first founded by Ecfred, otherwise Ecgrid, bishop of Lindisfarne (830-45) was in honour of St. Peter, St. Cuthbert, and St. Ceolwulf, (*Surtees Soc.*, vol. 51). The latter was the king of Northumbria to whom Bede dedicated his history, and who spent the last twenty-seven years of his life as a monk at Lindisfarne, and died 764.

ST. GILES, a French hermit, who died about 712, became a popular saint in England, but why he should be commemorated in this county is unexplained. We have of this dedication the church of St. Giles in the city of *Durham*, with which was also connected the neighbouring hospital of St. Giles at *Keppier* of which only a gateway now remains; and in Northumberland are the churches of *Chollerton*, *Birtley* in *North Tynedale* and *Nether-Witton*.

ST. EDMUND, king and martyr (d. 870) from whom the town of Bury St. Edmund's in his kingdom of East Anglia is named. The name of St. Edmund occurs four times in the "bishopric." At *Beaurepaire*, now *Bearpark*, the ruined chapel was St. Edmund the king, and a modern church revives the name. *Edmundbyers* has probably had the church name suggested by the place name or *vice versa*. A modern church of St. Edmund at *Gateshead* has succeeded to the name of a hospital founded 1248, and then styled "the chapel and hospital of St. Edmund, king and confessor, and of the glorious bishop Cuthbert," and it is singular that we meet with the name of the hospital two centuries later.

as "St. Edmund the bishop." The church of *Sedgefield* is called St. Edmund the bishop. The only episcopal St. Edmund is archbishop Rich of Canterbury (d. 1240) who was canonized as St. Edmund of Pontigny. I think it is open to doubt whether St. Edmund "the bishop," has not been a mistake for "the king."

St. ROBERT was the first abbot of *Newminster* in Northumberland (died 1159). The abbey church, of which only the foundations now remain, was like all Cistercian churches dedicated to St. Mary, but in popular estimation the name of St. Robert was also associated with it.

St. THOMAS A BECKET, otherwise St. Thomas of Canterbury, or St. Thomas the Martyr (d. 1170), was very popular in mediæval times. The principal church of the town of *Stockton-on-Tees*, originally a chapel to Norton, was dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury, though now it appears to be generally called simply St. Thomas. The old and disused church of *Grindon* in the same part of the county palatine is also dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket. The chapel formerly on Tyne bridge end, and rebuilt in modern times on another site in *Newcastle*, was dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr; and a hospital at *Bolton* in Northumberland was ascribed to the blessed Virgin and St. Thomas the Martyr.

St. GODRIC, the wandering pedlar of Norfolk, the pilgrim seaman, and finally the hermit of *Finchale* (d. 1179) has his name joined with that of St. John the Baptist in the dedication of the church of the ruined priory of *Finchale*, near Durham.

There still remain some churches which have either no dedication names, or these names have been lost. In Northumberland are the ancient churches and chapels of *Staley*, *Halton*, *Dilston*, *Knarsdale*, *Corsenside*, *Throckington*, *Seaton-Delaval*, *Hartburn*, *Long-Framlington*, and *Tughall* (in ruins); and in Durham, *Whitworth*, *Muggleswick*, *Elton*, and *Embleton*, and the chapels of *Durham* and *Auckland* castles.

ALPHABETICAL LISTS OF EXISTING CHURCHES OF EARLIER DATE THAN THE  
PRESENT CENTURY, INCLUDING MODERN FOUNDATIONS REVIVING  
ANCIENT NAMES.

*Authorities:—*

- (B) *Liber Regis* (Bacon 1786), and where the name is not there given, or in case of a difference, the following are referred to—  
(R) Randal's State of the Churches appended to Hutchinson's Hist. of Northumberland, 1778.  
(H) Hutchinson's Hist. of Durham, 1787.  
(S) Surtees' Hist. of Durham, 1816, etc.

Where no authority is referred to, the name is given by common repute.

COUNTY OF NORTHUMBERLAND, AND NOW THE DIOCESE OF NEWCASTLE.

Allendale, St. Cuthbert  
Alnham, St. Michael (B)  
Alnmouth, St. John the Baptist (B)  
Alnwick, St. Mary and St. Michael (R)  
Alston (Cumberland), St. Augustine (St. Austin, B)  
Alwinton, St. Michael and All Angels (St. Michael, B)  
Ancroft, St. Anne  
Bamburgh, St. Aidan (B)

Beadnell, St. Ebba  
Bedlington, St. Cuthbert (B)  
Belford, St. Mary (B)  
Bellingham, St. Cuthbert (R)  
Beltingham, St. Cuthbert (R)  
Berwick, Holy Trinity (B)  
" St. Mary  
(See also Tweedmouth)  
Bewick, Holy Trinity (B)  
Bingfield, St. Mary

## 382 DEDICATIONS IN DURHAM AND NORTHUMBERLAND.

- Birtley in North Tynedale, St. Giles  
 Blanchland, St. Mary the Virgin  
 Bolam, St. Andrew (B)  
 Bothal, St. Andrew (B)  
 Braxton, St. Paul  
 Brinkburn, St. Peter and St. Paul (St. Peter, R)  
 Bywell, St. Andrew (B)  
     " St. Peter (B)  
 Cambo, Holy Trinity  
 Carham, St. Cuthbert (B)  
 Chatton, Holy Cross (B)  
 Chillingham, St. Peter (B)  
 Chollerton, St. Giles (B)  
 Corbridge, St. Andrew (B)  
 Cornhill, St. Helen (R)  
 Corsenside, unnamed  
 Cramlington, St. Nicholas (R)  
 Doddington, St. Mary and St. Michael  
 Earsdon, St. Alban (R)  
 Edlingham, St. John the Baptist (B)  
 Eglingham, St. Maurice (B)  
 Ellingham, St. Maurice (B), or St. Mary (R)  
 Elodon, St. Cuthbert (B)  
 Embleton, St. Mary (B), or Holy Trinity.  
 Felton, St. Michael (B)  
 Ford, St. Michael (B)  
 Gosforth, St. Nicholas  
 Halton, unnamed  
 Haltwhistle, Holy Cross (B)  
 Hartburn, unnamed  
 Haydon Bridge, St. Cuthbert (B)  
 Hebborn, St. Cuthbert  
 Heddon-on-the-Wall, St. Philip and St. James (R), or St. Andrew (B)  
 Hexham, St. Andrew (R)  
 Holy Island, St. Mary, or St. John the Evangelist (B)  
 Holystone, St. Mary the Virgin (St. Mary, B)  
 Horton, St. Mary  
 Howick, St. Mary (B), or St. Michael (R)  
 Ilderton, St. Michael (B)  
 Ingram, St. Michael (B)  
 Kirk-Harle, St. Wilfrid (B)  
 Kirkhaugh, Holy Paraclete  
 Kirk-Heaton, St. Bartholomew  
 Kirk-Newton, St. Gregory (B)  
 Kirk-Whelpington, St. Bartholomew (B)  
 Knaresdale, unnamed  
 Kyleo, St. Nicholas  
 Lambley, St. Mary and St. Patrick (R)  
 Lesbury, St. Mary (B)  
 Long-Benton, St. Bartholomew (B)  
 Long-Framlington, unnamed  
 Long-Horsley, St. Helen (B)  
 Long-Houghton, St. Peter (B)  
 Lowick, St. John the Baptist  
 Meldon, St. John the Evangelist (R), (St. John, B)  
 Mitford, St. Mary Magdalen  
 Morpeth, St. Mary (B)  
 Nether-Witton, St. Giles (B)  
 Newbiggin, St. Bartholomew (B)  
 Newbrough, St. Peter (R)  
 Newburn, St. Michael and All Angels (St. Michael, B)  
 Newcastle, St. Nicholas (B)  
     " St. Andrew (B)  
     " St. John the Baptist (St. John, B)  
     " All Saints (B), or All Hallows (R)  
     " St. Anne (B)  
     " St. Mary the Virgin  
     " St. Thomas the Martyr (R)  
 Norham, St. Cuthbert (B)  
 North Shields, Christchurch  
 Ovingham, St. Mary the Virgin (St. Mary, B)  
 Ponteland, St. Mary the Virgin (St. Mary, B)  
 Rennington, All Saints (B)  
 Rock, St. Philip and St. James (B)  
 Rothbury, All Saints (B)  
 Ryall, All Saints  
 St. John Lee, St. John of Beverley (R)  
 St. Oswald's, St. Oswald  
 Seaton-Delaval, unnamed  
 Shilbottle, St. James (B)  
 Simonburn, St. Simon (B), or St. Mungo  
 Slaley, unnamed  
 Stamfordham, St. Mary the Virgin  
 Stannington, St. Mary (R)  
 Throckington, unnamed  
 Tweedmouth, St. Bartholomew (B)  
 Ulgham, St. John the Baptist (St. John, R)  
 Warden, St. Michael (B)  
 Wark in Tynedale, St. Michael  
 Warkworth, St. Laurence (B)  
 Whalton, St. Mary Magdalen  
 Whitfield, Holy Trinity  
 Whitley in Hexhamshire, St. Helen  
 Whittingham, St. Bartholomew (B)  
 Whittonstall, St. Philip and St. James (R)  
 Widdrington, Holy Trinity  
 Woodhorn, St. Mary (B)  
 Wooler, St. Mary (B)

### COUNTY AND DIOCESE OF DURHAM.

- Aycliffe, St. Acca (B), or St. Andrew (H)  
 Barnard-Castle, St. Mary (B)  
 Bearpark, St. Edmund the King  
 Billingham, St. Cuthbert (B)  
 Bishop-Auckland, St. Anne (B)  
 Bishop-Middleham, St. Michael (B)  
 Bishopton, St. Peter (B)  
 Bishop-Wearmouth, St. Michael (B)  
 Boldon, St. Nicholas (B)  
 Brancepeth, St. Brandon (B)  
 Castle-Eden, St. James (B)  
 Chester-le-Street, St. Mary and St. Cuthbert (B)  
 Cockfield, St. Mary the Virgin

- Coniscliffe, St. Edwin (B)  
 Croxdale, St. Bartholomew (S)  
 Dalton-le-Dale, St. Andrew (B)  
 Darlington, St. Cuthbert (B)  
 Denton, St. Mary (H)  
 Dinsdale, St. John (B)  
 Durham (cathedral church), St. Mary and  
 St. Cuthbert  
 Durham, St. Giles (B)  
 " St. Margaret (B)  
 " St. Mary-le-Bow (B)  
 " St. Mary-the-Less  
 " St. Nicholas (B)  
 " St. Oswald (B)  
 Easington, St. Mary the Virgin (St.  
 Mary, B)  
 Ebchester, St. Ebba (B)  
 Edmundbyers, St. Edmund (B)  
 Egglecliffe, St. John the Baptist (B)  
 Elton, unnamed  
 Elwick Hall, St. Peter (B)  
 Embleton, unnamed  
 Escombe, St. John the Evangelist  
 Esh, St. Michael (B)  
 Gainford, St. Mary (B)  
 Gateshead, St. Mary (B)  
 " Holy Trinity (H)  
 " St. Edmund  
 Greatham, St. John the Baptist  
 Grindon, St. Thomas à Becket (B)  
 Hamsterley, St. James (B)  
 Hart, St. Mary Magdalen (B)  
 Hartlepool, St. Hilda (B)  
 Haughton-le-Skerne, St. Andrew (B)  
 Heighington, St. Michael (B)  
 Heworth, St. Mary  
 Houghton-le-Spring, St. Michael (B)  
 Hunstanworth, St. James (S)  
 Hurworth, All Saints (B)  
 Jarrow, St. Paul (B)  
 Kelloe, St. Helen (B)  
 Lamesley, St. Andrew  
 Lanchester, All Saints (B.), or St. Mary  
 Long-Newton, St. Mary (H)  
 Medomsley, St. Mary Magdalen (B)  
 Merrington, St. John the Evangelist (H)  
 (St. John, B)  
 Middleton St. George, St. George (B)  
 Middleton-in-Teesdale, St. Mary the  
 Virgin  
 Monk-Healedon, St. Mary (B)  
 Monk-Wearmouth, St. Peter (B)  
 Muggleswick, unnamed  
 Norton, St. Mary the Virgin (St. Mary, B)  
 Pensher, All Saints  
 Pitlington, St. Laurence (B)  
 Redmarshall, St. Cuthbert (B)  
 Ryton, Holy Cross (B)  
 Sadberge, St. Andrew (H)  
 St. Andrew Auckland, St. Andrew (B)  
 St. Helen Auckland, St. Helen (B)  
 St. John Weardale, St. John the Baptist  
 (St. John, B)  
 Satley, St. Cuthbert  
 Seaham, St. Mary (B)  
 Sedgefield, St. Edmund the Bishop (B)  
 Sherburn Hospital, Christ's  
 Sockburn, All Saints (B)  
 South Shields, St. Hilda (R)  
 Staindrop, St. Mary the Virgin (St. Mary,  
 B)  
 Stainton-le-Street, All Saints (B)  
 Stanhope, St. Thomas the Apostle (B)  
 Stockton, St. Thomas (B), or St. Thomas  
 of Canterbury (H)  
 Stranton, All Saints (B)  
 Sunderland, Holy Trinity  
 " St. John (B)  
 (See Bishop-Wearmouth and Monk-  
 Wearmouth)  
 Tanfield, St. James (B), or St. Margaret  
 (H)  
 Trimdon, St. Mary Magdalen (B)  
 Washington, St. Mary (S.)  
 Whickham, St. Mary (B)  
 Whitburn, St. Mary  
 Whitworth, unnamed  
 Whorlton, St. Mary  
 Winston, St. Andrew (B)  
 Witton-Gilbert, St. Michael (H)  
 Witton-le-Wear, St. Philip and St. James  
 (B)  
 Wolsingham, St. Mary and St. Stephen  
 (B), or St. Matthew  
 Wolviston, St. Peter (B)

## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

Thursday, May 7th, 1885.

The PRESIDENT in the chair.

The Rev. J. L. FISH read a paper on, and exhibited a portion of the ancient records of the parish of St. Margaret Pattens, in the city of London. The earliest of these is a book of inventories, commencing in 1470, and ending in 1548. A transcript of the whole of these inventories is printed at page 312 of the current number of the *Journal*. The churchwardens' accounts begin in 1507, and are very full and complete.

Mr. C. DRURY FORTNUM then exhibited and read a paper descriptive of some early Christian gems which he has acquired since the publication of his former contributions on kindred subjects to the pages of the *Archæological Journal*. He also exhibited a bronze statuette and some early Christian lamps illustrative of the subject matter of his paper.

Mr. Fortnum's paper is printed at page 159.

Mr. R. S. FERGUSON read the following notes on a ring dial and a seal:—

"Some time ago I exhibited at a meeting of the Institute a portable brass ring dial or *viatorium*, generally known as a poke or pocket dial, which is engraved in *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvii, p. 110. I now exhibit a more complicated instrument of the same character, namely, an universal or astronomical equinoctial ring dial: consisting of two rings of brass that open and fold together, and a bridge or axis, on which is a *cursor* or slider: the *cursor* has a small hole in it for the sun to shine through. There should also be a sliding handle with ring for suspension, travelling in the groove round the edge of the larger brass ring, but this is lost in the example now exhibited. The outer ring represents the meridian of the place the instrument is used at; the inner represents the equator; the central line of the bridge the axis of the world, and its extremities the north and south poles.

"This instrument serves to tell the hour of the day in any latitude of the earth: with the aid of a common pin, stuck in a hole that will be observed in the outer ring, it will serve to find the sun's altitude and declination, and hence the latitude of any place on the earth. A woodcut of the instrument is given in Harrison's *Lexicon Technicum* (London, 1716), cited by Mr. Syer Cuming in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, volume xix, p. 73; and also in old editions of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (e.g., 1810), *sub voce* Dialling.

"The instrument now before us has engraved on the back of the inner ring in script, 'The owner Ben Cole Engraver in Oxford, to him that finds it a Reward.'

"I am indebted to Mr. Arthur Evans, for the following extract from *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, vol. iii, p. 37 :—

'1729, Nov. 30. Last Wednesday died suddenly Mr. Benjamin Cole of All Hallows parish, Oxford, and was buried next day in All Hallows Churchyard. This person was originally a bookbinder, but he performed but indifferently. Afterwards he turned engraver and practised heraldry and surveying. He was a man of parts, but conceited. He might have proved eminent had not he been giddy-headed, so as to follow no one single profession. He published a map of Port Meadow, another of 20 miles round Oxford, and a third of 20 miles round Cambridge. Some time ago he published proposals for printing a folio book of heraldry, which he shewed me in MS. several times, being a collection of arms made by himself; to which would have been prefixed a discourse about heraldry, and other things would have been added. But I believe he met with little encouragement by reason 'twas not thought he had learning enough to write anything well on the subject, notwithstanding his collections might be good. He died in the 63rd or grand climacterial year of his age. He was of nonjuring principles, particularly he was against the abjuration oath.'

"How Ben Cole's equinoctial ring dial came to Cumberland I cannot tell, but it was purchased at a sale with some other old-fashioned mathematical instruments, and the purchaser brought it to me to ask what it was.

"I also exhibit a seal of white cornelian set in gold. This was found by the children of a platelayer on the Caledonian railway in a hedge near Kirtlebridge station, with some other articles, which were lost. The seal has on it an inscription in some Oriental language, which experts at the British museum read as "James Carter," and I am informed that a person of that name from the neighbourhood where the seal was found was resident in the East long ago. I have seen several seals with English names on them in Oriental languages—the last I saw had on it "George Brown" in Arabic, and belonged to the author of a huge book of travels who was killed in Persia about 100 years ago. Travellers and merchants in the East found it necessary to have their name in the letters of the country they were travelling in or were resident, in order to authenticate their contracts, the seal and not the signature being the essential to a contract in the East."

A vote of thanks was passed for these communications.

Notice was given of a special meeting to be held on May 21st in place of the usual monthly meeting in April, which was postponed owing to its falling in Holy week.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. J. L. FISH :—A book of inventories (1476-1548), and a volume of churchwardens' accounts, belonging to the parish of St. Margaret Pattens, in the city of London.

By Mr. C. D. E. FORTNUM :—A number of early Christian gems, a bronze statuette and a number of lamps.

By Mr. R. S. FERGUSON :—A ring dial and a gold seal.

By Mr. T. H. BAYLIS.—A Telagu MS. epic poem.

Thursday, May 21st, 1885.

MR. HILTON in the chair.

MR. W. T. WATKIN communicated the following note on the discoveries of a Roman inscription near Bala —

“An inscribed fragment of a tombstone was found in March last, whilst ploughing a field adjoining the Roman station at Caer-Gai, about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles south-west of the town of Bala, and close to the south-west extremity of Bala lake. The upper part of the stone had been broken off, but there remained the feet of a human being, and of an animal. The inscription (which is surrounded by a moulding) was beneath. It runs thus:—

IVLIVS . GAVERONIS . F.

FE . MIL . CHOR . I . NER

i.e. Julius Gaveronis F(ilius) Fe(cerunt) Mil(ites) C(o)hor(tis) I. Ner(viorum), or translated, Julius the son of Gavero. The soldiers of the 1st cohort of the Nervii made (this). Caer Gai has for the last three centuries yielded quantities of Roman coins, bricks, tiles and pottery, but the outline of it is now nearly obliterated. This is the first inscription that has occurred. It is also the first inscription by the 1st cohort of the Nervii found in Britain, though from the *tabula* of Trajan found at Sydenham, we know the regiment was in Britain in A.D. 105. Several inscriptions by the 2nd, 3rd, and 6th cohorts of the same people have been found in Britain. An urn, containing burnt bones and charcoal was beneath the stone, which is also ornamented with a moulding &c., on the back.”

MR. E. WALFORD exhibited and made some remarks on a fine engraving of the battle of the Boyne.

MR. PARK HARRISON described a necklace obtained from a mummy pit at Arica, and now in the Oxford museum. It is composed of long blue bugles, alternating with minute chevron or sun-beads. A bronze bell-shaped ornament is the only pendant. The bugles are of various sizes and tints, shewing that they once formed part of earlier necklaces. They are square in section like some of unknown date and origin in the Ashmolean museum; and also, like them, they are formed with a core of clear glass, coated with opaque white, which again is covered with a glass of a greenish-blue colour. The chevron beads resemble those that are found in Egypt, and maritime districts in Europe, principally in the north; and they have also been met with in mounds and ossuaries in Florida, and other Atlantic states in America. At Arica the beads are associated with objects strongly suggesting an Eastern origin. Dr. E. B. Tyler was quoted as believing that the knowledge of bronze reached the coast of central America and Peru, through the drifting of some Chinese or Japanese junks; and the percentage of tin in Peruvian and Chinese bronze being only half that of the alloy in Mexico and countries east of the Atlantic, supports this view. M. Ber also accounts for a blue glass ewer of Oriental form, discovered by him at Aucon, in a similar way. Since, however, it appears from a recent paper by Dr. Edkin, that ancient Chinese authors of contemporary date speak of commerce by sea with Arabia in the early centuries of our era, vessels would probably have been

driven by gales from the coast of southern India, through Torres Straits, whence there is a drift current that flows for three months in the year in the direction of Fiji or Easter island, and then joins the Peruvian stream. At Quito the Spaniards were told that giants arrived from the west at a remote period in vessels sewn together with sinnet; a mode of construction once peculiarly Arabian. Glass beads, Egyptian works of art, Cypriote forms of pottery, and the practice of embalming, would thus, in all probability, have been introduced into Peru from our East by a southern line of drifting. Here and there traces appear to be left that indicate its course.

The Rev. G. F. BROWNE read a paper on some "Scandinavian" or "Danish" sculptured stones found in London; and their bearing on the supposed "Scandinavian" or "Danish" origin of other English sculptured stones. Mr. Browne's paper is printed at page 251.

The Rev. J. L. FISH exhibited a small silver-gilt Communion cup and cover, and a paten, belonging to the parish of St. Margaret Pattens, London, the gift of Newbrough Swingland, parish clerk, 1744.

The cup and cover bear the London hall-marks for 1743-4, but are by different makers. The paten is a small salver on three feet; it has the London marks for 1738-9.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. W. T. WATKIN :—Rubbing of a Roman inscription found near Bala.

By Mr. E. WALFORD :—Engraving of the battle of the Boyne.

By Mr. PARK HARRISON :—A necklace of chevron beads and blue bugles from a Peruvian grave.

By the Rev. G. F. Browne :—A fine series of rubbings illustrative of his paper.

By Rev. J. L. FISH :—Communion cup and cover, and a paten belonging to the parish of St. Margaret Pattens in the city of London.

Thanks were returned for these communications and exhibits.



# Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

## BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR 1884.

### RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance at Bankers on 1st January, 1884 (as per accounts for the year 1883)	-	-	80	14	6	
" Petty Cash on hand	-	-	1	5	11	52 0 5
" Annual Subscriptions, including arrears and payments made in advance	-	-	389	11	0	
" Entrance Fees	-	-	61	1	0	
" Life Compositions	-	-	147	0	0	
" Sale of Publications, &c.	-	-	93	0	3	
" Balance of Account of Newcastle-on-Tyne Meeting	-	-				633 12 3
						54 2 9

£799 15 5

I hereby certify that I have prepared the above account of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1884, and that the same agrees with the Cash and Banker's Books of the Institute, and that I have also examined the various payments with the vouchers and find the same to be in order.

WM. A. KIRBY.

Public Accountant.

9, New Broad Street, E.C. 4, 10th March, 1885.

### EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Publishing Account—						
Engraving, &c. for Journal	-	-	54	0	3	
Pollard, W., Printing Journal	-	-	170	4	0	
Hope, W. H. St. John, Editing	-	-	80	0	0	304 4 3
" House Expenses—						
Rent of Apartments	-	-	115	8	0	
Secretary's Salary	-	-	80	0	0	
Johnson, W. S., Printing	-	-	81	18	0	
Partridge & Cooper, Stationery and Books	-	-	16	1	6	
Thomas, A., Binding for Library	-	-	15	10	9	
Barthes and Lowell, Books for Library	-	-	3	0	0	
Preston, Rev. S. A., ditto	-	-	1	11	6	
Bywater, G. and A., Cases, Repairs, etc.	-	-	1	14	0	
Income Tax	-	-	2	18	4	
Law Costs re Lease of No. 16 New Burlington street	-	-	1	1	0	
Coal	-	-	1	3	6	
Cheque Stamps	-	-	4	0	0	
Harrison, E. A.—Engraving Address of Condoleance to H.M. The Queen, and H.R.H. The Duchess of Albany	-	-	2	16	0	391 6 7
" Costs of Incorporation of the Institute—						
Board of Trade Fee	-	-	5	5	0	
Cost of Drawing Articles of Association, Printing same, Advertising, etc. (no professional charges)	-	-	10	4	0	15 9 4
" Petty Cash Account						
Office Expenses, Attendant, Insurance, Gas, &c.	-	-	65	17	5	
Stamps and Delivery of Journal	-	-	37	17	3	
Cab and Rail Hire	-	-	13	11	0	
Carriage, etc. of Parcels	-	-	8	3	6	
Stationery, Books, Office Sundries	-	-	10	8	10	117 18 10
" Balance at Bankers 31st December, 1884 (after adding balance of Newcastle Meeting Account credited in January, 1885, and deducting sundry payments in 1885 on account of 1884)	-	-	70	10	11	
" Petty Cash in hand	-	-	5	7	0	70 16 6
						£799 15 5

Audited and found correct, 28rd April, 1885.

SOMERS CLARKE,

E. C. HULME,

Honorary Auditors.

(Signed) F. HLOY, President.

## The Archaeological Journal.

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DECEMBER, 1885.

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### OPENING ADDRESS TO THE HISTORICAL SECTION AT THE DERBY MEETING.<sup>1</sup>

By the Very Reverend the DEAN OF LICHFIELD.

I feel much honoured in being called upon to preside over the Historical Section of the Royal Archæological Institute on this occasion; and I must ask you to listen with indulgence to one, who, although he has always felt an interest in pursuits of this kind, has been chiefly occupied, during a busy life, with studies more immediately connected with his sacred calling.

Archæology, if I rightly understand the term, comprises the pursuit of every thing which tends to illustrate history, or to increase our knowledge of the lives and habits of our forefathers. All those relics, which time or disaster have spared to us, come within the province of history, and even words and names and proverbs and popular traditions are of the number of those things with which it is conversant. We all know how much light has been thrown upon the history of our country by an intimate and critical acquaintance with its composite language; and hence I feel sure of your sympathy when I say that we are not at all obliged to the advocates of a system of what is called "phonetic spelling," which would sweep away many an interesting and instructive historical land mark.

The history of our country is really enshrined in its language. We find stereotyped in our words of daily use the intimations of the past fortunes of our land; and we can trace out in those words the history of our connection

<sup>1</sup> Read at Derby, July 28th, 1885.  
VOL. XLII. (No. 168).

with other nations, and the relations which we have held to them; and we can thus measure the amount of influence which successive invasions have exercised upon us. And thus too do the patient researches of the archæologist in another direction reveal to us those material fragments and remnants which have come to us "*tanquam tabulæ ex naufragio*"; and by means of which we can construct the proofs and furnish the illustrations of successive foreign occupations of our island. But I need hardly remind this audience that there are portions of our history still remaining in much obscurity. Something has been done in recent times by the skill and patient research of men like Professor Rhys, Prebendary Scarth, Mr. Elton and others, to lift the cloud of obscurity which rests upon our most ancient traditions. I call them ancient, although I do not forget the dictum of Bacon, "*Antiquitas sæculi, juvenus mundi.*" "Those times," he says, "are the ancient times, when the world is ancient, and not those which we account ancient, '*ordine retrogrado*,' by a computation backward from ourselves." Then again, anything which tends to illustrate the period between the Roman and the Saxon dominations, is of peculiar value, as exhibiting the influence exerted upon our forefathers by the Roman occupation of our island. That influence I apprehend to have been far greater both in its political and religious aspect than is commonly supposed. Let me add further that we are living in an age in which these relics are rapidly disappearing. The disturbances of the soil, caused by the general enclosure and cultivation of waste lands, and by the formation of railways and other extensive works (to say nothing of the density of our population) have a direct tendency to displace, if not to sweep away, what remains to us of the materialism of antiquity. Now this Institute has been and will, I doubt not, continue to be of eminent service in rescuing some of these memorials, in receiving and imparting light respecting them, and in treasuring up facts, which will help to enrich the pages of some future historian of our country.

I will venture to remind you of some of the more interesting of the discoveries by which in recent times light has been shed upon our history.

I would first mention the aids which have been afforded to us by coins and medals. It was Addison, I think, who said that "medals give a very great light to history, in confirming such passages as are true in old authors, in determining such as are told after different manners; and in recording such as have been omitted. In this case a cabinet of medals is a body of history'."

The history of Britain in the interval between the invasions of Julius and Claudius Cæsar, namely from 54 B.C. to 43 A.D. is chiefly to be learnt from the coins. The coinage of Britain was modelled after that of Gaul, which in its turn can be traced to the Greeks of Masilia or Marseilles, through whom the Gauls became acquainted with the gold stater of Philip II. of Macedon, about 350 B.C. This coin had on one side the head of Apollo, wreathed with laurel, and on the other a charioteer driving a pair of horses; underneath the chariot is the name of Philip. This beautiful Greek coin was fairly imitated by the Gauls at first; but by degrees the figures degenerated into grotesque and fantastic forms. Mr. John Evans, the greatest living authority on this subject, is of opinion that the inhabitants of the south and south-east of Britain must have begun to coin gold pieces of this kind from 200 to 150 B.C. There is one portion of this island whose history is curiously illustrated by the peculiarity of its coinage, namely, the country of the Iceni or Eцени, embracing that part of the island now known, speaking roughly, as Norfolk and Suffolk. These Iceni were a brave and hardy race. They made an alliance with the Romans about 43 B.C. Some of their coins are remarkable as shewing the name of the people to whom the coin belonged, in the abbreviated form of Ecen., from which it has been conjectured ingeniously by the Professor of Celtic at Oxford, that these Eцени may have had a revolution which put an end to the kingly power. At all events the Professor gives it as his opinion that they were never conquered by Cymbeline.

The Celts, with whom our ideas of the earliest inhabitants of this country are most identified, are a branch of

<sup>1</sup> In connection with this I may refer to an interesting work entitled, "Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the death of

George II.," compiled by the late Edward Hawkins, F.L.S. and Herbert A. Grueber; recently printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum.

the great family of nations called Aryan. Those who appear most frequently in history are the race called Gothic, the name indicating that they were warriors. No one knows when they first settled in Britain. There appear to have been two invasions of the Celtic races properly so called. To the one race belong the ancestors of the people who speak Gaelic in Ireland, in the Isle of Man, and in the Highlands; the other group is represented in point of speech by the Welsh people and the Britons. The Welsh form of this word is Brython. The ancient Gauls must be classed with them; for the Brythons must be regarded as Gauls who came over to settle in Britain.

The Brythons appear to have invaded England later than the Gaelic, or Goidelic people, and to have driven them westwards. And here I may observe in passing, that the great movements of the earth's population have for the most part been from east to west. But the Goidels when they arrived in this island did not find it without inhabitants. They had previously driven another race westward. Thus there are indications of three different races, two Celtic and one pre-Celtic, the pre-Celtic being a people whose remains belong to an age called the "later Stone age." It is probably to this remote period that such vast megalithic structures as those of Avebury and Stonehenge are to be referred; and also the earthworks, or fortified camps remaining in elevated positions; the most elaborate and most strongly fortified being generally regarded as the most ancient. Then there are also the barrows to be seen in Wiltshire, and in this your county of Derby. These barrows appear upon examination to have been the sepulchres of a rude and primitive people. And it is singular and interesting that interments of Romans have sometimes been found in mounds outside these barrows, evidently of later work.

What then is the earliest historical information that we possess of our island? There were two ways by which it might be approached from the east, through the Mediterranean. One would be through the Straits of Gibraltar (the pillars of Hercules, as they were called); the other by land through Gaul, and so across the narrow channel which separates it from England. Now it appears that about 350 B.C. an expedition was fitted out by some

merchants of Marseilles, to ascertain whether a trade in tin might not be opened out with advantage in certain unknown regions lying north-west of Spain. It was known in these early times that there was a trade in tin carried on in the west of this island; and that it was purchased from the natives by merchants, who came for it from Gaul to the eastern shores of Britain. Now amongst those who formed the expedition to which I have just referred, was an eminent astronomer named Pytheas, a native of Marseilles. His works unfortunately have perished; but fragments of his diary have been preserved in ancient authors. He sailed through the pillars of Hercules, and round the coast of Spain and Brittany, and thence to Kent, and other parts of the shores of Britain. He went northwards at least as far as Shetland; but he paid more attention to Britain than to any other country. Curiously enough, however, he does not appear to have visited the tin district at the south-west corner of the island; nor does he give a hint to shew that there was any communication between those districts and the continent. That intercourse was probably confined to the south-east of the island, where the channel, the "silver streak" as it has been called, is narrowest. It is possible that commercial reasons may have restrained him from saying anything about the trade in tin then existing between Cornwall, the ancient Damnonia, and Gaul. But he gives some interesting facts with reference to the inhabitants of Britain at that time. They were so far civilized as to have become agriculturists; at all events the south-east corner of England was at that time a rich corn-producing district. These early tillers of the soil had large barns in which the corn was thrashed out; for the climate of this island was very much the same 2000 years ago that it is now; and the British farmer can trace his ancestry to at least the third century before Christ.

Another eminent Greek, named Posidonius, a contemporary and friend of Cicero, visited Britain about 80 B.C., and extended his travels to the extreme south-west corner of the island, the furthest extremity of Cornwall, which he named Belesius, where tin was found. He describes the people, and their methods of working tin. He says that

their dwellings were mean, made for the most part of reeds and wood; and that their harvest consisted in cutting off the ears of corn, and storing them in pits underground. Thus the necessities of the climate compelled the inhabitants at that remote period to have recourse to a system of ensilage, not very different from that which is coming into use in this generation for storing food for animals.

We cannot learn much from ancient authors as to the religion of our forefathers. It is probable that Druidism had found its home in Britain amongst the pre-Celtic inhabitants before the two Celtic invasions. But we may reasonably infer that so far as they were Celts they brought with them into this island the religion of the Gauls and other Aryan nations. The gods whom they worshipped would be, roughly speaking, those of Rome, such as Jove and Minerva, Apollo and Mars, and especially Mercury. It must not however be forgotten that during the time of the Roman occupation, which lasted more than three centuries and a half, Christianity made considerable progress amongst the Celts. It appears in all probability to have planted itself in this island in the time of Claudius; nor is there any reason to doubt the truth of the tradition that the apostle St. Paul actually visited this island in the interval between his first and second imprisonments at Rome. This interval comprised some eight years. We know that he contemplated a journey into Spain; and if we combine with the words of St. Clement, his contemporary, who says that he came to "the extreme limit of the west," those of Tertullian A.D. 208 "the places of the Britons, inaccessible to the Romans, are subdued to Christ," we can hardly doubt that the Church in this island was planted by apostolic hands. The Latin language also became prevalent during that period. It was the official language of the province, and the ordinary means of communication over the south and south eastern portions of the island. York, Lincoln, Colchester, and London were the strongholds of the Roman dominion; and the municipal institutions of Rome had to a great extent established themselves in Britain. But the prevailing spirit of the country was military, rather than civil, a spirit which was no doubt fostered by its insular position, and its liability

to invasion from barbarians on all sides. And it is recorded by Bæda (li. c. xii) that when the Romans were about to leave the island, they helped the inhabitants to build a strong stone wall from sea to sea in a straight line connecting the fortified towns which had been built, not far from the walls of Severus, to protect them from the Picts and the Scots. They also built a series of towers at regular intervals on the south eastern shore, within sight of the sea, which were designed to assist the inhabitants in their defence of the country. Nor need I remind you that the Romans have also left their mark on this island in the roads the remains of which still exist, and whose names indicate their origin; as the "Watling Street," so called from Vitellianus, who is supposed to have directed it, and whose name was corrupted by the Britons into "Guatelin"; the "Ickneild Way" from the Icenii or Ecenii, in whose country it began; and the "Ermin Street" from the German "Irmunsul" meaning "Mercury," the favourite God of the Gauls.

We have been accustomed to regard Brittany in France, as having derived its name from the Bretons, when they were driven from England by the Saxons; a tradition which has been perpetuated by Milton when he speaks of "British and Armoric Knights" as the customary retinue of king Arthur (*Paradise Lost*, Book I. 579). But recent ethnological investigations, for which we are indebted to the Oxford Celtic Professor, have I think thrown a new light on this matter. The Professor is of opinion that the question turns very much upon the source from whence the word Britain is derived. He thinks that this word, together with the Welsh Brydan, or Prydan, must be traced back to the Latin, which was commonly written Britannia. The inhabitants of this island were known to the Romans as Britanni. Now it is probable that it was from the Greeks of Marseilles that the Romans first heard of these islands; and it is equally probable that the Greeks heard the word from the natives of the south-west part of the island, who brought their tin in market. When however the Romans came to Britain, they found that the name which the Brythens gave themselves in the south-east of the island was not Britanni, but Brittōnes (singular Britto), which among the Welsh becomes



Brythen. Now the root of this word has to do with cloth or clothing; and thus the Professor makes out Brythen to mean a "clothed people," as distinguished from a people wearing little or no clothing. Who then, he asks, could this people be? Not the Celts, either of the first or of the second invasion; because the art of making clothes seems to have been known to the earliest of those who ever landed here. He concludes, therefore, that the unclothed race, with whom the Brythens favourably contrasted themselves, must have been some of the aboriginal tribes whose country they invaded on the continent; especially as there are reasons for believing that they called themselves Brythens, before they invaded England. In fact, remnants of this people are supposed to shew traces of their existence in Gaul in historic times. Pliny speaks of continental Britanni, who lived on the borders of the Rhine; and it is believed that most, if not all the regiments termed Brittones in the Roman army in Britain were natives of Gaul. At all events the old tradition that Brittany was colonized by fugitive Brythens from this country is of doubtful authority.

But I must not detain you longer. Allow me to remind you in conclusion that it is the province of Archæology to assist in moulding the mind of successive ages. Upon the archæologist lies the grave responsibility of helping to transmit that which is truth to posterity, with as little admixture of error as human infirmity will admit. We should learn wisdom therefore by the faults as well as by the merits of our predecessors, and endeavour to hand on the history of the past, checked by what the present has revealed, and chastened by the genius and scholarship of our age.

But surely this is not the only end, or the ultimate scope of our aims. "The greatest error," says Bacon, "is the mistaking or misplacing of the last or furthest end of knowledge. For men have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, sometimes upon a natural curiosity or inquisitive appetite,—sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight,—sometimes for ornament and reputation; and sometimes to enable them to victory of wit, and contradiction; and most times for lucre and profession; and seldom sincerely to give a true

account of their gift of reason to the benefit and use of men; as if there were sought in knowledge a couch whereon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a terrace for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a fort or commanding ground for strife and contention; or a shop for profit or sale; and not a rich storehouse for the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man's estate."<sup>1</sup> And if this is true of all knowledge, how true is it of those pursuits in which we are engaged. It is surely an object of laudable ambition to strive to gather up such facts as may aid us in constructing a more exact and copious history of the past. But it would be an unprofitable result indeed, if our spirits were to slumber in the midst of the materialism of our work, and we were to accustom ourselves to examine a coin, or to trace the etymology of a word, or to endeavour to reconcile conflicting statements, without drawing for ourselves the moral lessons which these studies suggest. Even the rusted ring of the Roman knight may tell us of the end of human ambition; for the earth which has kept his ring could not keep him; and the little hoarded treasure, it may be of the 12th century, which the ploughshare of the 19th century has turned up, may speak to us of some unprospered act of covetousness or theft. The pursuits of archæology are indeed full of moral and spiritual lessons. Happy are those students who, while adding to the stock of general knowledge, are thereby bracing and elevating themselves.

<sup>1</sup> Bacon, Advancement of Learning.

# ON THE PRESENT PROSPECTS OF ARCHÆOLOGY AT ATHENS.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE REV. JOSEPH HIRST.

## PART I. ATHENS.

According to an image as old as Pindar, the Acropolis of Athens was, as it were, the boss of a shield around which revolved four concentric circles, Athens, Attica, Greece, the World.<sup>2</sup> The reason of this figure is of deep suggestion. Of all cities in the world Athens was pre-eminent in philosophy, in literature, in art, and in the knowledge of a free and enlightened scheme of government; while the Acropolis, which, as a vast museum of sculpture and architecture, was the flower of Grecian culture, was to Athens, what Athens was to the world. No wonder then if in all ages the minds and hearts of men have turned for inspiration to this magic scene; and if modern nations have instinctively wished to imitate the ancient Romans, amongst whom, as they advanced in civilization, the opinion came to prevail that their education was incomplete without the study of Greek and a residence in Athens,<sup>3</sup>—that land, described by Euripides of old, as a land sacred and unconquered, nurturing sons “whose food is most glorious wisdom, and who ever walk delicately through the brightest air.”<sup>4</sup>

It may be permitted then to a member of the Institute

<sup>1</sup> Read at Derby, at the Meeting of the Institute, July 31st, 1885.

<sup>2</sup> v. Leake's *Topography of Athens*, I, p. 308.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>4</sup> Ἐρεχθεΐδαι τὸ παλαιὸν ἔλβιοι  
καὶ θεῶν παῖδες μακάρον, ἱερᾶς  
χώρας ἀπορθήτου τ' ἀποφερβόμενοι  
κλεινοτάτων σοφίαν, ἀεὶ διὰ λαμπροτάτου  
βαλυντροῦς ἀβρῶς αἰθέρος

Euripides, *Medea*, 824-8.

who has just returned from an eight months' residence in that classic home, to enlarge upon some of the material helps for the study of archæology that may be reckoned upon by those who may wish to take advantage of a stay in Athens, especially in connection with the now more than projected British school of classical studies in that city. Nothing need be said about the number of friends one will meet in Athens, where most of the educated understand and speak more or less fluently either English, German, Italian or French. It may, however, be well to observe that the chief English reviews and more serious literary and scientific serials can easily be consulted every day at the parliament house reading-room (with the proper introduction), while a great favour is accorded to foreigners at the university or national library, and at that of the Chamber of Deputies (which latter is very well stocked with English topographical works on Greece), by their being allowed to take out to their homes whatever books they may require.

I will begin with a brief description of three Institutions kindred to the one now to be founded by ourselves. The school of classical and of ancient art studies founded and supported in Athens by the French government has now been in existence forty years. It is a handsome and imposing building, and possesses a fine library. Its director, M. Foucart, is one of the first scholars of France, and a man of European reputation. There are in it six burses of 4000 fr. a year, to be held for three years, and one of these burses can be appropriated to the study of *Christian* archæology. In exceptional cases the place of a student may be held for a fourth year. The whole school is under the direction of the Paris Minister of Public Instruction, who, however, hands over all reports he receives therefrom to the Institute of France, which is divided into four academies. To one of those academies, that of *Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* each student must present a memoir on some subject connected with the work of the school, every year of his residence in Athens, exceptions however being made for the first year, which is naturally one of preparation. All excavations and researches are undertaken at the cost of the French government, and the journeys and expenses of the

students who are sent to superintend them are defrayed according to the guidance of the Director, who himself visits these distant sites from time to time to direct or control the outlay. During the past year students of the French school have been engaged in important studies and excavations at Elateia, at the Oracle of Apollo on Mount Ptoum, in Bœotia, and in Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup>

Next to the French school comes that established by the German government some eleven years ago, in connection with the well-known German Institute founded by Bunsen and Niebuhr in Rome. It is presided over by Dr. Köhler, who has now been long acknowledged in Greece as a critic in ancient art and in epigraphy of a very high order. The Director of the German school at Athens receives 18,000 marks a year, besides rooms in the house belonging to the school, which was not however built for the purpose, but is sufficiently spacious and is conveniently situated near the Greek university, the Academy, and the Greek national library.

The German government provides five burses of 3000 marks a year between the two schools of Rome and Athens, one burse being available for the study of *Christian* archæology; but by exception a burse may be retained for a second year. In the Institute of both Rome and Athens a few rooms are placed at the disposal of the students, for which they pay rent. They do not however have their meals in the house as in the French school. This year three burses have been held by German students in Athens, but two other gentlemen are attached to the school, the one as librarian, and the other, an architect employed by the Director, as government representative for antiquities. No essay or memoir is required by rule from the students, but fortnightly meetings are held from November to May, at which there are papers or lectures each time from two or three of the members or associates of the school. These meetings are open by courtesy to all those who understand

<sup>1</sup> The Director can allow each student, at his discretion, 1000 fra. a year for travelling expenses. The Director of the French school at Athens has a salary of 24,000 fra. a year, with house and fuel.

The students besides their salary have lodging and fuel, chamber and table-linen, cooking and attendance provided for them.

German, as were the meetings in French formerly held at the French school, and those in English at the American, to those who wished to attend them.

The American school is at present located in a large and commodious house, underneath the Acropolis and near the temple of Olympian Zeus. The Greek government, however, has just presented America with a plot of land, between the site already granted for the British school and the gardens of the monastery of the "Incorporate," to which all the land thereabouts originally belonged. The English and American schools, having the advantage of a common mother-tongue, will be able to react on each other, and perhaps establish a serviceable bond of union and scheme of united action by means of joint discussions, meetings, lectures and exhibitions. The American school of classical studies at Athens was projected by a society known as the Archæological Institute of America, and is organized and supported by some fifteen of the leading American colleges, which have agreed to contribute each an annual sum in furtherance of the object for which the school was founded, and to send each year from their number, according to election, a director to take charge of its work. Every effort is being made to raise the endowment to such a sum as will allow of the appointment of a permanent resident director in Athens. The school has now been in existence three full years, and during its second year had seven regular students in attendance. At present the committee contribute nothing towards the journey, board or lodging of the students; but it is hoped that scholarships may be founded in connection with the chief American seats of learning, which will enable a goodly succession of students to be maintained for one or more years at Athens. During the school year, which extends from the 1st of October to the 1st of June, each member of the school must pursue some definite subject of study or research in classical literature, art or antiquities, and must present yearly one or more theses embodying the results of his work. These theses, if recommended for publication, are issued in the papers of the school. Of these papers, the first volume has just been issued. The German school has long possessed a *Quarterly Journal of*

high scientific value, and the French school has also a no less learned organ which appears eight times a year.<sup>1</sup>

To the mention of these schools I must add that of the two Archæological Societies founded and directed by the Greeks themselves. The great Archæological Society of Athens, which now enjoys an income of some £4000 a year, was founded in 1837, and comprises some 250 paying members, a number more satisfactory than the 800 more or less complimentary names it once exhibited on its muster-roll. The funds of this society are spent in the most patriotic manner in discovering and in preserving the monuments of antiquity, and in publishing a beautifully illustrated and handsome journal in quarto, which appears four times a year. The society does its work in the most thorough manner, and wherever ancient remains of value are disinterred in out-lying districts, takes care to build small sheds or museums on the spot for their preservation, and to appoint a custodian at a fixed salary.

During the present year a kindred society has been founded in Athens for the Study and Preservation of Greek *Christian* Antiquities. This society has for its object the collection and preservation of the remains of Christian antiquity found in Greece, the preservation and study of which may be calculated to throw light on the history and art of the nation. Such remains are coins, inscriptions, crosses, rings, bells, baptismal fonts, seals, sacred vestments, images, church furniture, diptychs, sculptures, ornaments, manuscripts, &c., &c. This society has been founded none too soon, as irreparable harm has already been done to numberless Byzantine mosaics through the decay of time or through injudicious restoration. The originators and leading spirits of this new foundation are two Athenian gentlemen, Barouchas and G. Lamparchis.

<sup>1</sup> As regards the expense of a year's residence at Athens, journey and ordinary excursions included, Dr. Köhler estimates it at 4000 fra. for the year. Living is dear in Athens and lodging difficult to find. The German colony has established a kind of club called Philadelphia, where they pay 110 fra. a month for dinner and supper. A room can hardly be obtained for less than 60 fra. a month, so the minimum expense for German students would be 170 fra. a month. Greek students

however get board and lodging for less. A young archæologist I knew lived with a German family, where he was well satisfied, and paid only 160 fra. a month. A good authority however tells me that it would be difficult for an Englishman to live on less than 250 or 200 fra. a month, for board and lodging alone. At the French school, the students mess together at an expense of from 5 to 6 fra. a day, including the usual three meals and a sufficiently liberal diet.

Let me now say something about the land itself.

We learn from Pliny<sup>1</sup> that after the spoliation of Greece by Nero (and, after Nero, Greece had not much to fear), there still remained 3000 statues at Athens, and as many at Olympia. Now the statues already found at Olympia, where the German Government has spent some £50,000 on excavations, are enough to fill a large museum, and one of them the Hermes of Praxiteles, the only authentic work we have of that artist, is perhaps the finest work of ancient art the world now possesses.

But those best qualified to judge have declared that two-thirds of the site of Olympia still remain to be excavated.

Leake, in his *Introduction to the Topography of Athens*<sup>2</sup>, gives a list of some sixty places in Greece which are most likely to still preserve valuable remains of antiquity concealed below the surface, where the state of the soil appears to indicate that the sites have been little disturbed since the respective places fell to ruin, and to promise a rich harvest of ancient remains. But still more favourable localities, he says, for excavation, affording better prospect of finding productions of ancient masters, are the *Ἄλση*, or sacred groves, which were generally removed from the ordinary habitations of men, and sometimes in sequestered valleys or mountain solitudes, and have been comparatively secure from spoliation. Of such promising sites Leake mentions fourteen, but five of these have already been explored by the students of the French and German schools of Athens.

But the ground of Athens itself is still unexplored. The modern city has shifted altogether from the site occupied by the city of Pericles and Demosthenes. I have seen a field of barley growing, and half a dozen shepherds watching their flocks on a piece of ground between the Pnyx, the Areopagus and the Acropolis, which must have been the heart of the ancient town of Athens, but upon which not a single building is now visible. Further away, between the hills of the Muses and the Pnyx, are the remains of the Pelasgic or rock-built settlements of the very earliest times, and here the ground when furrowed by the hill-side torrents after rain is shewn to be full of ancient pottery. Though most of the tombs have been

<sup>1</sup> H. N. xxxiv, 7.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 100-1.



opened on this secluded spot, I can say that walking through this uncultivated waste with a friend, by what is the shortest way to Phalerum, we have come almost casually upon heaps of very interesting archaic pottery; while one day—passing along the dry bed of a stream in the very centre of this region, within call from Athens—we espied a gold olive leaf stuck in the neck of a broken lachrymatory peering out from the recently denuded bank at a depth of 8 or 9 feet from the surface.

These however are mere trifles, though pieces of pottery with coloured patterns and mutilated painted figures rewarded our researches, made with no other help than the aid of an umbrella and a penknife. It must moreover be remembered that the whole of the north and west sides of the hill of the Acropolis, occupied by very sparsely scattered cottages, still remains to be explored, and the archæological society of Athens keeps this task steadily in view. The tombs outside the Ceramic Gate have also never yet been opened, and it has been resolved to open some ancient tombs here, as well as on some of the islands, as at Syra and at Santorin, and within the walls of Mycenæ, on the occasion of the visit of the learned men of Europe for the congress of Prehistoric Anthropology to be held next spring in Athens. A still more important work of excavation has only just now been begun on the site of the ancient Athenian market place, known as the Stoa of Hadrian. Last summer an outbreak of fire destroyed the mean stalls and buildings of the Agora, over a space which may be roughly set down as sixty yards square. Lord Elgin's tower, which stood in the centre of this ancient market place, has entirely disappeared, and the area is now levelled. When we reflect that rubbish has there accumulated during the last two thousand years to a depth of 25 feet we can well imagine what a harvest of treasure trove may reward the labours of a well conducted and systematic search.

Such then are the prospects of profiting by actual research, and of gaining knowledge at first hand, for those whose good fortune may lead them to spend the coming years in Athens. There can be no manner of doubt that so many German and French students could not have obtained the world-wide reputation they now enjoy, had

they not been trained in the actual labour of deciphering day by day the inscriptions found, and of piecing and reconstructing the broken statues and architectural ornaments disinterred in the course of the excavations undertaken by their respective governments at Olympia, at Delos, and on a host of other historic sites.

This rapid sketch would not be complete without some mention of the rapidly increasing means of communication by which the various parts of Greece can be reached and visited.

On my arrival in Greece in November 1884, the only railway open was the short span connecting Athens with the Piræus, and another 8 miles between Katakolo and Pyrgos on the way to Olympia. Since then I have seen the line connecting Attica with the Peloponnesus opened past Eleusis, as far as Megara, and later on as far as Corinth. In a few more months the line will be opened as far as Nauplia, passing Mycenæ and Argos on the way. Next came the line to Kephisia and Laurium, which has also been opened at intervals during the year. As for Thessaly, there is a railway running between Volo and Larissa, and from Volo to Pharsalus, and in a few weeks the line will be opened from Pharsalus to Karditza; while in another six months it will be carried on as far as Trikola and Kalabaka, where the Greek and Turkish frontiers meet. If Mr. Tricoupis had remained in power another fortnight the contract would have been signed for a railway between Athens and Salonica, all the necessary measures having been already taken; and this railway would have brought Greece into the life current of Europe by the establishment of daily intercourse with Vienna and the western capitals.

## PART II. ELEUSIS.

I will conclude with the notice of some excavations which I have watched from month to month on the site of the celebrated ancient city of Eleusis, within a walk or afternoon drive from Athens.

The repeated discoveries of noble lines of masonry, often covered up again after a few weeks of exposure, and the strange 'transformation scenes,' or dissolving views as I may call them, the ruins thus seemed to present at each

succeeding visit, as different levels were struck, reminding one at times of the web woven by Penelope, when the work done in the day was undone at night, may give one some idea of the importance of a residence near the place where such important revelations of ancient architecture are made.

Unlike the temple of Diana at Ephesus, the site of the great temple of Eleusis has never been a secret to be made known in modern times by a course of skilful deductions, or by a chance stroke of the pickaxe. But so well has the secret of the solemn mysteries that adorned that temple been kept, that the eyes of all the world are continually turning to Eleusis in the vague hope that each fresh excavation may reveal something calculated to throw light upon them. I have known enthusiastic travellers even nowadays try to rehearse the grand annual or quadriennial procession, and starting from the virgin temple of the Acropolis at Athens, would painfully seek out the Sacred Way through the Ceramic Gate, across the moist plain, over the stream Kephissos by a bridge, which owed its far-reaching name to the coarse jests and mockery that there sometimes greeted the motley throng of pilgrims, and through the mountain pass to Daphne, down on to the shore over-against Salamis, where some would go over the bare shelving rock round the sacred fish-pools, for fear of missing one spot perhaps trod of old, and arrive at the far off shrine after having compressed into three or four hours, a journey that in former times occupied the whole of a long and exhausting day. Certainly a thrilling sense it is to be brought thus near to the thoughts and feelings of those ancient worshippers, by meeting in succession the same scenes that met their eyes, and by experiencing the same fatigue, mingled with some of the same joys, from the natural beauty of the scene, a realisation and an identification in the present of the past that has ever such a charm for the archæologist.

At Eleusis itself the excavations round about the once glorious temple have now been going on without interruption since June, 1882, and but for sundry buildings that stood in the way, for which too high a price was demanded, would have been finished long ago. All formalities having at length been concluded concerning the wished for expropriation of the two remaining

obstacles, namely, a small church with enclosure and a two-storied house, now occupied by the labourers, the archæological society of Athens hopes to bring the whole work to an end within the present year. From first to last the excavations at Eleusis have cost this well-deserving Greek society some £10,000, of which £8,000 had to be paid the villagers for cottages that then occupied the site of the ancient temple.

At Eleusis the works are directed by Mr. Philios, who represented the Greek government and watched the operations during Dr. Schliemann's famous excavations at Tiryns, excavations which have this spring been continued by him with the aid of Dr. Dörpfeld. Nothing can exceed the courtesy and intelligence with which Mr. Philios welcomes any visitor properly recommended to him, placing his plans and time entirely at their service. Without his assistance I should not have been able to compose the present record with exact measurements. Mr. Philios received his archæological training in Germany, and also speaks French and Italian fluently.

On my first visit, last November, I found that the unusually wet autumn having made the work of carrying off in baskets and in wheel barrows the mass of earth, in which parts of the noble Temple still lay embedded, more laborious and expensive, it had been interrupted for a time, only a few workman being then employed in rolling up the huge blocks of marble or of stone that required removing from the strange positions into which they had fallen.

The excavations at that time had laid bare certain walls about the courtyard of the temple, just before the great eastern portico, but the nature of the buildings for which they served as foundations can be only surmised. Various buildings are mentioned in an ancient inscription as existing within the sacred enclosure which have not yet been discovered or identified. Such buildings are a temple of Bacchus, the house of the priestess, the treasury of the goddesses, the house of the sacrist. *νεωκήριον*, and the *κηρυκεῖον* or house of the heralds. It is expected that the sites of some of these may be discovered when the later buildings that still encumber the ancient area are removed.

The sacred heralds held the third rank amongst the sacred offices of Eleusis, coming immediately after the Hierophant or high priest, and the *δαδούχος* who carried the sacred torch of Ceres. The office of herald in the solemn ceremonies of Eleusis consisted in proclaiming the sacred truce during the days dedicated to the mysteries, then in making the numerous customary appeals and exhortations to the initiated during the course of the ceremonies, and lastly in fulfilling for the Eleusinian sacrifices the part played by other heralds in ordinary sacrifices.<sup>1</sup>

The courtyard itself, which is an irregular space some 25 yards broad by 50 in its greatest length, seems at some far distant time to have been purposely filled in with pebbles and sand from the sea-shore, (as I was then able to see by the regular nature of the material, as revealed in the cuttings at that time visible all round,) apparently with the view of bringing up the area to the level of the portico or of the temple, to which it led, in order it would seem that houses might be more easily built upon the site, or the surface turned into gardens. Huge stones had already at that time been piled up upon the foundations of the outer wall of the courtyard, in order thus to preserve the lines of the original precinct, while the intermediate space has now been filled in again in order to form an inclined plane, affording an easy approach from the main road to the sacred ruins.

At my first visit in November of last year, there was visible immediately in front of the temple, at the far end of the newly disinterred courtyard H, a magnificent piece of masonry, I I' I'', 50 mètres long, by 8 m. in height, which served as the foundation for the grand eastern portico, a dodecastyle structure which now no longer exists. The ground before this wall had been dug out down to the very rock on which it stood, but the trench was even then being rapidly filled in again, and the wall itself was fast disappearing from view, so that when I returned a month hence it was no longer visible, save at the two ends. Where the rock was lowest I counted 17 courses of regular masonry, consisting of blocks of *πῶρος* stone from the Piræus, some two feet thick by four

<sup>1</sup> Lenormant *Recherches Archéologiques à Eleusis*, Paris 1862, p. 163.





in length. At the northern end, owing to the rock being slightly higher, the same level above was reached by the wall having only 15 courses of masonry, with a height of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  metres. Of course the wall was not meant to be seen, but having once seen it, one naturally regretted losing sight of a work two thousand two hundred years old.

In making this excavation (of which no trace now remains) some bones were found, but no certain remains of any tomb, and in clearing out the whole courtyard (now filled in again) nothing of importance was found. The baring, however, to view of the walls of the outer court, of the enclosure, of the foundations of the cella behind the portico, and of the two buttresses of which one on the southern and the other on the northern side support the substructure of the cella or temple proper itself, at the point where it was broken off and joined by the foundation wall of the great portico constructed at a later date, has clearly proved, from the fact of their all having the same mason's marks, which do not appear on the other walls, that all these walls are of the same early date. These marks consist of rude archaic Doric letters painted on the stone with some red pigment, the nature of which has not yet been made known by chemical analysis. On the interior face of the walls in the north-east corner of the courtyard (now no longer visible), I observed on one of these stores ΑΙΗ, the Α and Ι being ligulate, on another ΜΗ, on another a horizontal sigma, while on another stone on the wall facing south (now covered up) ΘΕΟ written backwards way, while there was evidence of another red letter having stood both before and after in close connection with this word.<sup>1</sup>

Of the buttresses just mentioned the southern one consists of 16 courses of masonry, the four lower ones being of the common blue Eleusinian marble of the neighbourhood, and is  $6\frac{1}{2}$  metres high. The foundation wall of the portico adjoining the northern buttress supporting the cella has been figured in the last annual

<sup>1</sup> The fact of this word being inverted, thus ΘΕΟ, shews that it must have been painted on the stone before the latter was placed in position, where it may inadvertently in this outlying court-yard wall have been put wrong way up. On my last visit this bit of walling below the

present surface was covered up and this little curiosity hidden from view. εἰ, "well," "good," was often put upon stones in the quarry by the architect to denote those that seemed to him to be of good quality and fit for his purpose.



report of the Athenian archæological society,<sup>1</sup> as the singular appearance revealed by the spade and pickaxe at this point has come to the aid of science, and has confirmed the statement of history which assigned two different epochs to the temple and the portico.

Where the northern buttress stands an irregular transverse line may be seen dividing the original wall of the cella from the new wall built for the foundation of the portico 120 years later. The older wall looks much whiter than the new one, though apparently built of the same kind of stone, and a thin outer coat breaks off from it now it is exposed to the air. The later wall however is still more easily discriminated by the rough mason's marks chiselled on every stone that has its end outwards, the other stones that lie longitudinally having their marks hidden from view. These marks consist of rude sprawling letters, and the commonest used are M, N and Ω; P and A occur frequently ligulate and oftentimes askew. Thus do we verify the assertion of Vitruvius, who says that the temple planned by Ictinus in the days of Pericles was built a considerable time before hand was set under Demetrius Phalerius to that noble and lofty portico, which, looking out straight over the blue waters of the bay of Eleusis on to the hills of Attica, far beyond which could be seen the flowery flanks of Hymettus, while on the right the eye was captivated by the soft flesh-like slopes of the mountain Isle of Salamis, gave the throng of worshippers at that world-renowned shrine one of the most exquisite views in Greece.

Directly in front of this lettered northern wall were found cut in the rock four tombs, two of which were large enough for youths and two for infants. All these tombs, which were apparently older than the existing buildings, had been opened and rifled, except one of the larger tombs, which was found only half covered, and which yielded some crumbled bones, and two or three fragments of pottery, on one of which besides some black figures, could be read the letters ΛΕΟ<sup>VP</sup>, expanded ΛΕΟΚΡΑΘΣ.

Advancing to the front of the portico and turning to the north-east corner of the temple, we have displayed to view by the recent excavations a fine stretch of three

<sup>1</sup> Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρίας τοῦ ἐτους 1883.

different kinds of walling, which happily remain undisturbed. The first of these extremely interesting structures, K, is a wall of polygonal uncemented blue marble, looking like an English granite wall; only the stones of the former fit in one to the other so much more cleverly, and present a more even face. This wall, which stands a few paces from and partially masks the unbroken line of the *πύλος* Piræus or island of Ægina stone of the foundations of the temple and portico, must be of very ancient date, as it has been cut through in order to build the latter. It is in two stages, the lower being of more regularly squared stones closely fitting together, the upper being of irregular shaped stones having smaller stones in their interstices. It is moreover at K, unmistakably blackened by fire, and in the burnt earth near it a gold ear-ring was discovered. This wall, as well as others both in and outside of the present temple, seems to have belonged to the buildings destroyed during the invasion of Attica by Xerxes.

Withdrawing further away from the temple, and looking towards it, we discern on the left another wall, L, running from north to south, which presents a very handsome appearance, being built of fine squared white stones drafted all round at the jointings, so that it looks panelled. This wall is faced only to the east and is filled in behind with earth (into which stones run at intervals lengthwise) as though it had supported a terrace. This terrace, which may have belonged to the pre-Periclean temple, would have faced due east, the later portico not being due east but rather south-east.

Further off again to the north has been next discovered a thick wall of unbaked bricks, M, standing upon two courses of regular masonry. This wall, now reduced to the consistency of an almost undistinguishable mass of clay, will soon melt away from the action of the weather to which it has suddenly become exposed after a burial of more than 2000 years. Such walls are mentioned by Pausanias as common in the fifth century B.C.,<sup>1</sup> as they

<sup>1</sup> Bk. vii., ch. 8, §. vii-viii. These mud walls are still common in the outskirts of Athens for enclosing gardens and fields. They are easily made and last a good time. The clay dug upon the spot is thrown into a mould some four feet square, and when dry is turned out and set up on a raised foundation, when sometimes one of these hardened

cakes stands upon another forming two rows and thus making a wall 8 ft. high. Their cost is some two fra. a piece and when covered, as is usual, with brushwood, will stand the brunt of the weather for twelve or fifteen years. It is supposed that the famous long walls of Athens were thus hastily built to a good height, on a solid stone foundation.

are common in Greece now, and this particular wall would seem to have been a wall of enclosure to the temple destroyed by the Persians. There are evidences that its thickness had been almost doubled at some later time by the addition of a slighter wall on its inner side, the space between the two being then filled in with rubble, and the whole width being thus raised to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  mètres. Outside this wall, and cutting it at an obtuse angle, has been discovered a lozenge-shaped quadrangle, or rather trapezium, formed by eight square stone columns, N, the tops of which are not higher than the pavement of the portico of the temple. Though this structure, and a massive conglomerate or friable-looking stone wall towards the north, both belong to Byzantine times, the former buildings into which they were sunk as foundations, may have been subterranean apartments used for some purpose or other in connection with preparation for the mysteries.

As for the temple or sacred adytum itself, it may be described as a hall about 55 mètres square, divided into six or eight aisles by seven rows of six pillars each, the whole number of pillars within the cella being 42. Only on my last visit, in the month of June, had the causeway of earth and rubbish, which until then ran at a raised level across the temple, been removed and the sites of those somewhat rude *πῶρος* stone pillars ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  mètres in diameter) laid bare, as well as the openings, two on each of three sides, for doorways. On several of the foundation piers a few feet of the original stone pillars still remain, but all were at first covered by the mass of earth that encumbered the spot, and their number was ascertained only during the course of the present excavations.

The back of the temple, facing the eastern portico, the only side on which there is no entrance, is cut out of the rock, that part being built up against the hill on which was the Eleusinian Acropolis. The rock is rudely cut all along that side of the cella, and for some way on each of the two sides contiguous to it, into seats for the accommodation of assistants or spectators at the solemn rites of worship, or for the initiated after the ceremony of their initiation was over. These steps or seats, arranged

one row towering above another as in an amphitheatre, instead of being cased with marble as in many of the ancient Greek theatres, seem more probably to have been covered with cushions, carpets or matting.

Owing to the inequalities of the surface in the incomplete state of the excavations, visitors had hitherto almost invariably gone away with the notion, that the pavement of the temple was lower than that of the portico by which they had entered it, and many were the theories of dark caverns for initiation, &c., that were built upon this supposed fact. Only within the last two months has the floor of the temple been wholly cleared to view, and its level made apparent, but it had already been ascertained by actual measurement made by Mr. Penrose that the floor of the cella was just 25 centimètres higher than that of the portico, an imperceptible difference in that great space, but enough to allow of the outflow of water, when the temple was cleaned.

Mr. Philios, the intelligent and learned director of the excavations, inclines to the opinion that the temple may have been divided into two stories, the ground-floor being in this case  $5\frac{1}{2}$  mètres high the height at which stands a platform cut in the rock behind the back of the temple. The cella would be thus almost wholly built up against, or cut out of the rock except on the side shut in by the portico, and the want of apertures for the admission of light would not be felt, as the more solemn mysteries of initiation took place in the dark, and indeed at night time. There is a flight of steps cut in the rock, just outside the cella on the south side, narrow at the beginning but of greater width above, where it widens out into a noble terrace, on which the worshippers might wander out to enjoy the fresh air and the view over sea and mountain, and these steps may have given access to the upper storey of the temple, reserved for those not at the time taking part in the rites of initiation or of sacrifice that were being performed in the hall or sanctuary below. This theory of the cella's being divided into two stories may find countenance in the circumstance mentioned by Plutarch, that the lower columns of the temple were erected by one architect and the upper ones by another. At the foot of the staircase leading up to the rocky

platform which over-hangs the cella (the staircase itself was imbedded until recently in 20ft. of earth), a little to the left, has been disinterred a square niche cut in the rock, large enough for a life-sized statue or for an altar. The plaster on its sides, which has a finely polished surface, is now fast crumbling away from exposure to the atmosphere.

On my second visit, at the end of December, I found a terraced wall of large blocks of the polygonal stone of the neighbourhood running across the southern end of the temple, of which it formed the hypothénuse. This wall, faced and regular only on its outer side, and filled in with earth and rubble at the back, seems to have been built to support some terrace or portico, of the pre-Pericleian temple, which would thus face due south. As however this newly discovered structure interfered with the level of the existing ruined temple, the floor of which a little further back is now simply the naked rock originally levelled for the purpose, it was even at that time being covered in again, so that when I returned later on all trace of it was gone. Even at that time fresh indications of walls had been discovered at the same depth nearer the centre of the present cella, while a foundation pier of a column found in the same southern angle of the temple pointed to some design or other not having been carried out, as the pier was out of line with the other pillars of the portico.

At my next visit, at the end of April, the scene all about the entrance of the temple from the portico seemed quite changed, so many pieces of wall below the surface running one way or another had been laid bare; but when I went again, on that day month, the director was able to point triumphantly to the piers of some eight columns crowded into the north-eastern angle of the cella, which belonged unmistakably to the original temple of Eleusis destroyed by Xerxes, to which these various walls had led, or with which they were somehow connected. On my return in another month the outer walls of this pre-historic temple were laid bare and its dimensions fixed with sufficient certainty. It may be described as a square, about half the dimensions and occupying therefore one quarter of the space of its successor, being

about 25 mètres square, and contained apparently 25 pillars, disposed in five rows of five pillars each. It occupied almost so exactly the north-east angle of the later temple, that its eastern and northern walls seemed at first to coincide with those of the latter, as their exact line had not been quite made out when I left, nor had the foundations of all the pillars of this ancient cella been found. A groove in the rocky floor at the south-west corner seemed to point to the site of the foundation walls of the old temple on that side and thus fix its dimensions. This discovery of the past two months is one of the most interesting imaginable, and was I think almost wholly unexpected. The earth is to be filled in around these primordial traces, but the surface of wall and pier is to be left visible so that within the last temple of Eleusis we may clearly read the outline of its venerable parent.

In the courtyard of the director's house are two rooms into which have been gathered all the architectural and artistic remains of small bulk that have been found during the course of the present excavations. These comprise many statues, chiefly however of the Roman period, inscriptions, friezes, and a large and very valuable collection of archaic pottery.

In this temporary museum is preserved a small marble relief about a foot square, which seems to refer to the Eleusinian mysteries and their procession. So little is known about the rites and ceremonies of initiation that any record on stone or painted vase of the costumes, attitudes, or appurtenances used in the mysteries becomes of the highest value. Perhaps the only large representation of the kind having undoubted reference to the Eleusinian mysteries is the pedestal or altar now broken in twain, which being sculptured on three sides only, may, in Roman times, have stood with its back to the wall of the eastern portico, with the other stélai or altars, amongst which on the outer ledge of the portico it now stands. On each of these three sides is represented a procession of men carrying torches, the leader of whom however may be a woman. The torch as is well known is the attribute of Demeter. The figures themselves, about a foot high, are so mutilated, that of some only the head appears, and of others only the feet. On the

best preserved side I counted 14 figures on the other two 13 and 12, but on these two sides the corners were broken off. On another white marble slab hard by may be observed a delicately carved sheaf of wheat elegantly bound, with, at the other end, the almost obliterated figure of the garlanded head of an ox, while in the middle there is the celebrated bread-basket, as is natural in the home of Ceres. Pausanias<sup>1</sup> says the sacrificial cakes were made of barley; and Origen,<sup>2</sup> according to Lenormant the younger, says that the apparition of a fresh cut sheaf of wheat *τεθειρισμένος στάχυς* was the lofty symbol which concluded the mystic representation of *ἐποπτεία*.

The bread-basket may be a measure of corn. It stands on feet. *Κάνεον* is the name of the basket in which the sacred barley *ὀυλάι* was carried at sacrifices; hence *Κανηφόρος* the maiden basket-bearer of the Parthenon.

Both wheat and barley were however offered to the goddesses Demeter and Core at Eleusis. The Rharian plain, which stretches out immediately before Eleusis, where corn was first sown in Greece, is like the whole of Attica, the soil of which is light and poor, more suitable for the growth of oats and barley than of wheat. Hence the great bulk of the wheat was brought from beyond the State or from the islands. Of this fact we have an interesting confirmation in an ancient inscription discovered last year at Eleusis, and illustrated by my friend, M. Foucart, in the *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique*, for March 1884. The inscription is on the lower part of a stèle of which the upper part had been found the year before. It contains an extract from the accounts of Eleusis under the magistracy of Kephisophon, and a date, Olymp. 112-4, B.C. 329-8. From this inscription we learn that the Athenians in their ten tribes offered of first fruits at Eleusis 564 medimni of barley and a little less than 23 of wheat. The proportion between the cultivation of barley and wheat at that time was as ten to one. Salamis produced nothing but barley. At Skyros, at Myrina, at Lemnos the proportion was one to three; in another part of Lemnos, Hephæstia, it was one to five; at Imbros the proportion is inverted, there was twice as much wheat as grain. On the confines of Attica and

<sup>1</sup> I. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Philosophoumena*, v. viii, p. 115, ed. Miller.

Bœotia we observe from an account given in the inscription that the wheat produced is more than four times that of the barley, the proportion of barley to wheat in that place being 600 medimni of barley and 2900 medimni of wheat.

By an ordinance voted, under the administration of Pericles, in order to establish or rather re-inforce the ancient custom of offering the first fruits of the harvest to the Eleusinian goddesses, it was decreed that the Demarchs should make the levy by their *dêmes*, and that they should hand them over to the *ιεροποιοὶ* of Eleusis at Eleusis. Further that the latter should have built at Eleusis, according to the usage of their ancestors, three grain-pits on the spot that should be judged suitable by them and by the architect, and that they should pour therein the grain which they shall receive from the Demarchs.

Now in the inscription under consideration we find these same prescriptions of the fifth century still followed in 328. The first fruits are here offered in still greater abundance, the grain is delivered at Eleusis, however distant the colony whence it comes. In Attica it is levied and delivered by the Demarch; the allies however could choose whom they willed to fulfil that office. At Salamis it is a *κληρῶνχος*; so also at Imbros; at Skyros a *στρατηγός*; at Hephæstia and at Myrina the Athenian *στρατηγός* is assisted by two *κληρῶνχοι*. In place of the three *σιροὶ* ordered to be dug, a tower had been fitted up to serve as a magazine for both the barley and the wheat. In the annexed plan the sites of two towers will be observed at the south-east and north-east corners of the outer enclosure of the sacred area, but whether for this purpose or not I cannot say.

An extraordinary and interesting circumstance revealed by this inscription is the series of bad harvests that then visited Greece, as may be argued from the diminished revenue of the sacred temple. This conjecture has been raised to certainty by some documents recently published by Dr. Köhler.<sup>1</sup> From these it appears that the preceding year B.C. 330-29, had been one of only moderate production. There is a decree granting a crown of gold, of the value of 500 drachmas, to a merchant of Cyprus who had brought to Athens 3000 medimni of wheat, and

<sup>1</sup> Mittheilungen of the German Institute at Athens, vol. viii., p. 311, &c.



had sold them to the people at 5 drachmas (about 5 frs.) the medimnus (very nearly 12 gallons). The harvest was still worse in the year when these accounts were made, for in the following year, under the magistracy of Euthycritos, (328-7) recourse had to be made to free gifts, in order to enable the people to purchase corn, and to sell it retail at the price of 5 drachmas the medimnus. The ordinary price of barley was 3 drachmas the medimnus and that of wheat 6. According to our inscription only 400,000 medimni were offered that year of bad harvest. This figure represents but one-third or one-fourth the regular contribution, which M. Foucart sets down at one million or at a million and a half, but which Boeckh thinks was twice as much.

As for the ox sacrificed at Eleusis, we have in a very important inscription, discovered in 1860, giving us the details of an official sacrifice at that place, *θεῶν τριτρώων βοάργον ἐν τῇ ἱερῇ*. In the inscription just discovered, we see that the sacrifices were according to ancient prescription. Three kinds of victims had to be bought, the ox, the sheep, and the goat, constituting altogether the *τρίτροια*. Three oxen had to be provided; indeed to each of the two goddesses a *τρίτροια βοάργος* had to be sacrificed, namely, they began by offering an ox, while a third ox was destined for Athena.

The ox as trained to draw the plough was sacred to Ceres, though Lenormant<sup>1</sup> thinks Ovid mistaken when he deems that for that reason the ox was not sacrificed in the Eleusinian mysteries :

*A bove succincti cultros removete ministri,  
Bos aret : ignavam sacrificate suem.  
Apta iugo cervix non est ferienda securi:  
Vivat, et in dura saepe laboret humo.*

(Fasti, IV. v. 413, etc.)

The bones of oxen, as of other animals that had served for sacrifice, have been found in the subterranean chambers within the enclosure of the Hierum, in front of the great portico.

At a great depth and near the clay-built wall have been found grayish or yellowish coloured tiles, sun-baked

<sup>1</sup> Recherches, p.p. 55 and 84.

and afterwards hardened before a fire, as the outer surface is of a reddish hue and slightly burnt and glazed, which are supposed to have belonged to the first temple, or to the annexes of the later temple, as some of the substantial and handsome marble tiles of the latter have been found. In the temporary museum, the contents of which will be properly arranged in a more spacious building later, a great number of fragments of pottery are collected which have been found mostly at a great depth. Some of these are beautifully figured in red on a black ground with men, women and ornaments, and belong to the best period of Grecian art. Some however are very archaic, and date from long before Phidias. No single vase however has been found entire. A great number of lamps have been discovered, and a number of beautifully designed cup-like hearths, with perforated covers which must have been employed for burning perfumes.

## THE FERNYHALGH CHALICE AND PATEN.

By T. M. FALLOW, M.A.

There is preserved at the Roman Catholic church at Fernyhalgh, in Lancashire, the very curious silver-gilt chalice with its paten, of which illustrations are given from photographs by Mr. Beattie of Preston.

The bowl of the chalice is somewhat conical in form. The stem and knot are hexagonal. The knot is almost exactly in the centre of the stem, and its six facets are filled with a four-leaved ornament in blue enamel; the upper side only has open tracery. The chief peculiarity, however, is the base, which, unlike that of any other known chalice, is octagonal, instead of being either circular or hexagonal. This is the more noteworthy when the hexagonal form of the stem and knot is taken into account. On the front compartment, in a small square, are the letters *ihc*, and in a band surrounding the base is the legend:—

Oosus | maguir | rex fe | rmanac | me fi fe | m |  
 cccc | xix |

The dimensions are:—Height  $5\frac{3}{4}$  in.; diameter of the bowl 3 in.; depth of the bowl  $1\frac{3}{4}$  in.; diameter of the base from point to point 5 in., and from hollow to hollow 4 in. The chalice is entirely gilt, and in constant use; it has no hall-marks.

The paten has a narrow rim, and a plain circular depression. In the centre is a circle containing an unusual treatment of the *Manus Dei*, the Divine Hand being gloved, and on either side of it are the sun and moon. The paten is parcel-gilt, and  $3\frac{3}{4}$  in. in diameter; it is not in use, and has no hall marks.

How this chalice and paten came to Lancashire, and



THE FERNYHALGH CHALICE.  
( Slightly enlarged )



into the possession of the Roman Catholics of Fernyhalgh is not known, nor is there any direct evidence as to their former history, or the church to which they belonged. There seems, however, some ground for the presumption that they may have been a gift by the Maguire, whose name the chalice bears, to the Franciscans of Donegal. Conosus or Cuconnaught Maguire became prince of Fermanagh in 1527, and was ten years later treacherously murdered by some of his rival kinsmen. He was on very friendly terms with the Donegal Franciscans, and the history of Donegal, well-known as the *Annals of the Four Masters*, was, it will be remembered, compiled by members of the Franciscan order in Donegal. It thus refers to him:—"1537. Maguire (Cuconnaught, the son of Cuconnaught, son of Brian, son of Philip) Lord of Fermanagh, a charitable and humane man, the most renowned for dexterity of hand, nobleness, and hospitality, that came of the race of the Collas for a long period of time; who had brought under his jurisdiction [that tract of country] from Clones to Cael-Uisce; the suppressor of thieves and evil doers; a man who possessed happiness and affluence in his time, was, on the 8th of October, treacherously slain on Creachan, an island on Lough Erne, belonging to the Friars, by the descendants of Thomas Maguire, and the descendants of Turlough, i.e. by Flaherty, the son of Philip, son of Turlough Maguire. He was first buried in Devenish, but was sometime after disinterred by the Friars Minor, who carried him to the monastery of Donegal, and there interred him in a becoming manner."<sup>1</sup>

In 1601 the Franciscan convent of Donegal was occupied by a garrison of English soldiers, and the friars fled into the fastnesses of the country, carrying with them their chalices and vestments.

I am indebted to the Rev. James O'Laverty, of Holywood co. Down, for the following extract relating to this. It is contained in a MS. history of the Irish Franciscans compiled in 1617 at Louvain, by Father Anthony Purcell.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters*; edited by John O'Donovan, 2nd ed., Dublin, 1856, vol. v. p. 1441.

<sup>2</sup> No. 3195 Manuscrit, Bibliothèque de Bourgogne, Bruxelles. Father O'Laverty's extract is from a copy of this MS. in the possession of the Franciscans of Drogheda.

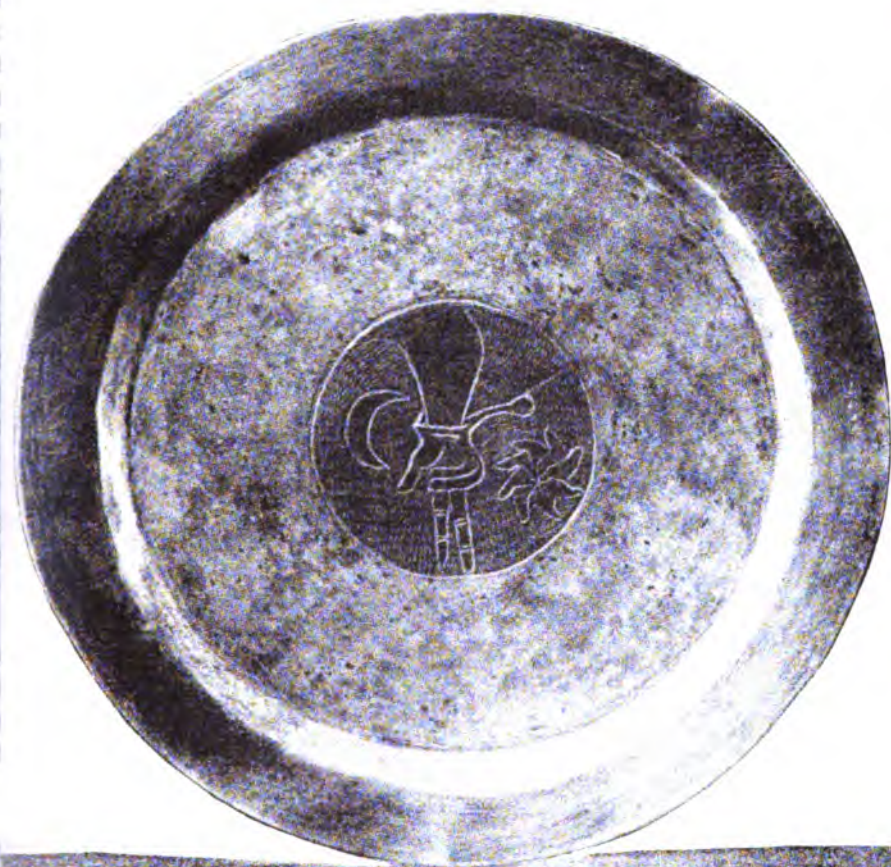
“Anno 1600 eramus ibi, scilicet conventu Dunangallensi 40 fratres de familia, et officia divina nocturna et diurna fiebant cum cantu et solemnitatibus magnis. Habebam ipse curam sacristiæ in qua habui 40 indumenta sacerdotalia cum suis omnibus pertinentiis et multa erant ex tela aurea et argentea aliquot intertexta et elaborata auro; reliqua omnia serica. Erant etiam 16 calices argentei, et magni, ex quibus duo tum erant qui non erant deaurati; erant et duo ciboria pro s<sup>m</sup>o sacramento. Suppellex satis honesta; ecclesia ne vitro quidam caruit. Sed ingravisciente bello, et hereticis alicqualiter prævalentibus, tandem potuerant id efficere, ut principe O'Donnello in aliis negotiis occupato, ipsi ad oppidum Dunangall pervenerint cum exercitu, et anno 1601 in festo S. Laurentii martyris, in monasterio præsidium militum collocârunt. Fratres, quidem, præmoniti fugerunt ad loca silvestria inde aliquot miliaribus distantia, et suppellexilem monasterii, navi impositam, ad alium tutiorem locum transtulerunt; ego ipse eram ex ultimis qui e conventu egressus sum. \* \*

\* \* \* Princeps O'Donnell in Hispaniam se contulit, annoque sequenti 1602 omnia loca sui domini in hæreticorum potestatem devenerunt, et inter cætera quæ ibi perierunt, suppellex illa ecclesiastica conventus de Dunangall fuit prædæ Olivero Lamberto, gubernatori Conaciæ ex parte hæreticorum, qui calices in cyphos profanos convertit, et vestes sacras in diversos profanos usus convertendos scindi et delacerari curavit; et sic tum ipse conventus, tum omnis suppellex ejus periit.”

General Lambert, into whose hands the spoil of the Donegal convent fell, was connected with Lancashire, and had married into the old Lancashire family of Fleetwood. It seems not unreasonable to believe, therefore, that if the Fernyhalgh chalice with the inscription it bears was among the spoil of the Donegal Franciscans which came into his possession, it would be specially preserved as a trophy, and so taken back by him into England.

Hence, I think, we may venture to agree with Father O'Laverty, who suggests that, although there is no proof of it, yet there is fair ground for the double presumption; first, that the chalice was given by Cuconnaught Maguire to the Donegal Franciscans, and was one of the sixteen





THE FERNYHALGH PATEN.  
(Slightly enlarged.)





chalices which fell into General Lambert's hands. Secondly, that Lambert's connection with Lancashire accounts for the presence of the chalice at the present day in that county.

These vessels are of unusual interest; and I have to thank the Rev. W. Gordon, the priest of the church at Fernyhalgh, for the opportunity afforded me of examining them.

## THE ROMANO-GREEK INSCRIPTIONS IN ENGLAND.

By Professor E. C. CLARK.<sup>1</sup>

Some months ago I endeavoured to give a rendering of a remarkable Greek inscription, on what is known as "the Brough stone," from Brough-under-Stainmore, now in the Fitzwilliam museum at Cambridge. In the course of my investigations I had to consider the other Greek inscriptions found in England. They are few in number, and I was struck by some common features which I thought I could discern in them, besides their common language. This is the subject which I have briefly treated in the following paper, asking myself the questions: when and by whom were these inscriptions made, why in Greek, and in what sort of Greek? I will proceed at once to enumerate the five or six Greek inscriptions which appear in the 7th volume of the Prussian *Corpus Inscriptionum*, edited by Professor Hübner. I have added, in each instance, what indications of the nationality of the settlers I can gather from the local names of the *auxiliary* forces stationed in the place. The *legionary* soldiers, though of course more important in their time, do not give us this kind of information, except in one or two instances.

In Chester (*Deva*), where we can trace cohorts of *Aquitani* and *Frisiavones*, was found in 1856, an altar bearing, in neat or elegant letters,<sup>2</sup> an inscription of which this is the legible part:—

HPCIN  
EPMENECIN  
EPMOFENHC  
IATPOCBΩMON  
TONΔ ANEΘHKA

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Derby meeting of the Institute, July 31st, 1885.

<sup>2</sup> Hübner, p. 48.

The lacuna is supplied by Hübner [θεοῖς σωτ] ηρσιν [ὑπ] ερμενεσιν.

A slightly different emendation may perhaps be suggested. The last three lines of the inscription form a hexameter. If we can believe the reading intended by the composer, in the previous word, to have been the Homeric ὑπερμενέεσσιν, we may infer the loss of an inscribed line above the fragmentary H P C I N which would give us another hexameter. I cannot however advance this theory with any confidence, as I have been unable to procure a fac-simile of the inscription.<sup>1</sup>

Hübner notes a suggestion that the dedicator of this altar may have been the Hermogenes whom Dion Cassius mentions in his last chapter on that emperor's life as Hadrian's physician. Hadrian's partiality to the profession is otherwise on record: witness the epigram on Marcellus, of Side in Pamphylia, for whose works, or library, a special repository was erected by this prince, or his successor, at Rome.<sup>2</sup> Hübner, however, drily adds that there were a good many doctors called Hermogenes. The form of the letters in the inscription he admits to suit the time of Hadrian.

In the Museum at York (*Eburacum*) are two tablets of bronze, found in the excavation for the railway station, about 1840. On each is a Greek inscription, in punctured letters:—

(I.)  
ΘΕΟΙC  
ΤΟΙC ΤΟΥ ΗΓΕ  
ΜΟΝΙΚΟΥ ΠΡΑΙ  
ΤΩΡΙΟΥ CΚΡΙΒ·  
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟC

(II.)  
ΩΚΕΑΝΩ  
ΚΑΙ ΤΗΘΥΙ  
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ<sup>3</sup>

The ninth or Spanish legion was quartered at York, and this is the only locally named force of which I have

<sup>1</sup> See final note.

<sup>2</sup> *Anthologia Graeca*, 7. 158

<sup>3</sup> See final note. These inscriptions are not taken from Hübner, (p. 62), but

from the latest edition of the handbook to the museum, with which Canon Ruine kindly furnished me.

evidence there. A Greek was obviously the author of the two inscriptions, which speak for themselves. The one is to the household gods of the governor's residence. This fact I take to indicate that Demetrius was a dependent of the governor,<sup>1</sup> though it does not throw much light on the occasion of dedication. The other inscription shews, I think, that Demetrius was a person of some culture, perhaps of some consequence, and that he wished to indicate his arrival in the island. Oceanus and Tethys were rather creatures of literary fancy than objects of real worship, even in the times of Domitian. Whether Demetrius was a *scribonius* or a *scriba* does not appear. I should prefer the latter suggestion, which, as well as the probable date, is Mr. C. W. King's.

All the other Greek inscriptions come from the Roman wall or near it. At Ellenborough (*Uxellodunum*), near Maryport, south west of the wall, was found a stone tablet, now at Netherhall, bearing the dedication, to Æsculapius,

ΑΚΚΛΗΠΙΩ  
Α·ΕΓΝΑΤΙΟC  
ΠΑCΤΟΡ ΕΘΗΚΕΝ

On a squeeze of this inscription (exhibited) I think a sort of stop is perceptible after the first letter of the second line. The whole is obviously a hexameter, the final *s* of Egnatius being, as is often the case in provincial and late Latinity, not sounded, and the *Α* before this word representing a spondee. A succession of antiquaries has "restored" this *Α* as the *praenomen* Aulus, which restoration is accepted by Hübner. This old *praenomen* occurs once elsewhere in British inscriptions. I doubt it here, and am almost inclined, in spite of the mixture of languages, to suggest an abbreviation for ARAM. AR for ARAM has been found, at Lincoln last year.<sup>2</sup> The cognomen, if it be one, *Pastor*, does not occur elsewhere in Hübner's book. The local auxiliaries at Ellenborough were Baetasii (a German race), Dalmatians and Spaniards.

Making my way north-east to the Roman wall, by the

<sup>1</sup> For this general sense of *ὑπηρέτης* see Matthew xxvii, 2; Luke iii, 2, and Alford's note on the latter. *ὑπαρχὸς* is exactly

our Residence.

<sup>2</sup> *Archæological Journal*, vol. xli, p. 217, and p. 150 of this volume.

route through the head of the Lake country, I must mention, as connecting links, one or two Latin inscriptions.

At *Old Carlisle* (Roman name uncertain) I find an Egnatius Verecundus erecting a votive tablet for the welfare of the emperor Septimus Severus, who spent the failing years of his life (208-211 A.D.) in Britain.<sup>1</sup> At the same station was also found an interesting Latin inscription of the time of Gordian (A.D. 242) now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. I cannot be sure about the local auxiliaries here.

I now proceed eastward to where the great north road, the Watling street, crosses the wall. On Watling street, north of the wall, I find a Greek inscription,<sup>2</sup> of which the letters ΘΕΟΙΣ are all that can be read with certainty, on a small altar at High Rochester (*Bremenium*). From other inscriptions we learn that a cohort of *Vardulli* was stationed here, in the times of the emperor whom we call Elagabalus (218-222 A.D.), and Gordian (238-243 A.D.). An altar was raised *Deo invicto soli* for the welfare of Elagabalus, under his proper name of M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius, by a tribune of these *Vardulli*; and another, to the genius of their standards, by an Egnatius Lucilianus, legate of Gordian.

A votive tablet from Lanchester, on Watling street, south of the wall, is preserved in the library of the palace at Durham. The identification of Lanchester with its true Roman original is not certain. The inscription is bilingual—Greek and Latin—and appears, by a probable restoration, to be a dedication to Æsculapius. The dedicator is T. Flavus Titianus, tribune, as we learn from another inscription, of a cohort of *Vardulli*.<sup>3</sup> There is nothing else remarkable about the inscription and I have not got a facsimile of it. It may be observed, however, that at this station a bath and basilica were erected for the emperor Gordian by the same Egnatius Lucilianus just mentioned. Finally, at Corbridge (*Corstopitum*), on Watling street, south of the wall, I find, besides the altars next noticed, a monument erected by another Egnatius, surnamed (*sic*) *Dyonisius*, together with his coheir *Surius*, to the memory of a Roman soldier their testator.<sup>4</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Hübner. p. 82, No. 382.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 93, 94, Nos. 431, 440.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 98, No. 477.

inscription is in Latin, but the names of the two coheirs are Greek and Oriental, with a mis-spelling which may perhaps indicate that Latin was not the language of the author or inscriber.

I have put together these two or three last inscriptions, because they possibly shew a thread of connection in the family of the Egnatii or the corps of the Vardulli. Of the former I shall speak presently. The latter are believed, on the authority of Ptolemy and Strabo, to have come from Celtiberia, in the north-east of Spain.

At Corbridge were found two most interesting altars dedicated, in beautiful Greek inscriptions, to *Astarte* by one *Pulcher*, and to the *Tyrian Hercules* by a high-priestess *Diodora*.<sup>1</sup>

## (I.)

Α Ο Τ Α Ρ Θ Η Ο  
Β Μ Ο Ν Μ  
Ε Ο Ρ Α Ο  
Π Ο Υ Λ Χ Ε Ρ Μ  
Α Ν Ε Θ Η Κ Ε

## (II.)

Η Ρ Α Κ Α Ε Ι  
Τ Υ Ρ Ι Ο  
Δ Ι Ο Δ Ω Ρ Α  
Α Ρ Χ Ι Ε Ρ Ε Ι Α

These inscriptions are alike in caligraphy.

Not much light is thrown on them by the names of the dedicators, which do not occur again in our British inscriptions. *Pulcher* is the well-known cognomen of a family of the patrician *Claudii*, some of whose members we learn from coins to have held office under the earlier emperors. But I find no Roman *Pulcher* in our island. *Diodora* is obviously Greek.

These are the only Greek records in Hübner's *British Inscriptions* upon which we can rely. Beside potters' marks, the sole succession of words amounting to an inscription is a fragment said to have been found in London, now lost, probably a modern importation from Italy, and possibly not genuine to begin with.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hübner, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

Since the publication of Hübner's *Inscriptiones Britanniae* two important records have been discovered, bearing on the connexion of Roman settlers with the east. One is the grave-stone of *Regina* at South Shields, with its bilingual inscription in Latin and Aramaic. The other is the Brough stone. The former scarcely touches my present subject, except as shewing the settlement of a native of Palmyra, at the east end of the Roman wall. The second bears the most important Greek inscription in this country. It is an epitaph written in Greek hexameters, on a youth of 16, named Hermes, from Commagene, the northern part of Syria. I cannot take up your time at present with the difficulties of interpretation in this inscription, which are considerable. My own view as to that matter is fully stated in the Cambridge University Reporter for March 3 of this year, and in the transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society, pp 205-219, and briefly epitomized by Mr. Watkin in his paper on Roman inscriptions recently found in Britain. (See above, pp. 146-7). You will there find the original reading of the stone, so far as it has been made out, a reading with the *lacunae* supplied and the errors corrected according to my view, and an English metrical version. The points which bear on my present enquiry are, not so much the exact interpretation of the inscription, as its general character, style and form.

Reverting, then, to the questions with which we began, I ask myself, when and by whom were these Greek inscriptions made, and why in Greek? These three questions go together—the other, in what sort of Greek, is a rather different matter.

The *when* I have to some extent answered by anticipation, in calling the inscriptions *Romano-Greek*. I have no hesitation in dating them all during the Roman occupation, not later, that is, than the beginning of the 5th century A.D.

All are from known Roman stations; the York and Lanchester inscriptions are connected with Roman officers; and the documents generally denote a degree of settled life and tranquillity which can scarcely have existed for a long time after the departure of the Romans. On the last ground, too, I should be disposed to put these inscriptions certainly not earlier than the construction of



the wall by Hadrian (about 121 A.D.); probably not earlier than the time of Septimus Severus, who more securely established the peace of the North at the beginning of the third century. You will have observed that they all come from the northern part of England.

The only approximation to a more exact date at which I can arrive is on the supposition of some connexion between the Egnatius of the Ellenborough inscription, and the Egnatius of the times of Severus, or of "Elagabalus" and Gordian, more probably the latter. This would place the Ellenborough inscription about the middle of the third century, A.D.

Upon the question *by whom* were these inscriptions made, certain scattered facts about this family of Egnatii have some bearing—at least as to one possible source. I will give the upshot, not to weary you with detail.<sup>1</sup>

There is some reason to connect the origin of these Egnatii with Spain, the country of the *Vardulli*, whom they and the Greek inscriptions appear in two or three cases curiously to accompany. There is also reason to connect the subsequent fortunes of one Egnatius, at least, with Tarsus in Cilicia and the learning of Tarsus Greek or Oriental or both. There is nothing special to be made out of the *Vardulli* themselves, as bearing directly on the Greek inscriptions. I have given the local names of the auxiliaries when I could find any in proximity to the Greek inscriptions. But they afford us little or no clue. The soldiers of the cohorts were mostly occidentals, coming, with the exception of the *Hamii*, whom I shall mention directly, almost exclusively from Europe. There is nothing in the nationality of Spaniards, or Germans, or Gauls, which would lead one to expect any special leaning to Greek literature or Oriental worship. I think then

<sup>1</sup> Catullus (37. 19) speaks of an Egnatius, a complaisant Roman busybody, as coming from Celtiberia, which was the home of the *Vardulli*. A descendant or connexion of this man may have been the Egnatius who adopted the Stoic philosophy at Tarsus in Cilicia, and obtained an infamous notoriety at Rome under Nero in 66 A.D. He was the betrayer of his friend Barea Soranus, and the informer against Soranus' daughter,

whom he had himself instructed in the magic art for which she was condemned (Juvenal, iii. 116-119, and Schol. on vi. 552). This Egnatius was rewarded by Nero with riches and honour, but afterwards condemned and exiled (Tacitus Ann. 16. 32; Hist. 4. 10, 40. Dion Cassius, 62. 26). Was his place of exile Britain, and were the Egnatii whom we find in office under Severus and Gordian his descendants?

that, if there is any common element in the three or four inscriptions to which I am now referring, it is the influence of the Egnatii, of the times of Elagabalus and Gordian, or that of their friends and dependents. I take T. Flavus Titianus, of the bilingual inscription to Æsculapius at Lanchester, to have been connected with Egnatius Lucilianus, possibly availing himself of the same medical services, and no doubt using Egnatius' baths. I take *Pastor*, of the Greek inscription to be Æsculapius at Ellenborough, *Dyonisius* and his co-heir *Surius* of the Latin monumental tablet at Corbridge, to be Oriental Greek freedmen of the same family. *Pastor* is not a *cognomen* likely to belong to an imperial Roman family; *Dionysius* and *Surius* speak for themselves.

To a similar source I am inclined to attribute other inscriptions, besides those connected with the Egnatii, viz. to Greek dependents upon Roman patrons. In this class I should place Hermogenes of Chester and Demetrius of York.

Most of the cases hitherto treated are evidently votive offerings by, or prompted by, medical men. I do not quite take the cynical view that they were mere advertisements. I rather think that a real gratitude may have been felt, to some power of healing, by the doctor who had brought his dangerous patient safe through, or by the patient who had come safe out the hands of his doctor. So much then for Asclepius, and his votaries, who were undoubtedly Greeks, and apparently often Oriental Greeks.

Another class of deities is connected with two of our Greek inscriptions (and with many Latin ones), of a more definitely oriental character. I mean the Sun, *Mithras*; the Moon, *Astarte*, or *Dea Syria*; and the mysterious *Hercules of Tyre*. The introduction of such worship into the far provinces of the West, from Syria, is sometimes connected with the accession of Elagabalus to power in 218 A.D. But it possibly preceded, as it certainly survived, the priest of the Sun; and, as it has, except perhaps in the one case of the *Hamii*, nothing to do with the nationality of the auxiliaries, I am disposed to attribute it to a general demand, and a consequent supply. The demand was, a craving which the Roman settlers

seem to have felt for some more spiritual or mystical religion than the old effete worship ; the supply was due to the influx of dependents and traders from the East. These adventurers, whether Greek Asiatics, or Asiatic Greeks, brought over the religious ideas of Syria and Cilicia, which were sometimes translated into uncouth Latin, and sometimes remained in their Greek form. *Pulcher* may have been a Roman patron, but I should rather incline to consider both him and his highly titled colleague, the chief-priestess *Diodora*, as foreign setters forth of strange gods.

To the Greek *trader*, pure and simple, belongs, I think, the touching epitaph of Brough, in memory of son or friend. In writing on this inscription, I endeavoured, I hope with some success, to shew the presence of a corps of *Hamii* near Brough, who have, with some probability, been referred to *Hamath* on the Orontes, and whose proximity might give a special reason for the occurrence of a Syrian at Brough. I referred also to the curious leaden seals found at the same place (Brough) some years ago, as another connecting link with the East. I have vainly endeavoured to get possession of one of these seals, and can only shew you Mr. Roach Smith's carefully engraved sheet of some of them.<sup>1</sup> I adhere to the opinion which I have previously expressed, that these were the fastenings or seals of traders' bales. They bear, in general, on the one side, a sort of address to the legion or cohort for which they were intended ; on the other side, less intelligible inscriptions and emblems, which I think may have been the trader's private mark. Some of these last are what we should generally call Oriental in their character ; though I am not good enough scholar in Oriental languages to speak very definitely ; some few are Greek.

The question, by whom were these inscriptions made, and why in Greek, I have tried to answer : the question, in what kind of Greek, is not perhaps quite intelligible, nor can I give it a very satisfactory reply. Grammatically all the inscriptions are well enough—certainly no laxer than the later epigrams in the Greek Anthology. They are, I think, by people writing their own language and fairly versed in its literature. The author, for instance,

<sup>1</sup> *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iii. Pl. xxxii.

of the Brough epitaph was certainly acquainted with Homer and the tragedians. In type, this last-named inscription and that by Egnatius Pastor resemble one another and differ from the rest, the difference being most marked in the Brough stone. You know, of course, that this inscription presented at first so much difficulty as to be taken and read for Runic. I think you will see the reason if you look at the autotype. While the letters of most of the other inscriptions are bold and round, these are cramped and elongated almost beyond recognition. I have heard it suggested that the peculiarities of these inscriptions may be due to local stone cutters. This I cannot believe. Local stone cutters might account for blunders—for omissions and transpositions—but their *forms* would almost inevitably approximate to the normal *Roman* type. So, the British coins, although derived originally from old Greek models, when they begin to bear letters, bear Roman ones. I have been driven, then, to look in other quarters for the solution of this curious question. I have tried the coins of the time of Elagabalus and thereabouts, from Tarsus and Syria, as well as from other Roman provinces, but not with much success. Some of the letters, it is true, approximate to the peculiar forms on the Brough stone. Some of the ligatures or abbreviated representations of one or two letters together, which we find elsewhere in inscriptions and coins, appear both in the Corbridge and in the Brough inscriptions. But in both we have ligatures which cannot be thus accounted for, which would be perfectly gratuitous in working at first hand on a hard surface—and in the latter case (Brough) we have the unmistakeable resemblance to a cramped *handwriting*. I have therefore ultimately come round to a very ingenious suggestion of Dr. Taylor, that the peculiarity of such inscriptions as these may be due to their being copied somewhat servilely from *manuscript*, as would not be improbable if a language foreign to the stone-cutter had to be inscribed. This theory accounts, to my mind, for the occurrence of junctions or ligatures which would naturally be made in writing with a reed upon papyrus, as well as for the difference in type between the Corbridge, Ellenborough and Brough inscriptions.

The Corbridge lettering appears to me to be copied from a MS. of what we call the *uncial* type, though we have no uncial MS. actually in existence so old as this must have been. The Brough, and possibly the Ellenborough, inscription has had for its model an early Greek *cursive* handwriting, the existence of which we learn from papyri discovered in Egypt. It is in a fourth or fifth century papyrus from Thebes<sup>1</sup> that I have found the nearest approach to the peculiarities of the Brough stone. Egypt is the source of our knowledge on the subject, because in Egypt alone has this early cursive hand been preserved. But the copy for the Brough inscription was probably a *Syrian* Greek MS. furnished, by the mourner for the Syrian boy, to his British or Roman stonecutter.

#### FINAL NOTE.

Since writing the above paper, I have inspected the Chester inscription and decided that there *is* room on the altar for Hübner's suggested additions, but *not* for my own. In printing the inscriptions generally, I have been unable to give exact fac-similes, particularly in the case of the ligatures and of certain leaf stops on the Corbridge altars, which also occur on the Brough stone. The very peculiar types of the last named monument can only be represented by photography.

<sup>1</sup> Palæographical Society, Series i. pl. 38.

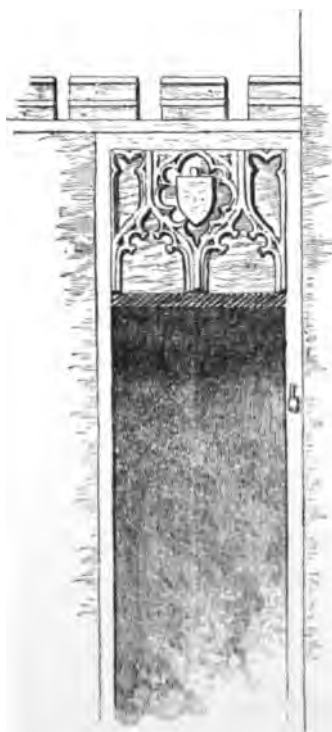
## LOCKERS FOR THE PROCESSIONAL CROSS.

By the Rev. C. R. MANNING. M.A.

I produce a few examples of an arrangement found in some churches, of which I have met with scarcely any notice in print. It consists of a lofty narrow niche, aumbry, or wall closet, seven or eight to twelve or more feet in height, and only a foot or eighteen inches wide, and a foot in depth; usually towards the west end of the building. The irons on which the hinges of a door hung are generally in the jamb; and in some cases the aperture extends upwards in the wall, above the external top. I know of no authority, or documentary evidence, of the use of these aumbries or lockers, but it is reasonable to suppose, from their shape and position, that they were intended for the safe keeping of the Processional Cross of the parish. Aumbries or almeries, of smaller size and square form, are to be found in almost every old church, often with wooden shelves remaining, and always having had doors to lock up. These may be presumed to have served purposes according to the part of the building in which they are. Those at the east end would have held books, cloths, cruets, or plate, and other requisites of the altar service; similar would be the use of those found in chapels, and near side altars. Those near the font would have held the articles specially required for the baptismal service. Accordingly, when they are found near a door leading to the churchyard, and of sufficient dimensions, (or, in conventual churches, near the cloisters and cemetery), it is likely that they would be intended for the Processional Cross, and perhaps also for banners, or other tall objects. It is corroborative of this view, that at New College chapel, Oxford, the well-known pastoral staff of bishop William of Wykeham is kept in a locker or wall closet contrived for the purpose; but which, I am informed, is not the original one, although it may represent it.

It would seem that aumbries were even used for the reservation of the Host; as in the "Fardle of Facions," printed in 1555, and quoted in the "Glossary of Architecture," (*Art. Almery*), it is said, "Upon the righte hande of the highe Aulter, that ther should be an *Almorie*, either cutte into the wall, or framed upon it: in the which thei would have the sacrament of the Lordes Bodye, the holy oyle for the sicke, and Chrismatorye alwaie to be locked." There is frequent mention also in the "Antient Rites of Durham" of aumbries for various purposes. I have not found much notice of Processional Crosses in old inventories of church goods: but I presume that each church had one or more, as processions were customary on so many occasions, as at funerals, consecrations, perambulations, Palm Sunday and Corpus Christi ceremonies, etc. For these it would be necessary to have some place of safe keeping, and it is rather surprising that the lockers for them are so rare. They may, of course, have been often kept in framed wooden closets, and not in the wall; and possibly where we find the few examples remaining which I have to notice, it was because the crosses of those churches were of special value from their material and workmanship, like the crystal cross, with silver at every joint, "ordained for processions" in the inventory of the goods of old St. Paul's cathedral church. There is frequent mention of crosses of silver, or copper gilt, or crystal, and jewelled, in inventories, but these, when not directly stated to be for processions, were probably altar crosses. In a letter on the subject with which I have been favoured by Mr. Micklethwaite, he observes that "the use of the cross no doubt varied, as many other things did, according to the customs of different churches, but the Salisbury *Processionale* shows that it was used at every Sunday procession. It was also of course used at the greater occasional processions, and at funerals; and it was carried before the priest when he took the Sacrament to any in the parish. A wooden cross was used for processions in Lent, and a special one, perhaps the same, at funerals." Mr. Micklethwaite has also furnished me with several tracings of his drawings of examples that he has met with.

My attention was called to the subject by finding that



Scale— $\frac{1}{2}$  in. to a foot.

**Locker for Processional Cross.**  
**Lowestoft, S. Margaret.**





in the neighbourhood of Lowestoft, Suffolk, there are no less than six churches, within a short distance of each other, in which these lockers occur. It is not at all improbable that there may be others in the same district which have not been noticed. I can only account for this by supposing that a local *fashion* was set, and extended round the neighbourhood:—as we certainly find many traces of local usage in different districts, *e.g.* in the execution of brasses, in fonts, towers, window tracery, slabs, screen carving and painting, etc.

First at LOWESTOFT, in the fine old church of St. Margaret, is a very good example (See Plate I). It is placed in the west wall of the nave, which is the east wall of the tower, to the north of the belfry arch, and abutting against the angle of the nave arcade. I was not able to get the exact measurement, but it is the largest I have seen, and about twelve or fourteen feet high. It has an ornamental heading of two cinquefoiled arches, the space between being filled with a double quatrefoil, enclosing a blank shield. Above this is part of a battlemented cornice. It appears to be of the date of the rest of the nave, about 1400, or shortly before. The recess begins at about two feet from the floor.

Next, at GISLEHAM, about four miles from Lowestoft, is another of these lockers. This is inside the tower, which is at the west end of the nave, and in its south wall. It is seven feet high from its present base at one foot nine inches from the floor to the arched head; but the aperture runs up in the wall nearly two feet higher, and the wall at the foot is built up in brick, the stone edge extending to the ground, so that the whole height from the floor line is ten feet seven inches. It is one foot six inches wide, and one foot four inches deep. At about four and a half feet from the ground on the west side, is an inner aumbry, or pocket, of somewhat irregular shape, about one foot six inches high, one foot deep, and ten inches wide. I am not aware that this curious arrangement is found in any other example. Mr. W. H. St. John Hope suggests it may have been for a lantern.

Next, at BARNBY, near Beccles, about six miles from Lowestoft, is another, and it is the only one I know of that retains its original oak door. The church is without aisles, and the position of the locker is in the south wall

of the nave, at some little distance from the west end. It is six feet eight inches in height, eleven inches wide, and one foot in depth. The head is square, and without ornament. The wooden door, which is rather elaborately pierced with narrow lights and foliations, seems to have been turned upside down at some time, and replaced with modern hinges. There is a quatrefoil in what is now the lower part, and the upper part has diminutive window tracery, now appearing reversed (See Plate II). The wall is early, and the locker is no doubt a Perpendicular insertion.

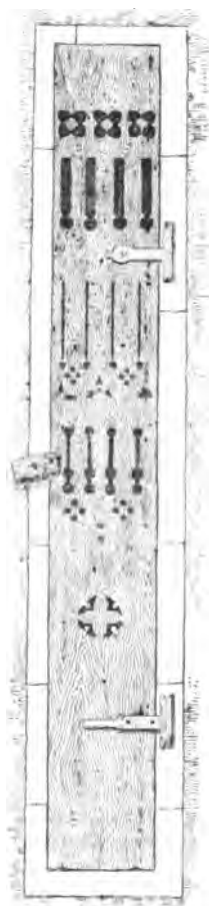
About two miles from Barnby, at RUSHMERE, is a fourth. It is in the south wall of the nave, about one foot from the west end. It is twelve feet in height, sixteen inches wide, and one foot from the ground. The head is pointed; the arch being slightly trefoiled on the western side. The hinge pivots for a door remain.

Again, about two miles further, at HENSTEAD, is a fifth. This is placed in the south wall of the nave, at the extreme west end, adjoining the tower. It rises from the floor, and has a pointed head, but is without ornament.

Then again, at SHADINGFIELD, about five miles further, is a sixth. In this case, the north wall of the church, which is without aisles, is connected with the tower by a small piece of diagonal wall, and in this is placed the locker. It is ten feet high, and two feet from the ground. The plan of the recess is an irregular square, one foot wide in front, and sixteen inches at the back. There is a groove for a door.

At KELSHALL, Hertfordshire, is another fine example, of which I give an illustration from Mr. Mickethwaite's drawing (See Plate III). Its position is *in the angle* at the north-west corner of the north aisle. It is thirteen feet high, and the plan of the recess is circular. The opening is arched at the top, and the head is protected by a triangular set off, like that of a buttress: and it extends below to the floor line.

At EARL'S BARTON, Northants, is a locker of a similar character, but in a different position in the church. It is in the wall of the north aisle, opposite the first pillar from the east. It is six feet high externally, but eight feet internally, the aperture rising inside the wall for the head of the cross; and its base is one and a half foot from the

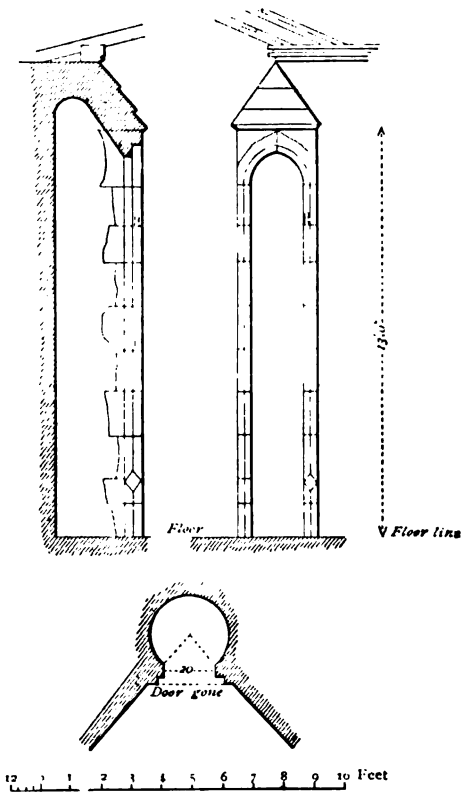


Scale— $\frac{3}{4}$  in. to a foot.

**Locker for Processional Cross.**

**Barnby, Suffolk.**





**Locker for Processional Cross.**  
**Kelshall, Herts.**



ground. It is without ornament. It is possible that in this case the locker may have been intended, not for the Processional Cross proper, but for another belonging to a guild or fraternity founded in that part of the church.

At St. Sepulchre's, NORTHAMPTON, the round church, is another, at the south-east side of the aisle of the round nave, and near a door. This is a tall one, with an arched head, like that already mentioned at Kelshall.

The sacristy of BRISTOL CATHEDRAL CHURCH, which is a vestibule to the Berkeley chapel, on the south side of the choir, contains another example. It is in the north wall of the sacristy, between the doorway into the church and a niche in the angle of the east wall. It is a plain rectangular recess, 7 ft. 9 in. in height, 13 in. in width, and 8½ in. deep. It is fitted with a modern door and is used by the vergers as a closet for his silver mace. Sketches of the interior of the sacristy, showing the locker, were published in the *Builder* of August 8th, 1885.

I have reference also to others at St. Giles's, Northampton, in the south wall,<sup>1</sup> and at Nuneaton abbey church, on the east side of the north respond of the eastern tower arch. The late Mr. Mackenzie Walcott mentions another<sup>2</sup> in Chichester cathedral church; but it appears, from information kindly communicated by Mr. Gordon Hills, that he must have referred to an ancient moveable wooden closet, now in the south transept.

<sup>1</sup> *Ecclesiologist*, xiv. 297.

<sup>2</sup> *Sacred Archaeology*, p. 477.



ON THE DIFFERENCE OF PLAN ALLEGED TO EXIST  
BETWEEN CHURCHES OF AUSTIN CANONS AND  
THOSE OF MONKS; AND THE FREQUENCY WITH  
WHICH SUCH CHURCHES WERE PAROCHIAL.

By the Rev. J. F. HODGSON.

I arrive now at the third of the five propositions I have undertaken to refute, and which runs thus:—"That the Austin canons built their churches on the parish church lines, though much larger than the parish church, adopting the cruciform, which was the finest type of parish church . . . but still keeping its characteristic want of aisles."

Now here, the first thing to be noted, and it is a very important one—the more so because it is so little likely to attract attention—is the assumption which, quite unconsciously, perhaps, underlies the assertion, viz., this—that *the Austin Canons built their churches*. In what shape or fashion they were built is, at this incipient stage of our inquiry, altogether immaterial, and need not detain us. What is material to examine here is, how far the canons, as a rule, actually built them at all. It seems to be so constantly taken for granted that the canons' churches were built in a perfectly free and unfettered way by themselves, and "entirely out of their own heads" that the subject demands, from such as would really get to the bottom of it, a good deal more careful attention than it has hitherto, I think, received. Anyone hearing tell of them in the usual way would naturally infer that they consisted of powerful corporations which every now and then threw off colonies or offshoots to settle hither and thither, and which forthwith began building houses and churches after a fashion of their own, and so peculiarly planned, as to cause them to differ altogether from those of any of the monastic orders. Why the canons should act in so singular a manner is not explained, though it would seem to be suggested that, being quite an inferior sort of persons, and feeling themselves to be such, they built in a humble and parochial way at first; but, as time went on, and before their churches were completed, they became elated with pride—like beggars upon horseback—and began, first to envy, and then to ape the superior style of the Benedictine, and other monkish churches, and to copy them as closely as they knew how. "The canons felt that their churches were inferior to those of the monks. They craved for the addition of aisles which were now becoming common even in parish churches," etc.

Now, in order to understand the position of the Austin canons aright, it is needful to bear certain facts in mind, both with respect to themselves and the Benedictines, with whose churches their own are, apparently, so disparagingly contrasted. In the first place then, it must be remembered that the Benedictine order was not only introduced, but endowed with the most profuse and lavish generosity centuries before the Austin canons ever set foot in the land at all. They then occupied,

and had long occupied, the foremost and most honoured ecclesiastical position in the kingdom, which their immense revenues enabled them to maintain with perhaps more than befitting splendour. Everywhere they were a power, and a power that might be felt. Their position, unlike that of all other sorts and conditions of men, was not affected for the worse by the fatal field of Senlac. Far from it. The shock of the Norman conquest, however disastrous to other men, however inimical to the seculars, had brought to them at least, and to them alone, an enormous accession of power—moral, material, intellectual—and given them an impetus which reached to the utmost limits of the kingdom.

It was not till forty years afterwards, however, and while the Benedictines were yet in the full flush of their triumph and supremacy that the order of Austin canons, without either wealth or influence, without prestige, without the least tincture of that charm of novelty or reaction against an established monasticism whose pride and riches were making it everywhere detested—qualities which in after days wrought so powerfully in favour of the Mendicants—appeared upon the scene at all. And then, in the quietest and most inconspicuous way; a mere handful of sober unobtrusive men who, once having gained a footing, worked their way to general favour, now here, now there, step by step, and by slow degrees, as members of an order differing from that of monks, but differing also from the seculars, possessing somewhat, as it might seem, of the good of both, with the evil of neither. Less wholly cut off from the world and its affairs, and less filled consequently with the spiritual pride and self-righteousness resulting therefrom which pertained, it may be, to the one; less sensual and illiterate than the other; it is not to be wondered at that they succeeded in filling a void which could hardly have been unfelt; or that their rule and manner of life should approve themselves to that moderation and common-sense which even then, doubtless, lay at the root of the national character.

So entirely without observation was their coming, however, that no small degree of confusion and difference of opinion have prevailed amongst writers as to when and where their first settlement really took place. And even this, it seems, was some five and twenty years before their formal recognition and establishment as an order by pope Innocent II in 1139. For there can be little or no doubt but that it was at Colchester, and in 1105, that the first little band of canons following St. Austin's rule was settled, and that, singularly enough, at the instance of a monk, as alleged, named Eynulf. Who, and what this Eynulf was exactly, is perhaps uncertain, and it may suffice to accept the title given him in the *Monasticon*—whence does not appear—of “*vir religiosus*” and “*primus fundator*.” By him, whether “*religious*” in the technical, as well as practical sense, or not, they were planted in the grand church of St. Julian and St. Botolph, whose well-known ruins afford us one of the most remarkable examples of early Norman church building extant.

Christ Church, in London, followed next in 1107, or 1108; primarily, as it would seem, on the foundation of one Norman, who became first prior there, but so greatly assisted by Richard Beaumonts, bishop of London, and Matilda, queen of king Henry I, at the instigation of archbishop Anselm, that both of them were accounted as the actual founders.

Nostell, in Yorkshire, which is said to have been their first house, was not founded till 1121: Haughmond, in Shropshire, and Barnwell,

near Cambridge, having been founded by William Fitz Alan, and Pain Peverell, standard bearer to Robert duke of Normandy, in 1110 and 1112, respectively.

And so by sure and steady steps they made their way. Indeed, the twelfth century which saw their rise, saw also the foundation of almost all their houses, certainly of all the more important of them. And I think, a careful examination of their foundation charters—so far as they are forthcoming—will shew that the same rule which for the most part seems to have obtained in their first settlements, prevailed throughout, viz.—that not only were the canons established, but that their churches, whether in whole or in part, were actually built for them by their founders personally. It is precisely what in view of all the circumstances, and without any evidence whatever, would antecedently seem to have been most probable. But then, as I have said, we *have* evidence, and that too, as it seems to me, of a very direct and conclusive sort indeed—for it comes immediately from the mouths of the founders themselves in almost every case where the charters have been preserved—that such, in fact, was the case. In a very great number of instances, no doubt, the charters are not forthcoming at all, and we are left to draw our inferences from analogy, and such scanty items of historical fact as we possess. But still, in a great many other instances they are forthcoming, and serve generally, either to establish the fact, or at least to put it practically beyond all reasonable doubt.

Broadly speaking the charters of foundation may be grouped under two heads, viz.—First, those which either assert or imply that the churches were built by the founders; and second, those which imply, or seem to imply, that they were the work of the canons, who, having received certain grants of land, tithe, etc., were then, as regards the buildings, left free to follow their own devices.

Let us now, therefore, in order to obtain a clear view of the subject, take account of the several foundations *seriatim*, as they are set forth—for the most part chronologically—in the Monasticon, noting in each the expressions which seem to tell one way or the other as we proceed.

And first, of those in which the churches would appear to have been built by the founders themselves. They are as follows:—

PLYMPTON PRIORY CHURCH, DEVONSHIRE.—In this case we have no foundation charter; and our account must therefore, in default, be taken from Leland, who says that William Warlewast, bishop of Exeter, displeased with the canons of a free chapel at Plympton because they would not put away their concubines, found means to dissolve their college, which he re-erected at Bosham in Sussex. "*Then he set up at Plympton a Priore of Chanons-Regular, and after was there buried in the Chapitre House.*" Then, after mentioning many other particulars, he adds, "One Prior Martine, the third or fourth Prior of Plymtoun builded the substance of the Chirch that there a late stooode." From this, I think, it is abundantly evident that, at the very least, the eastern parts of the church were erected by the bishop himself during his lifetime; prior Martin, at the utmost, building only the substance, by which, I suppose, we must probably understand the nave of the church,

or, what is far more likely, judging from analogy, merely completing such portions of it, the western end, roof, &c., as were left unachieved.

**WALTHAM HOLY CROSS ABBEY CHURCH, ESSEX.**—This famous church was, in the first instance, one of canons secular. That it was originally built by the founder king Harold, is not only what might naturally be expected, but is expressly affirmed in the charter of Edward the Confessor.—“Enim vero rationali consilio ditatus, ac suæ non immemor conditionis, in præscripto loco *monasterium ad laudem Domini nostri Jesu Christi et sanctæ Crucis construxit*. William of Malmesbury also tells us of the Conqueror that:—“Corpus Haroldi matri, repente sine pretio, misit, licet illa multum per legatos obtulisset. Acceptum itaque apud Waltham sepelivit, *quam ipse ecclesiam ex proprio constructam in honore Sanctæ Crucis Canonicis impleverat*.” Of the church built by Harold, however, not a vestige, unfortunately, remains above ground. In character, no doubt, it would closely resemble that of the Confessor’s at Westminster. But apparently, like bishop Aldhune’s new Saxon cathedral church at Durham, it perished utterly within a century of its foundation; for the whole of the nave, which dates clearly between *circa* 1120-40, is doubtless a rebuilding, that is, supposing Harold’s minster ever to have been completed; and one which would never have taken place without a similar rebuilding of the choir. Into the church, so rebuilt, however,—when, or by whom, is not material to the present enquiry,—the Austin canons were inducted by king Henry II. in 1177, as witness the following of Thomas of Walsingham:—“An. 1177, *amotis ab ecclesia Walthamensi canonicis secularibus, subducti sunt regulares, auctoritate summi pontificis sub præsentia regis patris (viz. H. 2di.) in vigilia Pentecostæ*.”

**WALSINGHAM PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.** In the case of Walsingham, we read in the register of the house as follows:—“In primis Sir Geffray Faverches Knyth, lord of Walsingham, *foundyth the Chyrche off the seyd Priory*; and he gaffe therto the chapel of our Lady with al the grownd withinne the syte off the seyd place” &c. The charter of foundation, however, speaks only of the famous chapel of St. Mary which had been built by the founder’s mother, and which would seem therefore, to have constituted their first church. Such was, apparently, the state of affairs before Sir Geoffrey’s pilgrimage to Jerusalem, after which event, probably as the register states, he laid the foundation of the church itself.

**HUNTINGDON PRIORY CHURCH.**—The priory of Huntingdon, which was of very ancient foundation as a house of secular canons, was removed to a new site, according to Leland, by Eustace Lovetot temp. Stephen, or Henry II. He says:—“*Cœnobium canonicorum, quod nunc paululum quiddam distat ab opido, erat in loco ubi nunc ecclesia S. Mariæ est; quod, per Eustachium, Huntingdunensem comitem, translatum est in locum paulo remotiorem, propter opidi strepitum*.”

**BARNWELL PRIORY CHURCH CAMBRIDGESHIRE.**—The history of this priory divides itself into two distinct heads; for before its translation to Barnwell it was founded, and its church built by Picot the sheriff, in the first instance within the town of Cambridge, as thus recorded in the

archives of the house :—"Hugolina uxor Picotis S. Egidium, tanquam patronum, coluit; quæ aliquando gravissime ægotans monasterium ex voto, si salutem recuperaret, D. Egidio dicaturam se promisit, etc., ut convalesceret, et maritum de complendo voto exoraverit.

Tandem Anselmo Cantuar. episc. et Remigio Lincoln. consultis, *ecclesiam in honore beati Egidii, et officinas satis eo tempore competentes, Cantabrigia juxta castrum construxerunt; &c.*"

There for some twenty years it continued till after the death of the founder and the forfeiture of his barony by his son, when Pain Peverell his successor therein, removed the foundation to Barnwell, purposing to increase the number of canons from six to thirty. At this latter place we read :—"Paganus canon. regulares, cum magna apparatu et suppellectili, comitante non modicâ catervâ cleri et populi, et burgensium Cantebreg. . . . cum gaudio magno collocavit A.D. 1112. *Ecclesiamque miræ pulchritudinis, et ponderosi operis, in honore beati Egidii, ibidem inchoavit,*" &c. After which—"Londini febre correptus, migravit ad Dominum; *Barnwellamque delatus in aquilonari parte magni altaris decenter est collocatus.*" Thus at Barnwell as well as at Cambridge, it is clear that the churches were built for—not by the canons, and altogether independently of them.

ST. OSWALD'S PRIORY CHURCH, GLOUCESTER.—The following is Leland's account of this church, which was of very ancient foundation :—"Tunc libera capella fuit regia, *postea facta est juris archiepiscopi Eboracensis, qui Canonicos regulares induxit.* In hac domo olim fuere canonici seculares, et hæc ecclesia erat collegiata, a tempore Danorum usque ad tempus Gulielmi Rufi, *qui concessit hanc ecclesiam archiepiscopo Eboracensi.*" Into this same church of canons, Henry Murdac, archbishop of York, inducted canons regular of St. Austin in 1153, setting over them as prior, Humphry, a canon of Llanthony.

BREDON PRIORY CHURCH, LEICESTERSHIRE.—The church of Bredon priory—a cell to Nostell—was also that of the parish, and ready built for the occupation of the canons who were inducted into it after its gift to the mother house by Robert de Ferrars, earl of Nottingham, circa 1144. "Robertus comes Nottingham, &c. Sciatis me dedisse et hac meâ cartâ confirmasse . . . ecclesiæ sancti Oswaldi de Nostla . . . in liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam, *ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ et sancti Hardulfi de Bredona, cum omnibus pertinentiis,*" &c.

WOODKIRK PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.—The church of Woodkirk—another cell to Nostell—would seem pretty clearly to have been built by the founder, William earl of Warren, temp. Henry I, since he speaks of it as being already in existence in his charter of foundation.—"Wilhelmus comes de Warennâ, &c. Sciatis me concessisse in elemosinam Deo et ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ de Wodechurche; et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus, &c. totam terram in qua præfata ecclesia sita est," &c.

HYRST PRIORY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.—The little cell of Hyrst—also an appendage to Nostell—would appear, such as it was, to have been already constructed when made over to the mother house by Nigel de

Albini, temp. Henry I. There was, apparently, but a single canon in it.—“Nigellus de Albini, Widoni capellano, et Jerolino, &c. Sciatis me dedisse &c. *monasterio de Hyrst, et Radulpho canonico ibidem inhabitanti, et post ipsum Radulphum, canonicis ibi Deo servientibus, in manu semper prioris Sancti Oswaldi . . . habitationem in Hyrst,*” &c.

**SKEWKIRK OR TOCKWITH PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.**—The chapel of All Saints at this place having been given to the priory of Nostell by Geoffrey fitz Pain, a cell was thereupon established on the spot, and the canons were forthwith put into possession. In the charter of confirmation of Henry II. to Nostell we read :—“*De Willielmo de Arches et Gaufrido filio Pagani, Capellam Omnium Sanctorum in Tockwith, et terram quæ capellæ adjacet,*” &c. It was therefore built ready to their use.

**BAMBURGH PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.**—The churches of St. Oswald and St. Aidan at Bamburgh having been given by king Henry I. to the priory of Nostell, some of the canons were sent to settle near the latter building, which thenceforth became also that of their small priory. In the king's charter of gift and confirmation he says :—“*Præterea confirmo donum quod feci prædictæ ecclesiæ, et canonicis ejusdem loci; videlicet, ecclesiæ Sancti Oswaldi* (probably the castle chapel) *et Sancti Aldani de Baenburgh, sicut Algarus presbiter unquam eas melius tenuit;*” &c.

**HAUGHMOND ABBEY CHURCH, SHROPSHIRE.**—William Fitz Alan of Clun founded this abbey in the year 1100, according to the register of the house :—“*Fundata est abbatia de Haghmon, anno Domini millesimo, centesimo, et in anno ultimo regni regis Willielmi Rufi, et anno regni regis Henrici primi*” &c. Precise as this statement is, however, it is probably incorrect, as it would make Haughmond by several years the earliest established house of the order in England, a position which has never been claimed for it, and which is expressly contradicted by other evidence. But whatever the exact year may have been, the charter of foundation speaks of the church (whether in whole or in part) as being already built.—“*Willielmus filius Alani &c. Noverit universitas vestra, me . . . concessisse, et præsentî cartâ meâ confirmâsse Deo et ecclesiæ S. Johannis de Haghmon, et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus in perpetuam elemosinam, sedem et locum ecclesiæ eorundem,*” &c.

**WORKSOP PRIORY CHURCH, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.**—The priory church of Worksop was founded in the third year of king Henry I, by William de Lovetot, who was buried therein :—“*Id. Aprilis obiit Gulielmus de Lovetot fundator, et sepultus est ibidem.*” That it was built by him previous to his decease is apparent from his foundation charter, where we read :—“*Notum sit . . . quod W. Lovetot . . . concedit et confirmat per breve suum donum quod fecit Deo et sanctæ ecclesiæ et canonicis sancti Cuthberti de Wirkesop in perpetuam elemosinam.*” In his son's charter of confirmation too :—“*confirmo donum quod fecit pater meus Willhelmus de Lovetot Deo et ecclesiæ sancti Cuthberti de Wirkesop, et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus, ipsam videlicet ecclesiâ, cum terris*” &c. And in the poetical *Stemma Fundatoris* :—

"Which S<sup>r</sup>. William dicest and was tumulate  
 In the said church on the north side,  
 On the nederest gree, for his hye estate,  
 Tendency to the hye awter, and there doth abyde :  
 And he gat S<sup>r</sup>. Richard his sonne in good tyde  
 Which beryed was beneth him under a white stone  
 The left side Thomas Nevill, and thereon gone."

**CARLISLE CATHEDRAL PRIORY CHURCH.**—This church was built by Walter, a wealthy Norman priest, governor of the castle and newly refounded town of Carlisle, as one of secular canons, in the time of William Rufus. On completing the building, he introduced into it canons regular of St. Austin, at the instance of Adelulf, prior of Nostell; the latter, on the establishment of the see in 1135, becoming the first bishop. As to the Augustinians, therefore, it is clear that they had no more concern with the planning or construction of the building than their successors—the modern dean and chapter.

**LITTLE DUNMOW PRIORY CHURCH, ESSEX.**—This church, was built apparently at the sole cost and charges of Juga Baynard, lady of Little Dunmow; who, causing it to be consecrated by Maurice, bishop of London, in 1104, endowed it on the same day with half a hide of land. Two years afterwards, in 1106 :—"Galfridus Baynard filius et hæres Jugæ Baynard, considerans devotionem, &c. *posuit canonicos in ecclesia de Dunmow, assensu Anselmi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis.*" The church, therefore, was built and finished two years before the canons set foot in it, or indeed were ever intended to do so.

**HOLY TRINITY, OR CHRIST CHURCH PRIORY CHURCH, LONDON.**—This church, founded by Matilda, queen of Henry I. was also doubtless built and completed by her during her lifetime. That such was the case is manifest from the following extracts from various charters of her husband :—"Henricus rex Angliæ, Richardo episcopo London. &c. Sciatis me concessisse et confirmasse *ecclesiæ et canonicis S. Trinitatis, Lond. socam de Anglica Onihittengilda,*" &c. "Henry, king of England, &c. Know ye that I have granted to queen Maud, my wife, *that she place canons regular in the church of the Holy Trinity, in London,*" &c. "Henry, king of England, &c. Know ye that I have granted and confirmed the canonry of *canons regular in the church of Christ in London, there founded by my wife queen Maud that it be established for ever,*" &c. And again :—"Henry king of England &c. Know ye that I have granted to the Holy Trinity, and to Norman the prior, and the canons of the Holy Trinity, in London, *that they may enclose with walls the way that was between their church and offices, and the wall of the city of London, both ways, as far as the aforesaid city wall,*" &c.

**TAUNTON PRIORY CHURCH, SOMERSET.**—This church would appear to have been built during the lifetime, and at the sole cost of William Giffard, bishop of Winchester. There is no charter of endowment, but in the confirmation charter of Edward III. we read :—"Henricus rex Angliæ, &c. *Ex dono Wilhelmi episcopi, fundatoris ejusdem ecclesiæ, omnes ecclesias Tantonix cum capellis,*" &c.

**ST. MARY OVEREY PRIORY CHURCH, SOUTHWARK.**—This church was founded by William Pont de l'Arch and William Dauncey, two Norman knights, with the assistance of William Giffard, bishop of Winchester, who *built the nave at his own expense*. Being burnt down in 1213, the church was reedified by his successor in the see, Peter de Rupibus, very shortly afterwards. There is no charter of foundation extant.

**BRISSET MAGNA PRIORY CHURCH, SUFFOLK.** This church was founded by Ralph Fitz Brian, according to Tanner, *circa* 1110. That it was built and canons placed in it during his life, we learn from the following extract from his foundation charter :—"Radulfus filius Briani, et Emma uxor sua, &c. . . . notifico, quod . . . *stabilivi ecclesiam Deo et sanctæ Mariæ et sanctissimo confessori suo Leonardo apud Brisele in qua canonicos regulares Deo ibidem perhenniter servituros apposui et institui,*" &c.

**CIRENCESTER ABBEY CHURCH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.**—A dean and canons secular occupied the church of Cirencester before the Conquest ; but these were changed into an abbot and convent of canons regular of St. Austin by king Henry I, who completely rebuilt the church for them, between 1117 and 1131. In his foundation charter the king says :—"Hen., rex Angliæ, &c. Sciatis universi, quoniam . . . dedi, et concessi Deo et ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ Cirecestræ, cujus ego, licet indignus, constructor extiti, &c. . . . abbati Serloni primo, et omnibus successoribus ejus, et canonicis regularibus ibidem Deo deservientibus," &c.

**HEXHAM PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.**—The ancient abbey church of Hexham after having been ruined by the Danes, was given with its possessions, by king Henry I. to the church of York ; after which archbishop Thomas II introduced into it canons regular of St. Austin. Richard of Hexham writes thus :—"Igitur ob sanctorum ibi quiescentium merita declaranda, Deo miserante, super ejusdem dijectione, magno compassionis dolore condoluit, ac de ipsius resurrectione ipse sedulo excogitare, et cum suis diligenter tractare, ac retractare cœpit. . . . Anno igitur ab incarnatione Domini mc.xiii, &c. sæpeditus Thomas, concilio et auxilio capituli sui, videlicet ecclesiæ Sancti Petri Eboracensis, &c. ad Kal. Novembris duxit illuc canonicos regulares ; quibus cum suis consuetudinibus, et cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus, quietam et liberam, sicut ipse eam in suo dominio habuerat ecclesiam tradidit."

**LAUND PRIORY CHURCH, LEICESTERSHIRE.**—This church was founded by Richard Basset and Maud his wife in the latter part of the reign of Henry I.—*circa* 1125. There is, apparently, no foundation charter extant, but from a contemporary one of confirmation by the king, it is clear both that the church itself was built, and the canons installed in it during the founder's lifetime :—"Henricus rex Angliæ, &c. Sciatis me concessisse et confirmasse omnes donationes quas Ricardus Basset, et Matildis Ridel uxor ejus fecerunt Deo et canonicis ecclesiæ Sancti Johannis Baptistæ de Landa, quam fundaverunt," &c.

**DRAX PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.**—Here, we have the erection of the church expressly stated in the charter of William Paganel, the founder, temp. Henry I. :—"Omnibus, &c. Noverit . . . me . . . confirmasse,



Deo et S. Nicholao, et canonicis Deo et S. Nicholao servientibus in territorio de Drax, insulam quæ dicitur Halington, et Middleholm, ubi fundata est ecclesia S. Nicholai prioratus de Drax," &c.

BOLTON PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.—This church would seem from its existing eastern parts to have been built, to such extent at least, by the foundress Adeliza de Rumilly, who caused the priory to be translated from Emsay to Bolton in 1151; and who, in her charter of confirmation, speaks of it as being already built:—"Aeliz de Rumilly, &c. Noverit . . . me concessisse . . . Deo et ecclesie sancte Mariæ de Boelton, et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus," &c.

KIRKHAM PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.—The opening clause of Walter Espec's foundation charter shews clearly that this church, as might confidently be expected, was both built by him, and made over to and stocked with Austin canons during his lifetime:—"Turstino Dei gratia Ebor. archiepiscopo, &c. Walterus Espec, et Adelina uxor ejus, salutem: Sciatis nos concessisse et dedisse Deo et ecclesie S. Trinitatis de Kirkham, et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus . . . totum manerium de Kirkham, &c. Et ecclesiam parochialem de Kirkham," &c.

LAUNCESTON PRIORY CHURCH, CORNWALL.—Like that of Plympton, this church was built by William Warlewast, bishop of Exeter, circa 1126. Leland says:—"One William Waricist, bishop of Excestre, erected this priorie, and was after buryed at Plymtown priorie, that he also erectyd. Warwist for erection of Launston priorie suppressed a collegiat chyrch of S. Stephen, having prebendaries, &c. There yet standith a church of S. Stephen about half a myle from Launston on a hill, where the collegiate church was." There is now extant, apparently, no charter of foundation in connection with this church, but from the substance of another one of Warlewast's in the Lansdowne MSS. it would seem that before, and during the erection of the new church of St. Stephen by the bishop, he established the Austin canons *ad interim* in the existing one of the seculars. It runs:—"Noscit præsentis temporis ætas quod Radulfus eccl. S. Steph. de Launcestone decanus Decanatum mihi Willielmo Episcopo reddidit. Et ego Canonicis regularibus quos in eadem constitui totum dedi."

ST. DENIS PRIORY CHURCH, SOUTHAMPTON.—That the church of this priory was both built and supplied with canons during the lifetime of the founder, king Henry I., is manifest from the following words of his foundation charter:—"Henr. rex Angliæ &c. Sciatis me dedisse . . . Deo et ecclesie sancti Dionysii, necnon et canonicis meis in eadem ecclesia desuper Hamptonam Deo servientibus", &c.

KENILWORTH PRIORY CHURCH, WARWICKSHIRE.—The foundation charter shews that this church also was built and occupied by the canons during the life of the founder.—"Gaufridus de Clintona Henrici regis camerarius, &c. Notum sit . . . quod ego Gaufridus . . . ipso regi concedente, fundavi ecclesiam de Chenillewurda in honore S. Mariæ; et concessi canonicis ibidem regulariter Deo servientibus," &c.

STONE PRIORY CHURCH, STAFFORDSHIRE.—The way in which the church of Stone,—which, *circa* 670, had been founded for secular canons, but after the Danish devastations became occupied by nuns,—was in due course converted into one of canons regular, as a cell to Kenilworth, is thus set forth in the rhymed history once hanging in the house :—

“ In the time of the conquest was the lord of Stafford  
Baron Robert, which here was chief lord ;  
And in his lifetime befel such a rase,  
That two nuns and one priest lived in this place,  
The which were slayne by one Enysan ;  
That came over with William Conquer. than.  
This Enysan slue the nuns and priest alsoe,  
Because his sister should have this church thoe,  
But for that offence he did to Saint Wolfade,  
His sister soon died, and himself great vengeance had ;  
And when Enisan this cruel deede had doon  
Then blessed baron Robert bethaught himself soone,  
To Killingworth anon that he would goe,  
And tell Geoffrey of Clinton there of this woe,  
Which was in the castle of Killingworth then dwelling,  
And was chamberlain to first Henry the King,  
And founder of that castle, and abby alsoe,  
Which counseled this blessed baron Robert tho,  
To restore and helpe Saint Wolfad's house again,  
And make canons there in steed of the nuns that Enysan had  
slayne.  
So through baron Robert, and councel of Geoffry yn fere,  
Canons were first thus founded here,” &c.

Enisan's charter, conferring the church and its appurtenances to the priory of Kenilworth, opens thus :—“ Ego Enisanus et Ernaldus filius meus, donavimus et concessimus in elemosinam Bernardo priori et canonicis suis *ecclesiam S. Ulfadi de Stanes, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, quæ est de feodo nostro,*” &c., from which it is clear that, whatever its architectural character, it served thenceforth as that of the canons, while unbuilt by them.

DUNSTABLE PRIORY CHURCH, BEDFORDSHIRE.—The following extracts from the *Historia foundationis*, and the charter of foundation itself, will shew in the clearest way that this fine church was built for the use of his newly established town and monastery of Dunstable, by king Henry I. personally, and in his lifetime. After describing the locality, and the circumstances which induced him to build a town upon the spot, the History proceeds :—“ Tandem dictus rex in limite dicti burgi, *in honorem S. Petri, ecclesiam fabricavit, monasterium construxit ; et sicut longe in animo concesserat, priorem et canonicos ibidem posuit regulares.*” &c. And in his charter the king says :—“ H. rex Angliæ, &c. Sciatis me . . . dedisse *ecclesie sancti Petri de Dunstable, quam ego in honore Dei et ejusdem apostoli fundavi, et canonicis regularibus ibidem Deo servientibus in perpetuum . . . totum manerium de Dunstable,*” &c.

PORCHESTER PRIORY CHURCH, HANTS.—In 1133, king Henry I.

founded in the church which he had already built within the castle of Porchester, a priory of canons regular. The date is conclusively established by the signatures of the witnesses: the fact of the king being the builder of the church, by the words of the charter itself, which runs thus:—"H. rex Anglorum, &c. Sciatis me concessisse Deo et ecclesie beate Marie de Porcestre et canonicis regularibus ibidem servantibus, ipsam ecclesiam S. Marie ibidem, a me fundatam, cum terris et decimis et omnibus rebus eidem ecclesie pertinentibus," &c. For a view, and account of Porchester church, see vol. iii, 214 of this Journal.

**OSENEY ABBEY CHURCH, OXFORDSHIRE.**—According to Leland, the building of Osenev abbey church by Robert D'Oillee the second, happened thus:—

"This Robert the second had a wife caulled Edithe Forne, a woman of fame and highly esteemed with King Henry the First, by whose procuracion Robert wedded her.

This Robert began the priorie of blake Chanons at Osenev by Oxford among the Isles that Isis ryver ther makyth.

Sum write that this was the occasion of making of it. Edith usid to walke out of Oxford castelle with her gentlewoman to solace, and that oftentimes wher yn a certen place in a tree, as often as she cam, a certen Pyes usid to gither to it, and ther to chattrre, and as it were to speke on to her. Edithe much mervelyng at this mattier, and was sumtyme sore ferid as by a wonder, whereapon she sent for one Radulphe a chanon of S. Frediswides, a man of vertuous life and her confessor, askyng hym counsell; to whom he answered, after that he had sene the faschion of the Pyes chattering only at her cummyng; that she shulde bilde sum chirche or monasterie in that place. Then she entreated her husband to build a priorie, and so he did, making Radulph the first prior of it.

The cumming of Edith to Osenev and Radulph waiting on her, and the tree with the chattering Pyes be paintid in the waulle of th' arch over Edith tumbe in Osenev priorie. Ther lyeth an image of Edith of stone in th' abbite of a vowes holding a hart in her right hand on the north side of the high altare."

In a MS. at Corpus Christi College, Oxon. :—"Anno mcccix, Robertus de Oili, filius Nigelli de Oili et Editha uxor *struxere ecclesiam beate Marie in insula Oseneve.*"

In the foundation charter of Robert D'Oillee :—"Notum sit . . . quod ego R. de Oileo, volentibus et concedentibus Editha uxore mea et filiis meis Henrico et Gilleberto, do et concedo in perpetuam elemosinam ecclesie Dei et sancte Marie genetricis ejus, et canonicis in ea Deo servantibus, quam ego, consulente et confirmante Alexandro Dei gratia Lincolnienſi episcopo, fundavi in insula que dicitur Oseneia," &c.

**RENTON PRIORY CHURCH, STAFFORDSHIRE.**—This church was founded by Robert fitz Noel, according to Tanner, temp. Henry I. Although in the charter of foundation Robert fitz Noel only speaks of the "locum qui dicitur Sancta Maria des Essarz", his son Thomas, the first witness thereto, is described as "Thoma filio Roberti ejusdem loci fundatoris"; and in a second charter relating to the church of Cestford, the founder speaks of the church of Ronton, or S. Mary des Essarz, as already built: "*ecclesie Sancte Marie de Ezartie, et canonicis ibidem Deo servantibus,*"

&c., whence it is evident that the expression—"locum qui dicitur Sancta Maria des Essarz," means, as might be expected, not only the place, but the buildings which occupied it, and that they were erected, moreover, by the founder himself, and during his life.

GUISBOROUGH PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.—As the foundation charter shews, this church, together with the monastery attached to it, was built by the founder, Robert de Brus, personally, and during his life. No part of the original building is now extant, it is true; the earliest part of the existing structure, of which there are very scanty remains, being a full century later than the period of foundation (1129); and even they shew signs of reconstruction, for in the very heart of the base of the south-west tower pier, used as a waller, I myself, some little time since, extracted and cleaned a beautifully carved stone which, singularly enough, had formed part of a rich triforial arcade of exactly the same design as that well-known one in the secular canons' church at Beverley. The choir, the grandest in all England, is later still, *circa* 1297, in which year the masons left another canons' church—that of Ripon—to start work, as it would seem, at Guisborough, where, though on an infinitely grander scale, the *character* of the architecture is identical. Robert de Brus's charter runs thus:—"Robertus de Brus, salutem. Notum sit caritati vestræ, me consilio et ammonitione Calixti papæ secundæ, et Turstini Eboracensis archiepiscopi, *quoddam monasterium canonicæ religionis in Gyseburna, ad honorem Dei et S. Mariæ fundasse, ibique canonicos regulares . . . constituisse, et eidem ecclesiæ, atque Deo in ea servituris, totam Gyseburnam,*" &c.

BRIDLINGTON PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.—In the church of St. Mary at Bridlington, which had probably been rebuilt by him for the purpose—but in any case, in the existing church, whatsoever it might be—Walter de Gant, early in the reign of king Henry I., established a priory of Austin canons. His foundation charter states this expressly:—"Ego Walterus de Gant notefico omnibus, &c., *quod in ecclesia sanctæ Mariæ de Bridlingtona, canonicos regulares stabilivi,*" &c. Like that of Guisborough, the whole of the original structure of Bridlington church has been replaced by after work; the original choir—now utterly destroyed—having, together with the north aisle of the nave, and the north western tower, been reconstructed in the 13th, and the nave itself generally about the commencement of the 14th century.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT PRIORY CHURCH, LONDON.—This church, at least all the eastern part of it, inclusive of the transept, was built by the founder Rahere himself during his lifetime. "*Hanc igitur ecclesiam in honorem beatissimi Bartholomæi apostoli pie memorie Raherus fundavit, et ibidem Deo servituros secundum regulam sanctissimi patris Augustini viros religiosos aggregavit, eisdemque per viginti duos annos prioris dignitate et officio functus præfuit,*" &c.

WARTER PRIORY CHURCH, YORKS.—In the existing parish church of Warter—whether rebuilt for the purpose or not does not appear—Geoffrey Fitz Pain established a priory of Austin canons in 1132. "*Memorandum quod domus Wartriæ fundata fuit a Galfrido Trusbut*

anno Domini M<sup>c</sup>xxxii. tempore regis Henrici filii Willielmi conquestoris, videlicet anno regni sui xxxii., cui in *fundatione tantummodo contulit ecclesiam de Wartria cum xi. bovatibus terre in campo ejusdem villæ.* "Noscat . . . quod ego G. filius Willielmi Trussebuthe, concedo illam donationem, quam Galfridus filius Pagani prædecessor meus fecit canonicis regularibus de Wartria . . . *videlicet ecclesiam S. Jacobi ejusdem villæ, cum capellis et decimis,*" &c.

CHRISTCHURCH TWYNEHAM PRIORY CHURCH, HANTS.—This noble church—of pre-conquest foundation, as one of secular canons—was more or less entirely rebuilt, together with its dependent offices, by the famous, or infamous, Ralph Flambard, sometime dean, and his immediate successors, previous to its conversion into one of canons regular by Baldwin de Redvers, earl of Devon, circa 1150. "*Fundavit equidem hanc ecclesiam episcopus Randulphus, quæ nunc est apud Twynham, et domos et officianus cuilibet religioni.* Obeunte canonicorum aliquo, ejus beneficium in sua retinebat potestate, nulli tribuendo alii volens unamquamque dare præbendam religioni, si eos omnes mortis fortuna in suo tulisset tempore." &c.

IXWORTH PRIORY CHURCH, SUFFOLK.—This conventual church was twice built; first by Gilbert Blund, and then by William his son, on a fresh site, for the convent of Austin canons established by the former, early in the 12th century at Ixworth.—"*Gilbertus Blundus, veniens in conquestu cum Willielmo bastardo fundavit domum conventualem beate Mariæ de Ixworth in comitatu Suffolciæ, ordinis S. Augustini, prope ecclesiam parochialem ejusdem villæ, quæ processu temporis destructa fuit per guerram . . . Guilielmus filius, et successor in hæreditate, duxit Suram de Montecanisio, et reædificavit et restruxit domum prædictam in loco ubi nunc sita est ecclesia.*"

NORTON PRIORY CHURCH, CHESHIRE.—The priory of Norton was first founded at Runcorn by William Fitz Nigell in 1133, whence shortly afterwards, during the reign of Stephen, his son William, constable of Cheshire, removed it to Norton in the same county. There is no charter of foundation extant, apparently, but in the *Fundatorum Progenies et Historia* we read:—"Quintus vero frater, scilicet Wolfatus, fuit sacerdos; et ipsi dedit ecclesiam de Runcorne Nigellus, quam nunc habent in propriis usus canonici domus antedictæ de dono prædicti Willielmi filii Nigelli, qui domum dictorum canonicorum fundavit primò apud Runcorne, scilicet anno gratiæ M<sup>c</sup>xxxiii: *Et iste Willielmus filius Nigelli fundator dictæ domus obiit et sepultus est apud Cestriam.* Cui in hæreditate successit filius ejus Willielmus junior, qui prædictis canonicis dedit in excambium alias terras pro terra sua de Runcorne, et aliis terris suis; *scilicet ad Northonam villam transferendo prioratum antedictum.*" Thus in translating his father's foundation to Norton, William, the son of William Fitz Nigell, was also the actual builder of the new church there, as we learn from an abstract of a deed of Eustace, son of John de Burgavil, quoted by Tanner, in which he grants pasture for an hundred sheep to Hugh de Cathewik, on condition that he made a final end of building the church of Norton in every part, according to the first foundation of Will. fil. Nigelli.

**NEWBURGH ABBEY CHURCH, YORKS.**—This church, as the opening sentences of the foundation charter shew, was built by the founder, Roger de Mowbray, in his lifetime—1145.—“Universis, &c. Notum sit vobis, me dedisse, et concessisse *Deo et ecclesiæ S. Mariæ de Novo-Burgo, canonicisque ibidem Deo servantibus, ipsum locum in quo abbatia eorum fundata est.*” &c.

**DORCHESTER ABBEY CHURCH, OXFORDSHIRE.**—This church was built for the use of the Austin canons established therein, by Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, *circa* 1140. Very little of his structure, however, which was only of modest character and dimensions, is to be detected in the later and enlarged fabric which has replaced it.

**THORNTON ABBEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.**—Although there is no foundation charter relative to this church forthcoming, the chronicle of the house leaves little or no doubt but that the founder, William le Gros, earl of Albemarle, must, as we should certainly expect, have built the eastern parts of the church, at least, during his lifetime, which was prolonged no less than forty-one years after the establishment of the abbey.—“*Anno Domini 1139 . . . Willielmus Grose, comes Albemarie fundavit abbatiam sive monasterium de Thornton super Humbram . . . Sabato die Hilarii. Et anno revoluto eodem die, scilicet S. Hilarii, qui erat dies dominicus, per consilium venerabilis cognati sui Wallevi, prioris de Kyrkham in comitatu Eboraci, et fratris Simonis comitis Northamptoniæ et Henrici comitis et hæredis regis Scotiæ, predictus Wallevus venit Thornton ducens secum conventum duodecim canonicorum de Kyrkham supradicta,*” &c.

“A<sup>o</sup>. 1180, obiit præclarus comes et eximius monasteriorum fundator Willielmus Grose, xij. Kal. Septembris.”

For a short illustrated account of Thornton abbey by the late Mr. J. H. Parker, see vol. ii, p. 357, of this Journal. It contains extracts from a chronological history of the place preserved among Tanner's MSS. in the Bodleian, which are of much interest, though apparently misinterpreted by the writer. While serving to shew, however—what may be learnt from the ruins themselves—that the whole of the church and offices have been rebuilt in a later style, and on a probably larger scale than at first, under William le Gros, they leave the character and extent of his constructions altogether undetermined.

**BRINKBURNE PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.**—Here, the confirmation charter of William Bertram shews that the founder, Osbertus Colutarius, was also the builder of the house and church: it runs:—“*Noverit præsens aetas, &c., quod ego, Willielmus Bertram . . . petitione dompni Osberti Colutarii, . . . concedo locum, qui Brinkeburne dicitur, quem idem Osbertus edificavit, dompno Radulpho presbitero monasterii sanctæ Mariæ de Insula et fratribus suis, locum hunc prætaxatum, . . . que prædicto Osberto prius dederam, concedo fratribus ibidem Deo servantibus,*” &c.

**BRUTON ABBEY CHURCH, SOMERSETSHIRE.**—This church, which was of pre-conquest foundation, was already built and occupied by Benedictine monks when, temp. Stephen, canons regular were introduced into it by

William Mohun, earl of Somerset, in their stead. "Willielmus de Moyne, &c. Notum . . . me prece Willielmi capellani, uxoris meæ, &c. Deo et sanctæ Mariæ canonicisque regularibus, ecclesiam de Briweton concessisse" &c.

BRADENSTOKE PRIORY CHURCH, WILTSHIRE.—That this church was built by the founder of the priory, Walter de Eureux or de Saresbiria, 1142, who took the habit, died, and was buried therein, is expressly stated in the confirmation charter of Patric, earl of Salisbury, his son:—"Universis . . . comes Patricius Sarum, salutem. Noverit universitas vestra me concessisse . . . *ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ de Bradenstoke, quam pater meus Walterus de Saresbiria, ad dilatandum religionis cultum construxit, et quas idem pater meus præfate ecclesiæ et fratribus in cō canonicis Deo servientibus . . . contulerat,*" &c.

SHOBDEN PRIORY CHURCH, HEREFORDSHIRE.—Nothing can well be more interesting or instructive as regards the foundation of religious houses, than the long and minute account written in Norman-French and quoted by the editors of the *Monasticon* respecting that of Shobden, afterwards transferred, with many augmentations both of wealth and canons, to Wigmore, where it continued to the last. All the several stages of the proceedings, together with their final consummation are depicted in the liveliest colours, and bring the times, and the movers in them, before us with the utmost vividness. The early foundation at Shobden was due, it appears, to the care of Sir Oliver de Merlimound, chief seneschal or steward of Sir Hugh de Mortimer, temp. Henry I.; and the following extracts will give an outline of the way in which he effected it:—"Cesti Olyver aveit la terre de Ledecote per descente de heritage, et son seigneur mounsieur Hugh de Mortimer ly dona a ceo tote la ville de Schobbedon, pur ly plus lealment servir et plus peniblement; et a Eode fitz a dit Olyver dona il la personage del eglise de Aylmondestreo. Adonk n'esteit en Schobbedon nule eglise, mes tant soulement une chapel de saincte Juliane, et cele fut de fust, et sogette al eglise de Aylmondestreo. Dount Olyver esteit mout pensifs de fer lever une novele eglise en Schobbedon, et en honour de quel seinct voleyt que ele fut dedye quant ele fut perfete. Au derrein si elust il saint John l'Evangelist, le quel Jesu Crist elus devant tutz les autres disciples, pur estre patron de l'eglise." Then, having settled with parson Eudes his son, that Shobden should thenceforth be independent of Aymestrey on payment of an annual pension of two shillings, he sets about the building of his new church; and, that work being well in hand, thereupon undertakes a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James at Compostella. Thence, his devotions duly paid, he starts for home again—"tot dispensif del overayne de Schobbedon; et quant il approchea a la cite de Paris un chanoine del abbeye de seinct Victor ly atteint, et molt devoutement le pria de sun hostel prendre en l'abbeye, et il a grant peyne ly otreu, et od ly en l'abbeye entra et fut bel et cortisement receu a graunt honour. Tant come il fut leinz si regarda il et ententinement avisa totes choses q'il vist en l'osterye, en l'encloustre, en le queor, et nomement le service qe ont fist entour l'auter; et mut ly vynt al queot de devocion la honeste q'il vist parentre eus en tutz lieux. Dont il prist conge del abbe et des

autres freres de leyns, si retourna a sun propre pais. *Et quant sa eglise fut tote perfete, si requist il mut humblement, sire Robert de Betun eveque de Hereford . . . qu'il deignast sa eglise de Shobbedon dedyer.*" This being effected with much solemnity, and the advowson of the church of Burley obtained from the bishop who, "il ly granta, pur ceo que nul nosa vyer a ly chose qu'il desira, car il estoit le second apres sire Hugh de Motemer," and other things being in readiness, he had it "en purpos de les doner a gents de religion, et se remembra del honestete qu'il vist autre feez entre les chanoynes de seinct Victor de Paris," whence, after some little difficulty he procures two of their number—Roger and Ernys—to come and settle at Shobden, "*ou il les fist habiter en un meson assez honeste pres de l'eglise.*" Moreover, "Il lor dona ensement sa terre de Ledecote, ovesk les granges pleines de blees et beafs, herbiz, et porcs a grant plente, ovesk ii. carvez de terre."

Such, in brief, is the history of the foundation of the priory, and of the building of the church of Shobden, in the planning or construction of which it is clear the canons of St. Victor had no more share than ourselves. All, as we see, was built and settled for them beforehand by the founder. "Other men laboured: they entered into their labours." In connection therewith, however, it is certainly a most miserable reflection that this church—more interesting even for its excessively rare and rich sculptures than for the singularly circumstantial history attached to it—should, without any assignable reason, have been wantonly destroyed about the middle of the last century, when three of its principal arches and their supports—covered with the most elaborate carving—were set up as a "curiosity" in his adjoining park, by the owner of the village—lord Bateman. Some of their details may be seen figured in a short account of the building in vol. I of this Journal, pp. 233-7, to which the reader is referred.

WIGMORE ABBEY CHURCH, HEREFORDSHIRE.—The priory, founded as we have seen at Shobden, was destined to remain there but a very short time, being removed, partly from want of water and other inconveniences, first to Eye; thence to Wigmore; and after that, to a spot selected by the canons themselves in the field of Beodune, which they begged of Sir Hugh de Mortimer, as being in all ways suitable for their permanent settlement. "Et il lor granta ausi tot benement, et a grant joye; et lor promist qe il les eidereit, et comanda ausi toft que eus remewasent totes choses qe eus aveyent al Wygmore jeske la. Et quant eus aveyent comandement de ceo fere, ne targerent geres del mettre en fet, et se feseyent endementres petites habetaciuns de fust, per eyde et conseil de sire Hugh." "Apres ceo vynt sire Hugh de Mortemer de outre-mere, et demorra a Cleburi . . . et ne mie longi temps apres, vynt sire Hugh pur visiter les chanoines et lor lyu; et ileokes *per request de seons et nomement de Brian de Brompton, et de John sun fits, manda pur un moyn de Wyrecestre, le quel quant il out signe la place del eglise, fist fover et mettre le fondement: a quel fondement sire Hugh de Mortimer cocha le premier pere, et lor promist dys marez en eyde: mes en apres il la chevy a ses costages demenie.* . . . En apres les chanoines sentre mistrent durement et vigrousement del overayne de lur eglise. . . . Dentre cestes choses si fut sire Hugh de Mortimer mut curious et penible entour l'overaine de lor eglise, *la queie il fist*



*tote perferre a ces costages ; et quant ale fut tote perfete, si la jist dedyer per la mayn sire Robert Folyoth, adonk evesk de Hereford, en le honur de seinte Jake l'apostle."* &c.

With the above account agrees that of the *Historia Foundationis et Fundatorum*, which says of the same Sir Hugh de Mortimer:—"Iste quidem Hugo . . . monasterium de Wyggemore, ubi jam situatur, primum etiam lapidem propriis manibus ponendo, fundavit, propriisque expensis construxit; . . . ac sic, post varia et laudabilia probitatis sui merita, præsentem vitam transitoriam, meliorem volens in frugem transmutare ordinem monasterii de Wyggemore prædicti professus, in senectute bona ab hac luce xxvi. die mensis Februarii A.D. m.c.lxxxv, subtractus, filium suum Rogerum . . . universorum dimisit hæredem;" &c.

That here again, as at Shobden, the church was built throughout at the sole expense of the founder, is expressly stated; and the fact is both interesting, and to our purpose. What is more so, is the circumstance—unique, I think, in connection with these canons' churches—that we here also find ourselves introduced to the architect of it. But, bearing in mind all that has been said about the differences between such churches and those of monks, that it should turn out that this man—the only architect of an Austin canons' church of whom there is any mention whatever—was a Benedictine monk, and sent for from a distance, moreover, by the canons and their friends for the express purpose of planning it, is surely the most remarkable point of all; and, if I may venture to say so—amusing.

DARLEY OR DERLEY ABBEY CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.—This priory, founded in the first instance at Derby, temp. Henry I., under the invocation of St. Helen, was afterwards translated to a fresh site about a mile and a half higher up the river Derwent, given by Hugh the priest, dean of Derby, expressly for that purpose. The following extracts from the charter of Robert de Ferrars, earl of Derby, the founder, make it clear both that the translation was effected, and the new church in honour of St. Mary erected, at his cost and during his life.—"*Robertus comes de Ferrariis, Waltero Coventriensi episcopo, &c. salutem. Ego fundavi domum unam religionis in Derbey, in fisco regio, consensu et confirmatione regis Stephani, et consensu regis Henrici, et posui in eam canonicos et abbatem . . . et dedi eis de terris meis, et de redditibus . . . Hæc omnia quæ dedi eis, concedo et confirmo prædictæ ecclesiæ Dei, et sanctæ Mariæ, pro me et meis, &c. et suscipio ipsam ecclesiam, cum omnibus tenuris suis in meam custodiam . . . salva dignitate regis in ipsa ecclesia.*"

ST. AUGUSTINE'S ABBEY CHURCH, BRISTOL.—That Robert Fitz Harding was both founder of the abbey, and actual constructor of the abbey church of St. Austin at Bristol, appears clearly from his foundation charter:—"Robertus filius Hardingi, &c. Sciatis quod cum dominus rex Henricus manerium de Berchalle &c. mihi . . . dedisset . . . Ego . . . ecclesias de Berchaleiernes &c. dedi et concessi ecclesiæ Sancti Augustini de Bristol, et canonicis regularibus ibidem Domino servientibus," &c.

And again:—"Robertus filius Hardingi, &c. Sciatis quod ego ad honorem

Dei . . . concessi . . . canonicis S. Augustini Bristoldi, quorum per gratiam Dei, et per auxilium domini mei regis, *ecclesiam fundavi*," &c.

. . . "thulke Robert Hardyng, a redsuth, I wys,  
An Abbey of Bristow of St. Austyn that is."

**BOURN ABBEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.**—The Arroasian abbot and canons of Bourn were established in the existing parish church of that place—whether rebuilt for the purpose, as would seem most likely, or not, is uncertain—by the founder, Baldwin Fitz Gilbert, *circa* 1138.—"Baldwinus filius Gisleberti &c. Sciatis me concessisse . . . domino Gervasio abbati de Arroasia, *ecclesiam de Brunna, liberam et absolutam* &c. Ita videlicet, quod prædictus abbas secundum consuetudinem et religionem sui orlinis, *abbatem et canonicos in eadem ecclesia constituat*." &c.

**TRENTHAM PRIORY CHURCH, STAFFORDSHIRE.**—In this church, originally one of Benedictine nuns, and of which St. Werburgh was abbess in the 8th century—Randal, second earl of Chester, established a priory and convent of Austin canons in the latter part of the reign of king Henry I.—"Ranulfus comes Cestrie, &c. Sciatis me donasse centum solidatas terræ mee Staffordiesire *Deo et sanctæ Mariæ et omnibus sanctis, ad restaurandam quandam abbatiam canonicorum in ecclesia de Trentham* in elemosinam, ad serviendum Deo ibidem perpetualiter," &c.—"Henricus rex Angliæ, &c. Sciatis me concessisse . . . *Deo et ecclesiæ Omnium Sanctorum de Trentham, et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus*" &c.

This church of St. Mary and All Saints was, and is still, the parish church of Trentham.

**ERDBURY PRIORY CHURCH, WARWICKSHIRE.**—The foundation charter of Ralph de Sudley shews that the church was in being at the period of his grant:—"Omnibus &c. Radulphus de Sudle, salutem. Notum sit vobis, me dedisse et concessisse *ecclesiæ de Ordhuri, et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus, ecclesiam de Chilverdescote*," (the parish church) &c. "Omnes enim has donationes prædictas dedi et concessi *ecclesiæ de Ordhuri, et canonicis ibi Deo servientibus* in perpetuam elemosinam," &c.

**ROYSTON PRIORY CHURCH, HERTFORDSHIRE.**—Of this church, founded by Eustace de Merc towards the end of the reign of king Henry II., Dugdale supplies no charter of foundation; but Tanner, on the authority of Chester's evidences, classes with him his nephew Ralph of Rochester—named immediately after Eustace de Merc, in the confirmation charter of Richard I.—as co-founder, because "*this Ralph built this conventual church, and placed seven canons therein, quibus Priorem præfecit*." Leland also mentions him as second founder.

**ROCESTER ABBEY CHURCH, STAFFORDSHIRE.**—The church of Rocester abbey is mentioned as already existing in the foundation charter of Richard Bacon:—"Ric. Bacun salutem in Domino. Noverit universitas vestra, me . . . confirmasse, *Deo et ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ et canonicis regularibus Roucestræ*," &c.

**COMBWELL PRIORY CHURCH, KENT.**—The confirmation charter of king Henry III. which recites that of Stephen de Turneham, son of Robert de Turneham the founder, renders it clear that the latter was also the builder of the church:— . . . “*donationem Roberti de Turneham patris mei, quam Deo, et ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ Magdalænæ de Combwill, et fratribus ibidem Deo servientibus,*” &c.

**WORSRING PRIORY CHURCH, SOMERSETSHIRE.** About 1210, William de Courtney translated to Worspring a small house of Austin canons which theretofore had been settled at Dodelyng in the same county. The church, or chapel, of the new foundation was, as will be seen from the following extracts from his letter to the bishop of Bath, already built for their reception beforehand:—“*Domino suo et patri in Christo spirituali J. Dei gratia Batoniensi episcopo, suus devotus in omnibus Willielmus de Curtenai salutem, &c. Noverit itaque paternitas vestra, quod habui et habeo in proposito fundare apud Worspring, in dominico meo, in quo constructa est capella beati Thomæ martyris, quandam domum conventualem de ordine canonicorum S. Augustini de Bristollic, vel de ordine aliquorum aliorum, secundum quod magis videritis expedire, viz. pro salute animæ Roberti de Curtenai patris mei, cujus corpus ibidem requiescit*” &c.

**OLD BUCKENHAM PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.**—The church of this priory, as we learn from the express statement of the founder, was built by himself, and apparently, before the rise of the conventual buildings:—“*Archiepiscopis, &c. Willielmus comes Cicestræ salutem: Sciatis me fundasse ecclesiam quandam in manerio meo de Bucheham, in honore Dei, et sancti Jacobi apostoli, et omnium sanctorum Dei . . . ad abbaciam faciendam omnino liberam, &c. . . . Et quod concesserim huic ecclesiæ et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus, ecclesias de eodem manerio*” &c.

**OWSTON ABBEY CHURCH, LEICESTERSHIRE.**—This church was that of the parish previous to the foundation of the abbey, and the introduction of the canons into it by Robert Grimbold the founder, temp. Henry II. It was therefore—with whatever unspecified alteration or rebuilding it may have undergone at his hands—ready for their use at their entry. “*Notum sit omnibus . . . quod ego Robertus Grimbold . . . do et concedo . . . ad honorem Domini nostri Jesu Christi et S. Mariæ, et S. Andree apostoli, et omnium sanctorum, ecclesiam de Osolvestone, et ipsam villam totam, &c. . . canonicis ibidem Deo et sancto Andree servientibus . . . Ego vero et hæredes mei prædictam elemosinam meam; scilicet villam et ecclesiam de Osulvestone versus omnes homines ab omni exactione warrantizabimus et adquietabimus,*” &c.

**CALKE PRIORY CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.**—Maud, widow of Ranulf, second earl of Chester, founded the priory of Calke prior to the death of Walter, bishop of Coventry, which occurred in 1161. It was in the main translated by her eleven years afterwards, viz. in 1172, to Repton, Calke continuing its existence as a cell—a condition which, during the whole of the intervening period, as her charter shews, she both contemplated and intended:—“*conditione hac, quod contentus ibi constet tanquam capiti, cum opportunitas idonea hoc expetierit, cui Calc subijciatur membrum:*” &c.

That the church at Calke was built by her, however, appears from another charter of her son, earl Hugh, who joined her in that just quoted, in which he says—"Concedo *eidem præfate ecclesiæ, terram,*" &c.

**REPTON PRIORY CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.**—The major part of the canons established at Calke being removed, as above stated, by the foundress to Repton in 1172, were there installed, according to the Monasticon, in a church and conventual buildings prepared by her beforehand for their reception. That such was the case, would seem to be in every way most natural, though there is no new charter of foundation, apparently, to certify the fact. Of the church, as in all probability built by her in the first instance, evidence has lately come to light, and may be seen in Vol. xli. of this Journal. It was apparently aisleless and cruciform. But then, it was of Maud Gernon's building, not the canons'; and, as the remains shew, was for a short time only suffered by them to retain either its original plan or dimensions. Save in the length of its nave and transept, it was extended in all directions; the former receiving north and south aisles; the latter eastern ones; and the lengthened choir, not only aisles like the nave for nearly its whole length, but a large southern Lady-chapel in addition, of the same length as the aisles, and projecting as far south as the end of the transept.

**BURCESTER PRIORY CHURCH, OXFORDSHIRE.**—The foundation charter of this priory, recited in that of confirmation granted by king Edward II., shews the church to have been previously constructed by Gilbert Basset himself.—"Omnibus, &c. Gilbertus Basset salutem in Domino. Notum sit . . . quod ego dedi Johanni priori de Burcencestria et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus . . . unam virgatam terræ in Stretton *ad luminare prædictæ ecclesiæ,* &c. Et præterea concessi convencionem factam inter prædictos canonicos *sæpèdictæ ecclesiæ* et homines," &c.

**HARTLAND ABBEY CHURCH, DEVONSHIRE.**—Githa, wife of earl Godwin, is said to have established secular canons in the church of Hartland, who continued there till the time of king Henry II., when Geoffrey de Dinham changed them for an abbot and convent of canons regular. In the church, as they then found it, they remained till the 14th century. From the visitation of bishop Stapledon we learn that, besides many other attendant inconveniences, the church was dark, and the belfry insufficiently covered in; defects which the abbot was enjoined to see amended in the new church then about to be built—"in Ecclesia noviter construenda."—"Ricardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, &c. . . . in quorum feudo et dominio eadem ecclesia est fundata, ita quidem *quod amotis de præfata ecclesia Nethani de Hertilanda imperpetuum canonicis secularibus, abbas ibi et canonici regulares substituantur,*" &c.

**CANONS' ASHBY PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.**—Stephen de Leye the founder, as it would seem, of this priory, bestowed thereupon, among other gifts, that of the parish church of Ashby, into which the canons were inducted, temp. Henry II. With the exception of the western end, the church is now destroyed; but from the evidence of plan, etc., it would seem probable that it was shortly afterwards rebuilt, in part at least, and probably by the founder himself, for their accommodation.

WOODHAM FERRARS PRIORY CHURCH, ESSEX.—This priory was built and endowed by Maurice Fitz Geoffrey of Tiretai, sheriff of Essex, chiefly at the cost of king Henry II. who on that account excused him in several sums of money due to the Exchequer.—“Mauricius de Tiretai reddit compotum de cc. et quatuor xxi. et vii. s. et viii. d. blancis de veteri firma de Essex et Hurtfordscira, *de quibus attornatus fuit ad faciendam unam Abbatiam*; in thesauro c. et vii. s. et xxi. d. et in perdonis per breve regis ipsi Mauricio cc. et lxxvi. et ix. d. blanci pro ecclesia canonicorum de Wudeham, quæ amodo est dominica Regis elymosyna.” That the church was actually built by him, thereupon, appears from the confirmation charters of the king himself:—“Henricus, &c. Sciatis me concessisse petitione et prece Mauricii filii Gaufridi de Tireteia . . . terras et redditus quos idem Mauricius concessit et dedit *ecclesie sancti Johannis Baptistæ de Wodeham, et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus, pro pecunia quam michi debebat.*” &c.

HOLY TRINITY PRIORY CHURCH, IPSWICH.—In the parish church of the Holy Trinity here, a priory of canons of St. Austin was settled circa 1177, and chiefly endowed by Norman the son of Eadnoth, one of the first canons. The church and its dependent buildings however, being burnt down not very long afterwards, were entirely rebuilt by John of Oxford, bishop of Norwich, to whom and his successors king Richard I. in the fifth year of his reign, gave the future patronage of the priory. With respect to its plan therefore,—whether in its first or second state—the canons could have had no responsibility whatever.

CASTEL HYMEL, OR FINESHEAD PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.—On the site of the fortress known as Castel-Hymel, Richard Engayne the elder founded a priory of Austin canons temp. John. His foundation charter shews that he also built the church belonging thereto:—“Universis &c. Ricardus Engayne salutem in Christo. Noverit . . . me . . . concessisse *ecclesie sanctæ Mariæ de Castro-Hymel, et fratribus ibidem Deo et sanctæ Mariæ servientibus . . . totum locum, qui dicitur Castrum-Hymel*” &c.

KEYNSHAM ABBEY CHURCH, SOMERSETSHIRE.—Keynsham abbey was founded, as we learn from the foundation charter of William, earl of Gloucester, at the dying request of his son and heir Robert, *inter* 1167-1172. The terms of that document leave no room to doubt that the whole of the buildings were erected and completed by the founder himself in his lifetime. “Willielmus comes Glocestrie omnibus baronibus et hominibus suis Francis et Anglis, atque Walensibus &c. Sciatis quod Robertus filius et hæres meus positus infirmitate, qua Deo ita volente ex hac vita subtractus est, Deo sibi inspirante, coram viris religiosus postulavit *ut pro salute anime ipsius, domum religionis construerem.* Quam petitionem . . . cum domino meo regi . . . significassem . . . consilio domini Rogeri Wigornensis episcopi fratris mei . . . *ad honorem Dei et beate Mariæ et S. apostolorum Petri et Pauli, abbatiam canonicorum regularium in manerio meo de Cheinesham fundavi.*” &c.

CARTMEL PRIORY CHURCH, LANCASHIRE.—William Marshall the elder, earl of Pembroke, founded here, in 1188, a priory of Austin canons;

bestowing upon them, besides the whole of his possessions at Cartmel, the parish church thereto appurtenant, in which the canons were thenceforth established. The whole of that structure being of rich and strictly monastic character, and of the same date as the foundation of the priory, renders it tolerably certain that it must have been re-constructed for its new purpose at that time, and at the founder's cost.—“Gulielmus Marescallus salutem. Noverit . . . quod ego . . . concessi totam terram meam de Kertmel . . . Deo et sanctissimæ ejus genetrici Mariæ et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus, &c. Dedi etiam eis . . . *ejusdem terræ ecclesiam, cum universis capellis suis* &c. Hanc autem domum prædictam fundavi” &c.

WESTWOOD IN LESNES ABBEY CHURCH, KENT.—That Richard Lucy, chief justice of England, who founded the abbey of Lesnes in 1173, was also the actual constructor of the abbey church, is stated expressly both in king John's charter and elsewhere:—“Anno mclxxiii. Hoc anno Ricardus de Luci præfectus Angliæ, mente revolvens sedula, quia quod antiquatur et senescit prope interitum est, in villa sua, quæ Hiesnes dicitur, *novam edificavit ecclesiam, et canonicos ibidem posuit regulares.*”

“Anno mclxxix. Mense Julio, Ricardus de Luci, præfectus Angliæ, *in ecclesia de Liesnes, quam ipse fundaverat*, veste mutata, vitam finivit, et in capitulo sepultus est.”

“Johannes Dei gratia rex Angliæ, &c. Sciatis nos . . . confirmasse Deo et ecclesiæ beati Thomæ martiris de Westwuda, in Liesnes, et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus, locum ipsum in quo eadem ecclesia fundata est, cum tota terra et bosco, et marisco quæ Richardus de Lucy, *qui ecclesiam illam fundavit* eis dedit in elemosinam” &c.

BURSCOUGH PRIORY CHURCH, LANCASHIRE.—This priory was founded by Robert Fitz Henry, lord of Latham, temp. Richard I. That the church was also built by him appears from his charter of foundation:—“ego Robertus dominus de Lathom . . . confirmavi Deo et ecclesiæ beati Nicholai de Burscogh et canonicis ibidem Deo regulariter servientibus” &c.

STAUERDALE PRIORY CHURCH, SOMERSETSHIRE.—There appears to be no foundation charter of this priory extant; nor anything to throw light upon the construction of the first church there. It was, however, completely rebuilt in the 15th century by the then probable representative of the founder, John Stourton, as shewn by a commission issued by the bishop of Bath and Wells for its consecration.—“4 Jun. 1443. Commissio Joh. nuper Olen. episcopo ad dedicand. *navem cum choro et cancello ecclesiæ conventualis de Staverdale quos Johannes Stourton reedificare et construi fecit.*”

ST. MARY DE PRATIS ABBEY CHURCH, LEICESTER.—St. Mary's abbey at Leicester was founded in 1143, by Robert le Bossu, earl of Leicester, who took the habit of a canon, lived therein for fifteen years, and dying in 1167, was buried in the place of honour on the north side of the choir of his church. “Robertus Bossu . . . de concensu Alexandri episcopi Lincolnensis, anno gratiæ mc.xliij. fundavit

monasterium beatæ Mariæ de Pratis Leycestria, in honorem Assumptionis ejusdem gloriosæ Virginis; . . . qui etiam in eodem monasterio, de consensu Amiciæ uxoris suæ, canonicus regularis factus est, et annis xv. in habitu regulari ibidem. Christo militans, canonicus vitam finiens, obdormivit in pace, in latere ibidem chori dextro sepultus, scilicet anno gratiæ mclxvii."

"Johannes Dei gratia &c. Sciatis nos . . . confirmasse . . . Deo et ecclesiæ S. Mariæ de Prato Leire. et canonicis regulariter ibidem Deo servientibus; ex dono Roberti comitis Leire, fundatoris ejusdem ecclesiæ." &c.

A full and very interesting account of this famous church, written before its destruction, may be seen in vol. xxvii, of this Journal. From this it appears that it was cruciform; 140 feet in length, by 30 feet in breadth, and 100 feet across the transept; nearly as high as Westminster abbey church, and—*aisleless*. This latter fact—seeing how clearly and beyond doubt the planning and construction of the building are, on historical evidence, brought home to the founder personally—is, it will be noted, one of singular interest and importance in the present enquiry.

ST. THOMAS'S PRIORY CHURCH, STAFFORD.—Though, according to Tanner, there is reason to think that Gerard Stafford was the original founder, or part founder of this priory; it is certain that Richard Peche, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, a chief benefactor thereto, was, *circa* 1180, the actual builder of the monastic church.—"Huic . . . successit Ricardus Peche, ad electionem L. prioris et monachorum Coventriæ, et apud Coventriam intronizatus, sed non sepultus. Sepultus est enim apud Stafford in ecclesia quam ipse struxerat in honore beati Thomæ martiris, ubi habitum canonicorum regularium susceperat, in quo habitu sepultus est."

NEWSTEAD ABBEY CHURCH, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.—King Henry II. in his foundation charter says:—"Sciatis me . . . dedisse Deo et S. Mariæ, locum quem fundavi in Scirwoda;" &c. and his son king John in his charter of confirmation amplifies and explains this expression "*locum*"—which there, as elsewhere, evidently means, not merely the place, but the buildings erected thereon—as follows:—"Johannis, &c. Sciatis nos . . . confirmasse Deo et ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ de Novo loco in Schirewode, quam rex Henricus pater noster, et nos fundavimus, et canonicis ibidem," &c.

HICKLING PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.—This priory was founded by Theobald, son of Robert de Valoines, in 1185; and his charter, and that of king John in confirmation of his grants, shew that he was also the builder of the church there.—"Theobaldus de Valoines . . . salutem. Sciatis nos . . . confirmasse Deo et S. Mariæ et ecclesiæ sancti Augustini et Omnium Sanctorum de Hikeling et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus," &c.

"Johannes Dei gratia, &c. Sciatis nos concessisse . . . donationem, quam Theobaldus de Valoines fecit ecclesiæ Dei et S. Mariæ et S. Augustini, et Omnium Sanctorum de Hikeling, et canonicis," &c.

MOBBERLEY PRIORY CHURCH, CHESHIRE.—Patrick de Modberley founded a priory of Austin canons in the parish church of Mobberley *circa*

1206, endowing them with half the emoluments. With the building of that structure, therefore, they could have no concern.—“Patricius de Modberleya, salutem. Noverit, &c., quod ego Patricius . . . confirmavi, Deo et S. Mariæ et S. Wilfrido, et canonicis regularibus in *Modberleya ecclesia perpetuo mansuris*,” &c.

SPINNEY PRIORY CHURCH, CAMBRIDGESHIRE.—“Sir Hugh de Malebissa having,” says Tanner, “married *temp. Joannis*, Beatrix, lady of the manor of Wykes, they, in the beginning of king Henry the Third’s reign, built and endowed here a priory for three Regular canons of the Order of S. Austin,” &c.

“Cum dicta domina Beatrix in prima sua fundatione dederit Deo et *ecclesie beatæ Mariæ, et Sanctæ Crucis*,” &c.

MOTISFONT PRIORY CHURCH, HAMPSHIRE.—“Memorandum, quod octavo kalendas Decembris, obiit dominus Willielmus Briwer, fundator *ecclesie de Mottesfount*,” &c.

“Sciant præsentēs et futuri, quod ego Willielmus Brewer pro salute mea &c. dedi . . . Deo et *ecclesie S. Trinitatis de Motesfunt*, et canonicis *ibidem Deo servientibus*,” &c.

WROXTON PRIORY CHURCH, OXFORDSHIRE.—“Ego magister Michael Belet, pro salute animarum Michaelis patris mei, et Emmæ matris meæ, &c., dedi et hac charta mea confirmavi Deo et beatæ Mariæ, et priori et canonicis regularibus Deo servientibus in *ecclesia quam ego approbante et confirmante Hugone episcopo Lincolnie, et totius capituli sui assensu, fundavi in manerio meo de Wroxton*,” &c.

CREYK ABBEY CHURCH, NORFOLK.—In 1206, a church was built on a place near North Creyk, called Lingeres-croft, in honour of the blessed Virgin, by Sir Robert de Nerford, who some time after founded also a chapel for certain poor brethren, in honour of St. Bartholomew, which, being further endowed by his widow, was changed into a priory of canons regular, circa 1226. By king Henry III., to whom the patronage was made over, it was erected into an abbey. That the canons had nothing whatever to do with the fabric of the church is clear from the following:—“Anno Incarnationis Domini nostri Jesu Christi mcevi. . . . *fundata fuit ecclesiola . . . per quendam nobilem virum dominum Robertum de Nerford*, &c. *Deinde idem dominus Robertus . . . quandam capellam construi fecit in honore sancti Bartholomæi apostoli*, &c. *Postea . . . Willielmus, ecclesie et hospitali . . . magister . . . suscepit habitum canonicalem . . . quem dedit fratribus suis . . . Et dicta capella . . . dedicata fuit anno Domini mcccxi*,” &c.

“Universis &c. Alicia . . . quondam uxor Roberti Nereford, salutem, &c. Noveritis me . . . confirmasse Deo, et domui beatæ Mariæ de Prato juxta Creyke; et canonicis *ibidem Deo servientibus . . . quam, videlicet, domum ego Alieia in honorem beatæ Virginis Mariæ fundavi*,” &c.

MICHELHAM PRIORY CHURCH, SUSSEX.—This priory was founded, and its church built by Gilbert, “lord of the Eagle,” as he is styled, temp. Henry III.—“Sciant præsentēs, et futuri quod ego Gilbertus, dominus Aquidæ . . . hac præsentī carta mea confirmavi Deo et *ecclesie in honore*



*S. Trinitatis apud Micheleham constructa, et priori et conventui canonuorum ibidem Deo servientibus, totum dominicum meum de Micheleham," &c.*

LACOCK ABBEY CHURCH, WILTSHIRE.—This abbey and church were built by the famous Ela, countess of Salisbury, during her lifetime, she herself ruling the house as abbess for seventeen years.—“*monasterium sanctimonialium construxit in manerio suo de Lacok, et earum habitum sumpsit a.d. mccxxxvi, et postea abbatiissa earum facta est,*” &c. “*Ela vero . . . proposuit autem sæpius ut fundaret monasteria Deo placentia . . . quæ per revelationes habuit, ut in prato testudinum, Anglice Snaylesmede, prope Lacok, monasterium edificaret in honore S. Mariæ, sanctique Bernardi, et usque ad finem complevit sumptibus suis propriis, id est de comitatu Sarum, quæ fuit hæreditas sua.*”

KIRKBY BELER PRIORY CHURCH, LEICESTERSHIRE.—The church or chapel of this priory was *already built* when the founder established within it certain chaplains, who afterwards were changed into canons regular of St. Austin.—“*Rogerus Beler de Kirkeby fundabat quandam domum de uno custode et duodecim capellanis, in capella S. Petri de Kirkby supra Wrethek.*”—“*quam post multos annos uxor ejusdem Rogeri filii eorum, transtulit in usus canonicorum regularium*” &c.

MAXSTOKE PRIORY CHURCH, WARWICKSHIRE.—Here again, the church and priory were wholly built by the founder, Sir William Clinton, earl of Huntingdon.

“*In honore sanctæ et individuæ Trinitatis, &c. quoddam monasterium, seu prioratum canonicorum regularium ordinis Augustini, in quadam placea mea in Maxstoke . . . de novo fundavi, construxi, ac dotavi de propriis bonis meis*” &c.

DARTFORD PRIORY CHURCH, KENT.—The priory and its church or chapel, were built by king Edward III. circa 1355; the patent of endowment, however, not being granted till 1371. Though the fabric of the latter is not expressly mentioned therein by name, it is abundantly clear that it formed part—and a very important one—of the “monasterium” therein mentioned, and which was then fully occupied.—“*Edwardus &c. Sciat is quod . . . dedimus . . . Matildi priorissæ monasterii S. Mariæ et S. Margaretæ virginum de Dertford, per nos fundati, et ejusdem loci conventui sororibus . . . et sub cura fratrum . . . viventibus, monasterium prædictum; necnon mansionem et situm ejusdem, cum pertinentiis, in qua mansione ipsæ priorissa et conventus jam inhabitant,*” &c.

THOBY, OR GINGES PRIORY CHURCH, ESSEX. Founded by Michael Capra, Roise his wife, and their son William, inter 1141-51.—“*Michael Capra, et Rohesia uxor sua et Willielmus filius &c. Notum sit omnibus &c. nos . . . concessisse Deo, ecclesie S. Mariæ et S. Leonardi de nemore nostro de Ginges, et domino Tobie, ejusdem loci priori et fratribus suis ibidem Deo servientibus,*” &c.

NEWSTEAD PRIORY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.—Built, temp. Henry III.,

in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, by William de Albini the third, for canons of St. Austin and certain poor persons. "Universis &c. Willielmus de Albiniaco salutem. Noverit . . . me . . . confirmasse . . . Deo et *hospitali, quod fundatum est in honore beate Mariæ . . . scilicet locum in quo capella beate Mariæ sita est,*" &c.

SANDLEFORD PRIORY CHURCH, BERKSHIRE.—Founded and built, as appears from the foundation charter, by Geoffrey, earl of Perch, and Maude his wife, in honour of St. Mary and St. John Baptist.—"Universis &c. Galfridus comes Pertici, et Matildis comitissa . . . nos . . . concessisse Deo et sancto Johanni Baptiste et domui de Sandelford, et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus, *ecclesiam et totam terram de Sandelford,*" &c. The church here spoken of was the conventual church, Sandelford being in the parish of Newbury. It was clearly, therefore, of the founder's building.

GRACE DIEU PRIORY CHURCH, LEICESTERSHIRE.—Founded by Roesia de Verdun, temp. Henry III, in honour of St. Mary and the Holy Trinity. "Sciant . . . quod ego Roesia de Verdun . . . confirmavi Deo et sanctæ Mariæ et *ecclesiæ sanctæ Trinitatis de la Grace Dieu apud Beleton, et famulis Christi monialibus in eadem ecclesia famulantibus,*" &c. The church was, therefore, clearly built at the time of the grant, and in the occupation of the religious.

Such are some of the examples I am able to adduce of canons' churches, which, on the unimpeachable evidence of the foundation charters, were evidently built either in whole, or—as would usually happen, perhaps—in part, by the founders personally, and during their lifetime. So far as the subject of aisles was concerned, however, it mattered little whether they were completed at the time of foundation or not, since their general outline would then be sketched out, and the domestic buildings—which so greatly dominated their future development—would be arranged accordingly. If the founder, for example, determined that his church should have an aisleless nave, then, even though it remained unbuilt, one which should have an aisle on each side, became afterwards—by reason of the planning of the offices in consonance with such determination—in most cases, practically impossible. Of this abiding force in the primitive arrangements, a curious illustration exists at Newstead abbey in Nottinghamshire, where, in after times, the desire for a south, as well as a north aisle is made very evident. The church however, having been not only planned, but built with an aisleless nave, and the cloister already erected on the site which such a south aisle must occupy, its addition was, of course, impracticable. But, in order that the church might seem, at least, to have two aisles externally, and that the symmetry of the new Decorated west front might not suffer from the want of one of them, a sham south-aisle front fitted with a blank-panelled traceried window and doorway, was contrived so as to balance that of the true aisle which was then thrown out to the north, and thus the most deliberate "fraud," perhaps, perpetrated that medieval English art was guilty of. And as at Newstead, so doubtless would it be in a large number of other aisleless, or one-aisled examples: the primi-

tive disposition of the founders involving arrangements which were afterwards irremediable, and so remaining dominant to the last.

But it is only in a few cases that the foundation charters which throw so much light on the part taken by the founders in the erection of the churches personally, exist; or, what comes to much the same thing, are generally accessible; and so it is only in a few cases that we have direct proof on the subject at all. And even in those cases where they are forthcoming, it is only in comparatively few instances, and, as it were by accident, that the actual existence of the church at the time being is distinctly mentioned. Very frequently only such general, if comprehensive terms are used as "*locus*,"—as at Newstead, Ronton, Bismead, and Brinkburn; "*domus*,"—as at Thurgarton, Selborne and Cold-Norton; "*monasterium*,"—as at Bisham, Maxstoke, Guisborough; "*hospitale*,"—as at Ailsham, and Newstead, in Lincolnshire; "*prioratus*,"—as at Nocton; or "*abbathia*,"—as at Keynsham. But that such vague and general terms do really—as is only natural to suppose—include the church, or so much of it as was then built, we have clear proof in several instances. At Newstead, for example, in the foundation charter itself of king Henry II. we learn that "*locus*" means something more than the mere site, or place of the priory:—that it includes also the buildings, of whatever kind, that stood upon it, for he uses the expression,—"*locum quem fundavi in Scirwoda*"; et præsentī carta confirmasse eundem locum canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus." And his son king John's charter of confirmation goes on to shew that "*fundavi*" includes something further than the mere domestic buildings, for it runs:—"*Sciatis nos . . . confirmasse Deo et ecclesie beate Mariæ de Novo-loco in Schirewode, quam rex Henricus pater noster, et nos fundavimus*," and,—"*in perpetuum elemosinam, ex dono prædicti regis H. patris nostri, eundem locum quo prædictam ecclesiam fundavi*," &c., thus proving that king Henry II. himself actually founded the church in the first instance. So too, with respect to the word "*monasterium*" in the case of Guisborough. Robert de Brus, in his charter of foundation, says:—"Notum sit . . . me . . . quoddam monasterium . . . fundasse." But that "*monasterium*" both included, and was meant to include, the church of the monastery, he lets us know plainly, further on, by saying:—"et eidem ecclesie, atque Deo in ea servituris," &c.—words which shew that the church, or part of it, was then actually built by him. And at Keynsham again, where the expression "*abbathia*" occurs, it appears clearly from the words of the charter that founding the abbey meant the actual building of it, including, of course, the church, its most important feature. William, earl of Gloucester, therein records that at the dying request of his son and heir Robert, he, with the consent of the king, had founded an abbey of canons regular on his manor of Keynsham:—"abbathiam canonicorum regularium in manerio meo de Cheinsham fundavi." But he tells us further that his son's request went beyond his merely assigning lands for the support of such an institution. It was that he should not only endow, but erect the abbey.—"*Robertus filius et hæres meus positus infirmitate, qua Deo ita volente ex hac vita subtractus est, Deo sibi inspirante coram viris religiosus postulavit ut pro salute animæ ipsius, domum religionis construerem*." And it is to this construction as well as endowment of the abbey he refers when, lower down, he says, "*abbathiam . . . fundavi*."

And yet again, there can be little or no doubt, I think, that in the majority, perhaps, even of those instances in which, on the bestowal of lands etc., such expressions as—"ad faciendam inde ecclesiam,"—"ad fundandam ecclesiam suam,"—"ad construendam ecclesiam,"—"ad construendam quandam abbatiam,"—"ad prædictam domum fundandam et dotandam,"—"ad abbatiam construendam,"—"ad construendam ibidem ecclesiam" occur, as in the case of Embsay, Leeds, Merton, Nutley, Bilsington, Missenden, and Newark in Surrey respectively, they do not mean—as is quite arguable perhaps—that the community were to be put into possession of the estate, and then left to shift for themselves as best they could with respect to their buildings (any more than that so soon as such buildings should be erected, it was thereupon to revert to the donors), but that thenceforth it was to be devoted to the *establishment* of such church etc., its construction included, whether the latter were directed by the founder himself personally, or not. That such was really the case in certain instances, we have, at any rate, clear and distinct proof. At Newark in Surrey, for example, notwithstanding that the founders Ruald de Calva and Beatrice his wife, say in their charter :—"concessimus Deo et beatæ Mariæ et beato martiri Thomæ et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus et servituris ... terram &c. ad construendam ibidem ecclesiam in honore beatæ Mariæ virginis et gloriosi martiris Thomæ," &c. they proceed :—"Hiis itaque terras prænominatas dedimus et concessimus prædictæ ecclesiæ" &c., and :—"Præterea dedimus et concessimus eidem ecclesiæ et ejusdem ecclesiæ canonicis" &c. shewing that by the expression—"Deo et beatæ Mariæ et beato martiri Thomæ" we are to understand the church of St. Mary and St. Thomas, and that it was in part, therefore, already built by them. The well known case of Lacock abbey too, furnishes another and striking instance. In the foundation charter we read thus :—"Sciant præsentēs &c. quod ego Ela comitissa Sarum . . . confirmavi Deo et beatæ Mariæ, totum manerium meum de Lacok, &c. ad faciendam ibidem abbatiam monialium, quam volo nominari Locum Beatæ Mariæ," &c. But that this famous lady did something more than merely make a gift of lands to the canonesses, appears from the charter of Robert, bishop of Salisbury, in which he says :—"Concedimus, quod prædicta Ela comitissa abbatiam *fundet et construit* in manerio supradicto de Lacok, ac moniales de ordine sancti Augustini ibidem constituat;" &c. And further, that she acted upon such licence, and did really found and *construct* the abbey, appears from the following notice in the Register of the House :—"Ela vero uxor ejus septem annis supervixit in viduitate, et præposuit autem sæpius ut fundavit monasteria Deo placentia, pro salute animæ suæ, et mariti sui, et omnium antecessorum suorum, quæ per revelationes habuit, ut in prato testudinum, Anglice Snaylesmede, prope Lacok, *monasterium ædificaret in honore S. Mariæ sanctique Bernardi, et usque ad finem complevit sumptibus suis propriis, id est de comitatu Sarum, quæ fuit hæreditas sua.*" I will only further instance, by way of illustration, the very analogous line of action taken with respect to the building, or rather, rebuilding of the secular canons' church of Ripon Minster by archbishop Roger de Pont l' Evêque, 1154-81. Instead of lands, the archbishop provides money : but that the terms used by him, which are precisely similar to those quoted above, refer to the completion of a church already commenced by him self, we learn distinctly from his own mouth :—"quod dedimus operi

beati Wilfridi de Ripon ad ædificandam basilicam ipsius, quam *de novo inchoavimus*, mille libras veteris monetas."

Thus, I think, we may see from documentary evidence alone how rash and untenable is the assumption which, as I have said above, quite unconsciously, perhaps, underlies the assertion that "*the canons built their churches*,"—no matter in what fashion. In very many cases—perhaps in most—that was a task which would seem to have been undertaken, in part, at least, by the founders themselves; and their foundations being usually of comparatively small extent, and slender endowment, with churches on a corresponding scale—small, and often more or less aisleless. But, as to the lines on which they were built, whether those of the parish church, as asserted, or not, that is a part of the subject requiring detailed examination, and which I must defer to a future section.

(*To be continued.*)

#### NOTE.

1.—On page 351, I have stated, by a singular inadvertence, that the existing tower of Leominster priory church is at the north-west angle of the nave. This is not the case, though, in the general view, it has very much the appearance of being so. It stands really at the west end of the nave proper; the south aisle of which having been rebuilt on an enormously enlarged scale at a later period under a gabled roof, and then had another and additional aisle of vast proportion added on to it again, gives the tower—flanked as it is by only the very narrow and insignificant original north aisle—the appearance of standing nearly at the corner. Originally, there would appear to have been, as at Wimborne and many other places, a central and a western tower, of which the latter—very much out of the west centre—now alone remains.

2.—In the notice of Thicket priory church of nuns, Yorks., on page 367, there occurs a printer's error which I hasten to correct, since it flatly contradicts the purpose of the text, which is to shew, from the recorded breadth of the building, that it must have been aisleless. As it stands, the notice reads:—"The churche lx ffoote brode w<sup>t</sup>yn,"—a proportion which would clearly involve the existence of both north and south aisles. It should read thus:—"The churche lx ffoote long and xvij ffoote brode w<sup>t</sup>yn,"—which makes all the difference.

3.—In addition to the list of 113 Benedictine, and other churches of monks, either one-aisled or aisleless, which were therein enumerated, I may here, perhaps, be allowed to adduce another and very interesting Yorkshire example to which, since the publication of that list, my attention has been called by Mr. C. C. Hodges of Hexham, viz:—that of Monk Bretton priory church—*Cluniac*, where the nave is entirely aisleless, and where the fine three-light geometrical windows have their tracery springing from a lower level than that of the window arches—a feature which, though common enough in French and German work, is somewhat unusual in English examples of so early a date.

## BISHOP ANTONY BEEKE'S REGISTER OF THE PREBENDARIES OF LINCOLN, 1333, and 1343.

By the REVEREND PRECENTOR VENABLES.

Some little time since my friend Dr. Jessopp called my attention to a MS. in the Harleian Collection, (No. 3720) which he said would reward examination. The short title "a Register of Bp. Beek" did not promise much. But the entry on the printed catalogues "*Registrum proprium memorabilium ad se pertinentium*" was more appetizing. A bishop's own register of "memorable events concerning himself," promised to be something very different from an ordinary episcopal register of resignations and institutions, which though invaluable for historical purposes is usually little more than a catalogue of names and dates. The document seemed to offer something of human and personal interest. And so it turned out. The little parchment volume on examination proved to be a series of "*Collectanea*" made either by or for Antony Beeke, the younger—a very different person be it remembered from his kinsman and namesake the mighty Antony Beeke, bishop of Durham, (d. 1310) king of Man, and patriarch of Jerusalem—during his residence as chancellor and dean of Lincoln, and as bishop of Norwich, containing among documents relating to the two cathedral churches, a fragment of a family chronicle essential for the history of that powerful and distinguished house.

Several of these family documents are of considerable interest and will I hope some day be printed. Those also relating to ecclesiastical quarrels at Lincoln deserve attention from the light they throw on the internal history of a chapter which was by many degrees the largest, and certainly one of the most distinguished in the realm; for many centuries "the most glorious and vastest of all chapters"<sup>1</sup> to which Doctors of the Sorbonne and of Italy were once anxious to be attached by the slenderest thread, "*vel perexili titulo*." One of these Lincoln documents I now present. It is a catalogue, or rather two catalogues, of the occupants of the fifty-six prebendal stalls, made at two dates ten years apart, 1333 and 1343; the former while Antony Beeke was dean of Lincoln, the latter after he had become bishop of Norwich.<sup>2</sup> This catalogue is of considerable value as affording authentic particulars as to the names and

<sup>1</sup> *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, iii. 8, 9, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Antony Beeke was appointed prebendary of Thorngate, 1313; prebendary of North Kelsey and chancellor, 1316; dean, 1329; and became bishop of Norwich, 1336. He died, 1344. In 1320

he had been elected bishop of his own cathedral church of Lincoln, but the election did not take effect, having been probably nullified by the pope in favour of Henry of Burghersh.

qualities of the prebendaries of Lincoln in the latter part of the brilliant Edwardian period, enabling us to check and in some cases to correct the catalogues given in Hardy's edition of Le Neve's *Fasti*, and in the *Cathedrals* of the indefatigable Browne Willis. I would offer them to the pages of the Archaeological Journal as a kind of supplement to the memoirs by my late lamented friend Prebendary Wickenden on "The choir stalls of Lincoln cathedral," read at the Lincoln Meeting of the Institute, and published in the Journal.<sup>1</sup> The arrangement of the stalls in the Minster given here agrees with that of the *Liber Niger* or *Consuetudinarium* printed by Mr. Wickenden in that memoir (pp. 56, 57) with the exception that the stall of Milton Ecclesia which in his printed list stands second from the east on the Decani<sup>2</sup> or southern side of the choir, is the easternmost on the Cantoris or northern side; and that the stall of Buckingham, otherwise Sutton cum Buckingham, which in the *Liber Niger* stands twenty-second on the Decani side, appears sixth from the east on the opposite or Cantoris side, between Cropredy and Langford Ecclesia. In the earliest transcript of the *Liber Niger*, dating early in the fourteenth century, which unfortunately Mr. Wickenden did not consult for his otherwise admirable memoir, depending on a later copy of the document, Buckingham does not appear *eo nomine*; the prebend stands as Sutton alone, and occupies the place of the other Sutton, Sutton in Marisco on the Decani side. In our list this latter stall is added at the foot of the Decani stalls in a somewhat later hand, and has no Psalms assigned to it. According to Browne Willis, Sutton in Marisco was held in *commendam* with the chancellorship until the prebend of Stoke was annexed to that office by Hugh Tapton in 1463, and was not collated to as a distinct prebend. This would account for its subordinate position in the *Liber Niger*. Two prebendal stalls are wanting in Antony Beeke's catalogue, those of Kilsby, and Sexaginta Solidorum. The former stall was not in existence in Beeke's days, having been first founded by bishop Buckingham circa 1380, and annexed to the precentorship, to augment the insufficient revenues of that office. For the absence of the latter I am unable to account. It was a recognized stall at this period. Le Neve and Willis give occupants of it as early as 1300. In the *Liber Niger* it takes the place occupied by Buckingham in Beeke's catalogue, between Langford Ecclesia and Cropredy, but having no estate, and being a mere stipend paid by the bishop *de bursa episcopi* this prebend may have had something of a precarious tenure, unworthy in Beeke's eyes to be ranked with the other stalls which drew their endowment from land or titles.

Beeke's catalogues in common with all the pre-reformation lists contain five stalls which no longer exist in Lincoln Minster, viz, Banbury, Cropredy, Leighton Manor, Sutton-cum-Bucks, and Thame. These were the most richly endowed stalls in the Minster, and consequently

<sup>1</sup> Archaeological Journal, vol. xxxviii, pp 42-61, 1881.

<sup>2</sup> A document dated Aug., 1290 was discovered by Mr. Wickenden, among the Lincoln capitular muniments, showing that under a Papal mandate of pope Nicholas IV, the prebend of Aylesbury was reconstituted by bishop Oliver Sutton,

and a new prebend, Milton Ecclesia, formed out of it, to which "the last of the stalls belonging to prebends" on the north side of the choir was assigned, together with Psalms vi., "Domine ne infurore," and vii., "Domine Deus Meus," which had belonged to Aylesbury.

were the first to fall a prey to the vile greed of those impious robbers of churches, protector Somerset and his companions, at the beginning of Edward VI's reign. May I be permitted to suggest that the thirteen Psalms appropriated to these five stalls, now omitted from the daily canonical recitation, might very suitably be distributed among the five dignitaries of the chapter, the dean, precentor, chancellor, sub-dean, and archdeacon. In former days these chief offices were held together with a prebendal stall, the psalms belonging to which naturally fell to the dignitary occupying it. Since the recent severance of dignitaries and prebends, those who now hold the highest rank in the cathedral body are unable to take a part in this time honoured daily recitation, and thus to quote Mr. Wickenden's words "the perfect Psalter now is never said; a matter for immense regret."

On examining the annexed catalogues, drawn up as I have said first in 1333, and corrected up to date in 1343, two or three points seem to deserve notice. The whole number of names is eighty-six, including eighty-three individuals, three of the names occurring twice in connection with different stalls. Twenty-seven of the stalls have the same occupants at both dates. Ten of those enumerated rose to the highest grade in the church, including three archbishops of Canterbury—Bradwardine, Islip and Offord; and seven bishops—Bateman and Antony Beeke (the drawer up of the catalogues) of Norwich, Thomas Beeke of Lincoln, Edington of Winchester, Ergham of Salisbury, Montacute of Worcester, and Thoresby of St. Davids. The subjection of the Church of England to the papal see, which threatened to convert its richest endowments into a mere appanage to Rome and Avignon, receives painful illustration from these catalogues. We find no fewer than eight cardinals intruded into Lincoln prebends, in addition to which seventeen stalls were filled by those who from their names were evidently foreigners, chiefly Italians. Nassington had for its prebendary, Ursus de filiis Ursi, a member of the great Orsini family, another of whom, Francescus de Ursinis, held the stall of Farendon. Paulus de Monte Florum held the stalls in succession of Banbury and Castor, and was also precentor. Pugillus de Florentia held Walton, in succession to one Pandulphus de Urbe. An examination of the catalogues will shew other painfully outlandish names, proving too clearly that Grosseteste's noble protest a century earlier against the iniquitous intrusion of foreigners by the pope into English benefices, a resistance which he declared was "neither strife nor rebellion, but filial affection to my father, and veneration for my mother the Church," had been so far made in vain.

In connection with this MS. of Antony Beeke it may be interesting to mention that among the muniments of the dean and chapter of Lincoln is a somewhat similar volume of collectanea made by or for him when chancellor of the church, owned by him when dean, and taken with him to Norwich when he became bishop. It was presented to the cathedral church by one Mr. Gilbert Bennett, June, 1754. It is a parchment book of 33 leaves, in its original limp parchment cover, chiefly containing transcripts from the early *Consuetudinarium*, *Martilogium*, *Collectarium* and other capitular documents, but including others of a less official character collected both at Lincoln and at Norwich, which would reward examination.

EDMUND VENABLES.



NOMINA PREBENDARIORUM ECCLESIE LINCOLNIENSIS IN FESTO SANCTI MICHAELIS ANNO DOMINI M<sup>o</sup> CCC<sup>mo</sup> XXXI<sup>o</sup>. [*In later hand, ANNO DOMINI M<sup>o</sup> CCC<sup>mo</sup> QUADRAGESIMO TERCIO.*]

N.B.—*p.m.* indicates the entries made "*prima manus*" in 1331. The other names are those added subsequently.

Ex parte Decani.

Episcopus Lincolnensis	Johannes de Dalderby <sup>1</sup>	( <i>p.m.</i> )
	Henricus de Borthwasse <sup>2</sup>	
	Thomas Beeke <sup>3</sup>	
i Prebenda de Aylesbury	Robertus de Stratford	( <i>p.m.</i> )
	Edmundus de Berford	
ij Coringham	Arnaldus de Cusaunte <sup>4</sup>	( <i>p.m.</i> )
	Anibaleus Cardinalis <sup>5</sup>	
iii Walton et Haidor	Galfridus de Scrop	
	Pugillus de Florentia <sup>6</sup>	( <i>p.m.</i> )
iiij Asgerby	Nicholaus de Hugat <sup>7</sup>	
	Radulphus de Henghm.	( <i>p.m.</i> )
v Farindon	Franciscus de Ursinis <sup>8</sup>	
	Pandulphus de Urbe <sup>9</sup>	( <i>p.m.</i> )
vj Thorngate	Johannes de Sutton	( <i>p.m.</i> )
	Johannes de Thoresby <sup>10</sup>	
vij Legton' Maner	Raymundus de Rossilaco	
	Willelmus de Edyngton <sup>11</sup>	( <i>p.m.</i> )
viiij Leghton' Busard	Johannes de Podio Bersaco	
ix Sancti Botulphi	Thomas Bradewardine <sup>12</sup>	
x Omnium Sanctorum <sup>13</sup>	Egidius de Redom[er]	
xj Leghton Ecclesia	Raymundus de Judico (?) <sup>14</sup>	

<sup>1</sup> Bishop John de Dalderby was consecrated June 12, 1300, and died Jan. 12, 1320. In his episcopate Antony Beeke became chancellor, 1316.

<sup>2</sup> Henry of Burwash, or Burghersh, was consecrated July 20, 1320, and died Dec. 1340. In his episcopate Antony Beeke became dean, 1329.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Beeke, brother of Antony Beeke, was consecrated July 7, 1341, and died Feb. 2, 1347. His brother Antony had become bishop of Norwich in 1337, four years before Thomas was chosen bishop of Lincoln.

<sup>4</sup> Reynaud de Cusantia, *Le Neve*; Arnald de Cusantia, *Willis*.

<sup>5</sup> Bishop of Tusculum. Ambaldus, *Le Neve*.

<sup>6</sup> Pigellus de Manetti de Florence, *Le Neve*; de Mariotti, *Willis*.

<sup>7</sup> N. de Heggate, *Le Neve* and *Willis*. Provost of Beverley, d. 1338.

<sup>8</sup> *Le Neve's* and *Willis'* lists need correction here. They both state that Franciscus de Ursinis held the stall in

1306, and that Francis *filius Domini neapolitani de urbe Militis* held it in 1331. There is an evident confusion here, unless both parties were Orsini.

<sup>9</sup> Called Pandulphus de Sabello, *Le Neve* and *Willis*.

<sup>10</sup> John de Thoresby was elevated from this stall to the bishoprick of St. David's, 1347.

<sup>11</sup> William de Edington was elevated from this stall to the see of Winchester, 1345. Leighton Manor was one of the stalls dissolved and appropriated to lay uses in the early years of Edward VI. Browne Willis says pithily "having a good House upon it and being of a considerable Income occasioned it to be coveted by Courtiers, and dissolved Anno 1548, in the 2nd of Edward VI."

<sup>12</sup> St. Botolph, Lincoln. Thomas Bradwardine became archbishop of Canterbury, 1349.

<sup>13</sup> All Saints, Hundegate, Lincoln.

<sup>14</sup> Raymund de Flisco, *Le Neve* and *Willis*.

[folio 23 verso.]

xi] Sancti Martini<sup>1</sup>xii] Thurleby<sup>2</sup>xiii] Langestoue<sup>3</sup>xv Ketene<sup>6</sup>

xvj Bedeford minor

xvi] Welton Brenkill<sup>8</sup>

xvii] Langleford maner

[ecclesie. p.m. deletet.]

xix Brampton

xx Welton Subdecani

[fol. 24.]

xxj Stokes

xxij Sancta Margareta de  
Leycestria

xxii] Centum Solidos

xxiii] Sutton'

xxv Clifton

xxvj Lydyngton

xxvij Norton

xxviii] Decem Libre

[fol. 24 verso.]

Ex parte boriali [viz. precentoris, later hand.]

i Prebenda de Milton Maner

ij Thame

Henricus Motoune

(p.m.)

Nicholaus Capotii<sup>4</sup>

(p.m.)

Philippus de Weston'

Simon de Monteacuto<sup>5</sup>

(p.m.)

Robertus de Wodehouse

(p.m.)

Nicholaus de Gwalle<sup>7</sup>

(p.m.)

Walterus de London

Simon de Islep<sup>9</sup>

(p.m.)

Bartholomeus de Bourne

Episcopus

(p.m.)

Brunetus de Indico

(p.m.)

Walterus de Maydenstane<sup>10</sup>

(p.m.)

Nicholaus Tarrent<sup>11</sup>

(p.m.)

Johannes de Northwode

(p.m.)

Adam de Lymbergh

(p.m.)

Comenges Cardinalis

Galfridus de Edenham<sup>12</sup>

(p.m.)

Henricus de Yldesworth<sup>13</sup>

(p.m.)

Willelmus de Kyldeaby

Neapolion Cardinalis<sup>14</sup>

(p.m.)

Johannes de Hull

Thomas Beek<sup>15</sup>

(p.m.)

Johannes de Oofford<sup>16</sup>

(p.m.)

Thomas de Northwood

Radulphus de Ergum<sup>17</sup>

(p.m.)

Willelmus de Norwico,<sup>18</sup> decanus

Manuel de Flisco, prothonotarius

(p.m.)

Petrus de Mortuo Mari, cardinalis

Peregoz<sup>19</sup>

(p.m.)

<sup>1</sup> St. Martins in Lincoln.<sup>2</sup> Carlton cum Thuriby, *alias* Carlton Paynel.<sup>3</sup> Stow Longa in Hunts, *alias* Spaldwick.<sup>4</sup> Nicholas Capiton. *Le Neve* and *Willis*.<sup>5</sup> Simon de Montacute passed from this stall to the see of Worcester, 1334.<sup>6</sup> Ketton in Rutland.<sup>7</sup> Nicholas of Cornwall. *Le Neve* and *Willis*.<sup>8</sup> Welton Brinkhall.<sup>9</sup> Simon Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, 1349.<sup>10</sup> Welton Westhall, usually annexed to the subdeanery. Walter de Maidston, *Le Neve*.<sup>11</sup> Nicholas Carent, *Le Neve*; Carant, *Willis*.<sup>12</sup> Originally written Edenestoue; deleted and changed to Edenham.<sup>13</sup> Iddsworth was collated to this stall, 1332; the same year he exchanged with Edenham for Sexaginta Solidorum, and resumed this stall 1343.<sup>14</sup> Neapolio Sancti Andreæ Cardinalis. *Le Neve* and *Willis*.<sup>15</sup> Thomas Beeke, the brother of the compiler of these lists, became bishop of Lincoln, 1342.<sup>16</sup> John of Offord, archbishop of Canterbury, 1348.<sup>17</sup> Ralph Erghum, bishop of Salisbury, 1375.<sup>18</sup> William Bateman, succeeded Antony Beeke as bishop of Norwich, May 23, 1344. Founder of Trinity Hall, Cambridge.<sup>19</sup> Cardinal de Perigot, *Le Neve*; Periget, *Willis*.

iiij Kellesey	Antonius Beek <sup>1</sup>
	Willelmus de Exonia <sup>2</sup>
iiiij Bedeford maior	[In later hand, visitacione decani iiiij <sup>4</sup> ]
v Bannebiry	Johannes de Bourn (p.m.)
	Paulus de Monte florum <sup>3</sup> pre
	centor (p.m.)
	Hugolinus filius Pauli de
	Adpigeriis
vj Welton Payne	Henricus de Cliffe (p.m.)
	Johannes Coleby
vij Welton Beke <sup>4</sup>	Simon de Islep
	Galfridus de Edenham (p.m.)
vijij Sancta Crux <sup>5</sup>	Johannes <sup>6</sup> de Harynton (p.m.)
[fol. 25.]	
ix Crakepul <sup>7</sup>	Willelmus Bachelor (p.m.)
x Scarle	Thomas de Crosse
	Petrus de Campo Veteri <sup>8</sup> (p.m.)
xj Bukedene <sup>9</sup>	Hugo de Walmefford (p.m.)
xij Luda <sup>10</sup>	Gancelinus, <sup>11</sup> Cardinalis (p.m.)
xiiij Welton Walle <sup>12</sup>	Johannes de Eton (p.m.)
xiiij Empingham	Ricardus de Whitwelle (p.m.)
xv Gretton	Guydo de Calina <sup>13</sup> (p.m.)
xvj Nassynton	Thomas Hastang <sup>14</sup>
	Ursus de filiis Ursi (p.m.)
[fol. 25 verso]	
xvij Bikelswad <sup>15</sup>	Otonius de Salivis <sup>16</sup> (p.m.)
xvijij Donham <sup>17</sup>	Willelmus de Coleby (p.m.)
	Johannes de Scallesby (p.m.)
	Henricus de Dale
xix Lafforth <sup>18</sup>	Willelmus de Cusanc'
	Antonius de Flisco (p.m.)
xx Castr' <sup>19</sup>	Robertus de Tawton (p.m.)
	Oliverus de Booto <sup>20</sup> (p.m.)
	Willelmus de Kildesby (p.m.)
	Paulus de Monte Florum
xxj Schamelsby <sup>21</sup>	Robertus Herward

<sup>1</sup> Subsequently bishop of Norwich, 1336.

<sup>2</sup> Precentor, 1337-1340.

<sup>3</sup> Paulus de Monte Florum, *Le Neve*. Precentor, collated to and resigned the office, 1337.

<sup>4</sup> Walton Beckhall. Simon Islep, subsequently archbishop of Canterbury.

<sup>5</sup> St. Cross, or Holyrood, in Lincoln.

<sup>6</sup> William of Harington, *Le Neve* and *Willis*.

<sup>7</sup> St. Mary's, Crekepool, Lincoln.

<sup>8</sup> Peter Oldfield.

<sup>9</sup> Buckden. This prebend was attached to the bishopric of Lincoln on the death of Samuel Whitworth, circa 1706, and again separated by the late bishop Wordsworth.

<sup>10</sup> Louth.

<sup>11</sup> Gocoleinus Cardinalis, *Le Neve* and *Willis*.

<sup>12</sup> Welton Rival.

<sup>13</sup> Guido de Chaulme. *Le Neve*, *Willis*.

<sup>14</sup> Thomas Hastings, *Le Neve*, *Willis*.

<sup>15</sup> Biggleswade.

<sup>16</sup> De Salviis, *Le Neve*, de Saluccis or Saluzzi *Willis*.

<sup>17</sup> Dunholm.

<sup>18</sup> Lafford or Sleaford. Luchin de Flisco. *Le Neve*.

<sup>19</sup> Castor. Robert de Tawton, *Le Neve*.

<sup>20</sup> Omitted by *Le Neve* and *Willis*.

<sup>21</sup> Scamtbesby. Robert Hareward, *Le Neve*. Archdeacon of Taunton.

xxij Langeford Ecclesia <sup>1</sup>	Johannes de Bourn Episcopus (p.m.)
xxiij Bouceanam <sup>2</sup>	Henricus de Iddesworth Galfridus de Edenham (p.m.)
xxiiij Cropperie <sup>3</sup> [fol. 26.]	Bertrandus de Pogeto, Cardinalis (p.m.)
xxv Stowe in Lindessey	Walterus de Stauren <sup>4</sup>
xxvj Merston'	Willelmus de Dalderby (p.m.)
	Petrus de Dalderby <sup>5</sup>
xxvij Carleton Kyme	Henricus de Edenestowe
xxviij Milton Ecclesia <sup>6</sup>	Galiardus de Mota, <sup>7</sup> Cardinalis (p.m.)

<sup>1</sup> Maner, *prima manu* deleted.

<sup>2</sup> Buckingham, or Sutton cum Bucks.  
"This Prebend," says Browne Willis (p. 245) "was the best endowed in the whole Cathedral, and would (if now in being) have the largest corps of any in England ... Richard Cox, S. T. P. afterwards Bishop of Ely, Dean of Oseney, and of Westminster, was presented by the king June 3, 1542. He surrendered up this noble Prebend, *Anno* 1547."

<sup>3</sup> Croperdy, or Cropredy. Bertrand de Rogete, *Le Neve, Willis*. In the Liber

Niger the stall of Sexaginta Solidorum, omitted in this list, comes between Langford and Cropredy, occupying the place of Buckingham, which is there absent.

<sup>4</sup> Treasurer, 1331.

<sup>5</sup> Precentor, 1340-1350.

<sup>6</sup> The prebend of Milton Ecclesia was formed out of the prebend of Aylesbury by a mandate of pope Nicholas IV., 1290.

<sup>7</sup> Archdeacon of Oxford ; Precentor of Chichester.

## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute,

June 4th, 1885.

J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, Esq. in the Chair.

MR. F. C. J. SPURRELL read a paper "On some early sites and works on the margin of the Thames (tidal portion)," which is printed at page 269.

MR. R. S. FERGUSON read a paper on "Elizabethan Standard Weights, and the Carlisle Bushel." Mr. Ferguson's paper is printed at page 303.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By MR. F. C. J. SPURRELL.—A large number of plans and sections illustrative of his paper.

By MR. R. S. FERGUSON.—A set of Elizabethan sealed Troy and Avoirdupois weights from Carlisle, made from the cannon of the Spanish Armada.

By MISS FEARINGTON.—Three examples of the gold rings formerly given by the Sergeants-at-Law to the Sovereign, Judges, and others, on being raised to the dignity of the Coif.

The mottoes on these are :

- 1 *Reverentia Legum.*
- 2 *Hæreditas a Legibus.*
- 3 *Paribus se legibus.*

Also a photograph of a pewter jug, *temp.* Charles I.

And a fine example of a North American Indian wampum belt, probably 120 years old. These belts were given as a pledge of friendship. Examples are now scarce.

By MR. T. M. FALLOW.—Medieval chalice and paten from Hinderwell, Yorks. Date *circa* 1485.

The chalice is silver parcel gilt, and measures six and a quarter inches in height. The bowl is deep and conical. The stem is hexagonal, with a beautifully wrought knot with five-leaved flowers in lozenges on the points and traceried openings between. The foot is mullet shaped, with a molded chamfered edge set with four-leaved flowers. On one compartment is the crucifix with SS. Mary and John.

The paten is of silver and measures five and a quarter inches in diameter. It is in the form of a plate, with a delicately engraved representation of the *Agnus Dei* in the centre.

By MR. T. W. COLT WILLIAMS.—A medieval chalice and paten from Bacton, Herefordshire. Date *circa* 1485.

The chalice generally resembles the Hinderwell one exhibited by Mr. Fallow, but the points of the knot terminate in angel masks. The mullet foot has a molded chamfer and the points terminate in knobs.

One compartment has a Crucifix amongst foliage. The next compartments on either side of the Crucifix bear respectively the words *john* and *capull*, probably the name of the donor.

The paten is silver gilt and five inches in diameter. It belongs to the well-known Nettlecombe type, with the rayed leaf ornament in the spandrels, and for central device a Vernacle surrounded by a glory of short rays.

MR. COLT WILLIAMS also exhibited three Elizabethan communion cups from Herefordshire; a medieval *cuir bouilli* chalice case; and an embroidered altar cloth, originally made for secular purposes.

### ANNUAL MEETING.

July 2nd, 1885.

J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, Esq. in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN in opening the meeting, explained that it had hitherto been the custom to hold the annual business meeting in conjunction with the annual general meeting. This year, however, a departure had been made with a view of gaining an extra day for excursions during the annual general meeting; and the annual business meeting had been held in London, as was empowered by the statutes.

The SECRETARY read the balance sheet for the past year (printed at page 388). He then read the following report of the Council for the year 1884-5:

#### REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1884-5.

In presenting their Report, the Council may congratulate the members on the improved financial state of the Institute. Their balance at the end of 1884 amounted to £70 16s. 6d., which contrasts favorably with that of 1883. Some of the items in the balance sheet, submitted herewith, are in discharge of outstanding accounts. It is the hope of the Council to better regulate for the future the income and expenses of the Institute; and they ask for the help of the members generally in adding to our numbers. The honorary treasurer is yet unable to advise the Council to fund life compositions, but it is expected that this may be done before the close of another year. The Council wish it to be known that the professional services rendered in obtaining the incorporation of the Institute were gratuitously given by one of their members. The actual expenses, as will be seen from the balance sheet, amounted to £15 9s. 4d.

The holding of the Annual General Meeting within the week of the Local Meeting being found to occupy time which could otherwise be more profitably employed, the Council have thought fit, according to the power vested in them by the Articles of Association, to try for this year the experiment of holding the Annual General Meeting in London.

The exhibition of Greek and Roman antiquities found by Mr.

Flinders Petrie at San, under the direction of the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund, was held in the Rooms of the Institute during the months of October and November. The general interest taken by the public in this exhibition cannot but be a source of satisfaction to the members of the Institute.

In November, 1884, a Committee consisting of Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite and the Rev. W. J. Loftie was appointed by the Council to watch and report on the proposed restoration of Westminster Hall.

After carefully examining the buildings and ancient work exposed by the demolition of the Law Courts, and the drawings and plans of the proposed restoration, the Committee made a Report which the Council have much pleasure in placing before the members of the Institute.

[COPY.]

*"To the Council of the Royal Archæological Institute."*

"Report of the Committee on Westminster Hall."

"We, the undersigned, being appointed by the Council of the Royal Archæological Institute a Committee to report to them on the work done and proposed to be done at Westminster Hall, beg to report as follows:

"That your Committee have examined the remains exposed by the demolition of the Law Courts lately standing on the west side of the Hall, and also the drawing of Mr. Pearson's proposed new work there, and his report which accompanies them.

"That much ancient work has been exposed, chiefly of the eleventh, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, and that this, though not of a highly architectural character, is of very great archæological interest, and the more so because since the 'restoration' of the Hall and the burning and subsequent demolition of the adjoining buildings to make way for the new Houses of Parliament, this seems to be all that is left of the ancient Palace of Westminster in any form except that of a modern copy. That the proposed new work, though called a restoration and defended as such, differs from anything that can possibly have existed on the site in any past time, and that its execution will involve the present removal of some and the ultimate destruction or concealment of all the rest of the ancient work.

"That it is necessary for stability that some part of the lately exposed work be rebuilt, but that the rest should be kept and protected in a genuine state.

"That your Committee believe that this may be done with advantage both to the convenience and the appearance of the building, but as that matter does not directly concern the Institute they have not felt it to be their duty to report further upon it.

"In conclusion, your Committee advise that the Council of the Institute should ask to be heard by deputation by the Committee of the House of Commons, which is now enquiring into the matter, and they have reason to believe that the evidence of a deputation as representing the opinion of the Council of the Institute will be gladly received.

*"(Signed) W. J. LOFTIE.*

*"(Signed) J. T. MICKLETHWAITE."*

On receiving this report the Council directed the Secretary to write to Mr. Shaw Lefevre, the chairman of the select Committee on "West-

minster Hall restoration," and ask that they might be heard by deputation. At the same time Mr. Micklethwaite and Canon Venables were asked to be the deputation, Mr. Loftie being unable to act. Mr. Shaw Lefevre answered, asking that only one person might be sent, and accordingly Mr. Micklethwaite appeared before the Committee, and the long examination which followed his evidence showed that it had not been wasted. Some other Societies, particularly that for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, were also heard through their representatives, and although the Committee have reported in favour of Mr. Pearson's scheme, the Council feel that good has been done. What will be done at Westminster remains uncertain at the writing of this report, but even if all is lost there, as it may be, the public protest which has been made against the destruction of ancient monuments under the specious name of restoration, is likely to have a good result in other cases.

The threatened destruction of some of the most ancient churches in York was brought to the notice of the Institute by the Council of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, who invited our co-operation in opposing that wanton piece of vandalism, and for that purpose to send a representative of the Institute to a meeting the Society convened at York. Mr. R. Popplewell Pullan kindly offered to represent the Institute, and on the 30th day of May last, attended the meeting, the Hon. Richard Grosvenor presiding, and supported the following resolution, which was proposed by Mr. Wm. Morris, seconded by the Hon. Charles L. Wood, and carried by an overwhelming majority.

"That this meeting regrets the proposed destruction of certain ancient churches in the city of York, and hopes that steps may be taken for their preservation."

At the Congress of the *Société Centrale des Architectes* which opened in Paris on Monday the 8th day of June, Mr. R. P. Pullan again represented the Institute, and was courteously received by the members of the French Society.

The Council desire to record their sense of obligation to Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, the Rev. Canon Venables, the Rev. W. J. Loftie, and Mr. R. P. Pullan, for the trouble and time spent by them in thus representing the Institute.

The Council have to deplore the death of one of the Vice-Presidents of the Institute, who was well known to many of us as a regular attendant at our meetings. On Friday, the 26th of June, Sir J. S. D. Scott, Bart., F.S.A., died after a short illness. For many years the late baronet had served on the Council, and at the Annual General Meeting last year was elected a Vice-President. As author of the valuable work "The British Army, its Origin, Progress, and Equipment," he was well known to the public.

The Council further regret the loss of several of the members since the last Annual Meeting—Professor J. Buckman, an occasional contributor to the *Journal*, the Rev. E. E. Estcourt, the Rev. Wm. Grice, W. Parker Hamond, M. Rhode Hawkins, J. W. McKenzie, and Dr. N. Rogers.

The members of the Governing Body to retire by rotation are as follows:—Vice-President, Sir W. V. Guise, Bart., and the following members of the Council:—Mr. C. T. Newton, C.B., the Rev. W. J. Loftie, Mr. T. H. Baylis, Q.C., the Rev. F. Spurrell, Mr. J. B. Davidson, and the Rev. Sir Talbot H. B. Baker, Bart.



The Council would recommend the appointment of Mr. C. T. Newton as a Vice President in the place of Sir J. S. D. Scott, deceased, and Mr. R. P. Pullan in the place of Sir W. V. Guise, and the election of Sir W. V. Guise, Bart., Mr. T. H. Baylis, Q.C., the Rev. F. Spurrell, Mr. J. B. Davidson, the Rev. Sir Talbot H. B. Baker, Bart., Mr. Flinders Petrie, and Mr. Somers Clarke, the retiring honorary auditor, as members of the Council.

The Council would further recommend the appointment of Dr. M. W. Taylor as junior honorary auditor.

The adoption of the Balance Sheet and Report was moved by Mr. W. H. St. JOHN HOPE, seconded by Mr. HILTON, and carried unanimously.

On the motion of Mr. NIGHTINGALE, seconded by the Rev. C. R. MANNING, Dr. M. W. Taylor was appointed junior Hon. auditor.

Letters were read from the Dean of Chester, on behalf of the Bishop of Chester, the Mayor, and the Duke of Westminster, inviting the Institute to make Chester their place of meeting for 1886.

On the motion of the CHAIRMAN, seconded by Mr. BAYLIS, the invitation was accepted.

Mr. PULLAN made some remarks as to the threatened destruction of some of the York churches, and said that despite the unanimous resolution of the meeting held in York, which he had attended as the representative of the Institute, the Archbishop's Committee was still persisting in their programme of vandalism. He therefore proposed the following resolution—

“That the Royal Archaeological Institute learns with regret that notwithstanding the almost unanimous decision of a meeting of influential citizens of York, convened by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, at which the Institute was represented, the Committee who proposed the destruction or disuse of certain of the old parish churches are still persisting in their objectionable scheme without providing a fund for the sustentation of the fabrics of these churches.”

This was seconded by Mr. R. S. FERGUSON, and carried unanimously.

On the motion of Mr. PULLAN, seconded by Mr. BAYLIS, a vote of thanks was passed to the Chairman.

July 2, 1885.

Mr. T. H. BAYLIS, Q.C., in the Chair.

Professor BUNNELL LEWIS read a paper on the antiquities of Langres and Besançon, of which the following is an abstract—

These cities, though they present many points of interest, have been little visited by English travellers. At the former, the Cathedral, the Porte Gallo-Romaine, and the Museum, specially deserve notice. The Cathedral is comparatively bare and devoid of ornament, but remarkable as an example of transition from the round to the pointed arch. In the absence of documentary evidence, we may infer from the style of construction that it belonged to the twelfth century. Gallo-Roman influence shows itself in semi-circular arches of doors and windows, in fluted pilasters, in the frequency of the acanthus-leaf, and the rarity of human figures on the capitals.

The Porte Gallo-Romaine was not primarily a triumphal arch, but an

entrance in the line of the city walls. However, its decorations seem to show that it was also intended to commemorate some military exploits. It may be assigned with great probability to the reign of Constantius Chlorus, father of Constantine the Great, A.D. 305-306. This date agrees both with the history and with the signs of decadence observable in the monument. The gate was imitated, or rather copied, in Longe Porte; when the French government converted Langres into a fortress, the latter was demolished.

The Museum contains Gallo-Roman, Roman, Celtic, Egyptian, Medieval and Renaissance antiquities. Those of the first class are deposited in the apse of the church of St. Didier, now secularized, and in apartments leading to it. Among the bas-reliefs two are very remarkable: No. 184 represents a Gallic car on which three men are seated, drawn by four horses, wheelers and leaders as in a stage coach, instead of being abreast as in a *quadriga*; the figures wear the *bardocucullus*, i.e. cloak with hood. In No. 240 we see three shelves arranged vertically; three sandals being placed on the uppermost, three bottles on the middle, and three boxes on the lowest. The design perhaps has reference to baths, or it may be the sign of a shop. The collection includes some interesting inscriptions. One of them mentions the goddess Matrona—the Marne which rises near Langres; another Litavicus, an Ædian chief who vigorously resisted Julius Cæsar's invasion; a third gives us the name Boudoca, like our own Boadicea; and a fourth has the name Maritus accentuated, MARITUS.

Besançon occupies the site of Vesontio, the capital of the Sequani, where the river Dubis forms a horse-shoe. The Porte Noire is unique among the Roman triumphal arches, and that, too, in three respects; it has two storeys of columns, the shafts are covered with sculptures, and a band of reliefs representing marine deities or giants surrounds the vault. The whole monument is overloaded with figures, and unquestionably should be assigned to the period of decadence. Some place it in the reign of Marcus Aurelius; but historical facts and the excessive profusion of ornament, incline us to think that it was probably erected under Julian the Apostate.

The Theatre was in the immediate neighbourhood of the Porte Noire. Its position was ascertained by the discovery of stone seats arranged in a curve, of walls rising in tiers one above another, and of fragments of columns—bases, drums, and capitals. These latter have been re-erected in the Place St. Jean, which is tastefully laid out as a garden. The great reservoir adjoined the Theatre; here the aqueduct, Canal d'Arcier, terminated, and hence water was distributed throughout the city. On this site some appropriate decorations have been found—bas-reliefs of Cupid riding on a dolphin, and an aged river-god leaning upon an inverted urn.

Professor Lewis's paper will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

DR. M. W. TAYLOR then read the following notes on some Stone Moulds for casting Spearheads, recently discovered in Cumberland:

"I have the pleasure of exhibiting to the Institute a pair of stone moulds, which elucidate in a peculiar way the process of bronze casting by the ancient Britons. The earliest metal workers probably availed themselves of the malleable and ductile properties of copper by the process of hammering the native metal into a mass, and fashioning the lump into an

axe-head, after the type of the flat stone celt of their neolithic ancestors—the true Copper Age, of which some few remains still exist.

After a time the knowledge came that the addition of a small percentage of the softer metal tin to the copper gave an alloy which was much more fusible by heat, and at the same time was harder and more capable of maintaining an edge. Whilst requiring less heat for fusion, this material was found very tractable for the process of casting. Hence it came that nearly all the bronze implements that were in general use, were made from the fused alloy by casting in moulds.

The area of distribution of weapons of bronze extended over the whole country from the outlying Hebrides to the English Channel, and over the whole of Ireland. The duration of the Age of Bronze probably embraced many centuries. The production was probably limited only by the scarcity of the metal copper; and it is possible that on account of the value of the material, old implements as they became effete and worn out, would be recast, it might be over and over again, in reproducing newer forms, leading to the greater proportionate survival of the latest types.

At all events the profusion of relics in bronze scattered through the collections and museums of the country, bears witness to a copious manufacture. But though the results of the production as seen by these relics are considerable, yet the discovery of the utensils, tools and apparatus employed in the fabrication is comparatively rare. Melting pots and crucibles of earthenware have been found in the lake dwellings in Switzerland, but very rarely.

As in brass-founding in the present day, single or double moulds in boxes with the pattern or model pressed in sand may have been used, and other methods, in all of which the mould would be destroyed immediately after its use. But permanent moulds were also used, and some of these, being the stock of foundries, have remained to us. I refer to double moulds composed of a mixture of clay, loam and sand, for obtaining the lateral halves of the pattern, which were afterwards baked. Moulds for socketed celts, spearheads, etc., thus made in two pieces have been discovered in the lake dwellings, but none exist in this country. It may be stated broadly, that the only moulds in use by the bronze workers preserved in the United Kingdom are composed of the metal bronze itself or of stone. Stone moulds only concern us at present.

The pair of stones which I now shew you are the finest examples for casting spearheads which are anywhere to be seen in any of the museums of this country. The only parallel pair was that found a few years ago at Chudleigh in Devonshire, for casting a sword blade, of which models are in the British Museum, along with two or three other stone moulds of smaller size. The Edinburgh and Dublin Museums contain a few stone moulds for smaller weapons.

The stones now exhibited were found buried a little depth under the surface near the village of Croglin in Cumberland in June, 1883. A description of them has already been given in the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Archæological Society and also in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. They are here before you, so that I need not give the details. They are composed of a sandstone of the carboniferous series, of exceedingly fine grain, and soft consistence, so as to be easily cut or pared with a knife. The two blocks

are a pair in size and shape. Each stone is eighteen inches in length, two and a half inches in thickness, with a lanceolate leaf-shaped outline about three and a half inches broad at the base. You see that on the superior face of each has been carved out the mould for the lateral half of the spearhead. By applying the two stones together, they would give a casting in the solid of the blade, the midrib, and two semicircular loops. But it was necessary, of course, to have the socket hollow to receive the wooden haft. These stones give you the index to the means by which this provision was attained. On the reverse of each stone there is a mould for producing a conical pike-like object of this form—this was for casting a metal core. This core is provided with two trunnion-like projections to support it in its place within the mould during the casting, and also two nipple-like projections to fit into nicks in the mould to act as chaplets or wedges ; by means of these a rivet hole on each side of the socket was formed."

MR. PARK HARRISON made some remarks in continuation of his former paper on Chevron Beads, and exhibited coloured drawings of examples found in Roman London.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By PROFESSOR LEWIS: A large collection of prints and photographs of Langres and Besançon.

Also a number of coins, illustrative of his paper—some of them form the collection of the Rev. S. S. Lewis, including a very rare one of Vercingetorix.

By DR. M. W. TAYLOR.—A pair of stone moulds for casting spear heads.

### ANNUAL MEETING AT DERBY.

July 28th to August 5th, 1875.

Tuesday, July 28th.

The Deputy-Mayor (Alderman Hobson)—in the unavoidable absence through illness of the Mayor of Derby, Alderman Fowke—and the members of the Corporation, preceded by the mace bearers and sword bearer, arrived at the Art Gallery of the Free Library at noon and received Earl Percy, M.P., President of the Institute ; the Dean of Lichfield ; Lord Donington ; Sir John Alleyne, Bart. ; Sir James Allport ; and the following members of the Council and Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Sections :—Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, Mr. R. P. Pullan, Mr. R. S. Ferguson, Mr. T. H. Baylis, Q.C., Rev. F. J. Spurrell, Rev. Sir T. H. Baker, Bart., Mr. J. Hilton, Rev. Dr. Cox, Rev. H. M. Scarth, etc. In the body of the room were a large number of members of the Institute, Vice-Presidents of the meeting, and numerous ladies.

THE DEPUTY-MAYOR said he had to express to Lord Percy and the members of the Royal Archaeological Institute his deep regret that his Worship the Mayor, by reason of protracted and severe illness, was unable to pay their illustrious body the honour of a formal reception

that day. The duty of thus publicly receiving them, on behalf of the municipality, devolved, therefore, upon himself as the Deputy of the Mayor. It might be interesting, before he called on the Town Clerk to read the address, which at a numerous meeting of the Town Council was adopted that morning, if he prefaced that address by a few observations of his own.

It was noteworthy that thirty-four years ago this town and county had the honour of receiving a kindred society to their own, viz., the British Archæological Association. This was as far back as 1851, and he believed there were not a few gentlemen present who cherished pleasant reminiscences of the visit of that Society to Derby. In the interim, there had sprung into existence a local association, having strong affinities with the Royal Archæological Institute, viz., the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society. He was happy to say that association was a very numerous and influential one, and that it was in a condition of healthy activity. The society was entitled to much credit, for it had rescued from the hands of the vandal and the despoiler many a precious relic in our own neighbourhood.

They had been singularly fortunate in this town and county during the last few years, in being honoured with the visits of bodies of great importance and eminence. Four years ago, they had the visit of the Royal Agricultural Society, under the personal auspices of the Prince of Wales. That was directly followed by the great national Church Congress. In turn, succeeded the meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, and that was followed by the Royal Archery Meeting, and, last year, by the Co-operative Congress. Now, they were honoured by the presence—not the least important on the list—of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. In coming into Derbyshire, and amongst a people like ourselves, they came amongst those of whom, in old time, it had been reproachfully said that they were “strong in the arm and weak in the head.” He was not there intending to discuss the relative proportions of the muscular and mental development of the people of Derbyshire. But he would say this, that those of them, amongst whom he was happy to enrol himself, who were ‘Derbyshire born and Derbyshire bred,’ were proud, and justly proud, of their native county. They claimed for it a pre-eminence, as being not only rich in those ancient and interesting memorials for which their Institute had a special regard, but it was rich also in its varied natural resources, more particularly in the picturesque beauty of its scenery. With regard to this he might truly say that

Those who know it, know no words can paint,  
And to those who know it not all words are faint.

With regard to the interesting excursions which the forethought and discrimination of the committee had arranged for the Institute during the next few days, he could only say that these would afford them an ample test of the truth of his claim, and that when they got into the hill country of the Peak, they would realise with what truthfulness to nature the poet had described some of the scenes by which they would be surrounded—

The rocks that tower on either side  
 Build up a wild, fantastic scene,  
 Temples like those among th' Hindoos,  
 And castles all with ivy green.

He could only hope for them that the elements might be propitious during the coming week, and that the advantages and pleasures which they proposed to themselves in coming to Derbyshire might be abundantly realised. He had now the pleasure of calling upon the Town Clerk to read the address unanimously adopted at a meeting of the Council that morning.

The TOWN CLERK (Mr. H. F. Gadsby) then read the address from the Corporation, as follows :—

To the President, Vice-Presidents, and Members of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland :—

"We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Derby, in Council assembled, desire to convey to you a hearty welcome on the occasion of your visit to this ancient town. The objects for which you are associated embrace the study and conservation, and, in cases not a few, the restoration of interesting memorials that are closely connected with the domestic, social, and religious life of the nation, in its various stages of development. These objects cannot fail to commend themselves to all enlightened persons. To the municipal representatives of the chief town of the county, this must be especially the case, for the Corporate body are the custodians of time-honoured charters, which guarantee to us the law-abiding freedom and the statutory forms of local government, under which it is our privilege and our happiness to live. It were impossible to over-estimate the importance and the character of the labours in which your Institute is engaged. In awakening and stimulating a reverent regard for those historical and archaeological remains, whether in abbey or priory ; in castle, manor house, or baronial hall ; or in the hallowed fanes which are the pride and glory of our land, you have a right to expect, and can scarcely fail to receive, the encouragement and sympathy of your intelligent fellow-countrymen.

"We note with satisfaction that the President of your Historical Section, the Rev. Dr. Cox, is a member of an old Derbyshire family, and the learned historian of the churches of the county ; and that his literary confrère, our townsman, Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, is the accomplished editor of your "Transactions."

"We trust that your excursions to the places of beauty and interest with which our county abounds, may be alike pleasant and profitable to the members of your Institute ; and we feel that we are but expressing the prevailing sentiment of the town when we meet you at its portals with a hearty and sincere greeting.

"Given under the Common Seal of the above-named Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses, this 29th day of July, 1885."

The DEPUTY-MAYOR.—It now gives me satisfaction to retire from the chair, and to give place to your President, Earl Percy.

EARL PERCY said he thanked the Deputy-Mayor and Corporation very much, in the name of the Royal Archaeological Institute, for the honour they had done them in receiving them in the hearty way they had done. The Deputy-Mayor was doubtless acquainted with the causes which had

led him to vacate the chair at this juncture. He himself should certainly have hesitated greatly to assume the chair, in the presence of a representative of the head of their municipality, did he not feel that the truest way of showing respect to authority was to readily obey its injunctions. When the Council of the Institute had to consider in what part of the country they should make their excursion, they were influenced chiefly by two considerations—first, whether it was probable the place they selected for their visit would give them a hearty welcome, and, secondly, whether the subjects of antiquarian interest in the neighbourhood were such as would repay them for the trouble. After what the Deputy-Mayor had said as to the attractions Derby had afforded to many of the large institutions of this country, he was sure they were justified in anticipating that which they had so fully received—a hearty and cordial welcome from the town of Derby. And with regard to the interest which they might find in the neighbourhood—although he was unable to speak from personal knowledge—as far as he could gather there was no county in England that surpassed Derbyshire in antiquarian interest, ranging from the very earliest times—from the times of the ancient Britons, whose forts crowned their heights, down to the days when the Young Chevalier turned his back upon his hopes in the town of Derby. The Deputy-Mayor had said something about the proverbial thickness of the brains of the inhabitants of Derbyshire. He was not aware that that was supposed to be an attribute of those who lived in this part of the world, and certainly he should not have discovered it in the address which the Deputy-Mayor had delivered.

Whilst hoping that the Institute might gain a great deal in antiquarian knowledge from the inspection of the objects in the neighbourhood, he trusted he might be allowed to predict that perhaps something might be gained by annual visits—even in places where the local societies were as flourishing as in Derbyshire—in stirring up a greater interest amongst the people of the district in antiquarian knowledge, and in the ancient relics of the past which surrounded them, not only near their own homes, but throughout the country.

LORD PERCY proceeded to refer to the action of the Select Committee of the House of Commons with regard to the restoration of Westminster Hall, and suggested that those who had votes might consider whether their representatives in Parliament did not require some little education yet, at any rate from an antiquarian point of view. He also condemned the contemplated destruction of several of the old churches in York for reasons which he had been quite unable to ascertain.

He greatly regretted the absence of Lord Carnarvon, the president of the meeting, who was engaged in a task perhaps more honourable, and certainly very much more arduous—that of controlling the unruly spirits of Ireland. He regretted very much, independently of party considerations, that Mr. Gladstone did not continue in office until after the meeting of their society. Such, unfortunately, was not the case, and they had no one, officially or personally, who could at all adequately supply Lord Carnarvon's place on the present occasion, or make up for the address which he would have delivered. This meeting was, unhappily, signalled by the absence of those whose loss was most greatly felt. The Mayor of this borough was absent through ill

health, and he was sure they would join with him in expressing regret at the cause of that absence, and at the absence itself. He trusted that when they met again at Derby—and he hoped they might do so at no very distant period—they would do so with as fine skies, and with fewer absences than they now deplored.

The Hon. F. STRUTT said a duty had been suddenly placed in his hands to perform, and that was to express the pleasure which the Derbyshire Archæological Society felt at the visit of the Institute to this their county town. That duty devolved upon him on account of the absence of the Bishop of the diocese, from whom a telegram had been received stating that important letters received that morning would prevent him, to his great regret, from being present with them that day. They would all heartily re-echo that regret, for they knew what an interest the Bishop took in the subjects which were about to occupy them during the coming week. After the exhaustive speech of the Deputy-Mayor, he thought it was impossible to give them a heartier welcome than the acting head of the municipality had done. He was very much gratified by what the Deputy-Mayor had said as to the proceedings of their local society. He hoped their society, though it had only been a few years in existence, had done some good and useful work in this county, and, if this was so, it was because they had been particularly fortunate in having some gentlemen on the council of the society who were not only well qualified to deal with these archæological subjects, but took a deep interest in their elucidation. It had been said that the county of Derby was perhaps excelled by none in archæological and antiquarian interest. Nothing had been said about the town of Derby, but he believed the members of the Institute would find many things in the way of antiquarian and historical interest if they pursued their researches in the county town. They would find many gentlemen resident in the town, and members of the Corporation, well qualified to assist them in their researches. Derbyshire, as had been said, was rich in archæological interest. It seemed particularly rich in baronial and manorial remains, and possessed two or three of perhaps the finest old houses existing in England, especially that of Haddon, which stood alone in the exactness which preserved till our own day the distinguishing characteristics of home life in the middle ages. He need say no more to prove to his Lordship that the Derbyshire Archæological Society desired to give to him and the members of the Institute a most hearty and sincere welcome.

Mr. ARTHUR COX, (Hon. Sec. to the local society), then read the following address:—

“My Lord Percy and members of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.—In welcoming to Derby the members of the Royal Archæological Institute, we, the Council of the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society, desire to express to you how deeply we feel the distinction that is conferred upon our county by your presence here to-day.

We rejoice that you should have decided to make Derby the headquarters of your meeting this year, and we wish to express to you as emphatically as possible our sense of the honour thus done to us by your learned society, and the extreme gratification it affords us to welcome you to-day.



We congratulate ourselves to-day upon our existence as a local society, because we feel that although we are a very young county society as yet, without any great experience, still that if we did not exist at all, you, my lord, and your learned associates might not now be in our midst.

We hope and believe, that you will not be disappointed in the results of your visits here, but that you will find in our county of Derby not a little that is well worthy of your careful inspection.

We believe that Derbyshire is a county very distinctly possessed of great and varied archaeological attractions. If we possess no buildings remarkably distinguished for their grandeur, we still claim to be especially rich in diversity of style. In the matter of churches we range from the Saxon crypt of Repton, to the chapel of bishop Hackett's time, or the still more recent work of Gibbs at All Saints' church, Derby. So, too, with monuments, while we cannot aspire to individualities of counties such as Kent, we again have remarkable diversities of all sorts, in brasses, in effigies, more especially in incised stones. We are rich, too, in barrows; we are far from being poor in rude stone monuments.

The various routes you have selected for your excursions will carry you over all the ground that is richest in archaeological detail, and while we trust that each and all may afford you some points for interesting research, we ourselves shall expect to receive much instruction from the expression of the opinion of those erudite scholars whose presence amongst us to-day we so truly appreciate. We shall try our utmost to make your visit a success, only we must ask your kind indulgence to overlook, on the ground of our youth, and its inevitable accompaniment of inexperience, all our shortcomings.

My lord and members of the Royal Archaeological Institute, in the name of our President, Vice-presidents, and Council, I am desired to offer you a most hearty welcome to the county and town of Derby."

EARL PERCY thanked the society for the hearty reception they had given the Institute that day, and also for the exertions they had made in assisting the officers of the parent organisation in arranging the programme of their visit to Derbyshire. It appeared to him, as one ignorant of the locality, to be a programme eminently calculated to economise their time, and to show to the best advantage, in a limited period, the wonders of their district. And, after all, the use they made of their time was the real test of their efficiency.

One great object of the Institute was that the place selected should be as different as possible from that they visited in the previous year, and in this respect Derbyshire afforded a striking contrast to Northumberland, which they visited last year. There was little of antiquarian interest in Northumberland after the middle ages, except for those who took an interest in individual families. But in Derbyshire they would find remains of baronial and manorial houses carrying a continuation of medieval life almost without a break down to our own times, and that was a matter which was worthy of their attention, and which would afford to those who took an interest in that particular epoch of history, an attraction they did not have last year in Northumberland.

He was of opinion that the country squire of 200 or 250 years ago was

a much maligned man, and he did not believe that Squire Western and Osbaldiston Hall were true representations of the life of that class in those days, except it might be in the extreme north and the extreme west of England. He was sure that they would find a very interesting chapter of history, bearing upon the improvement in the manners of that class of persons in England, enshrouded in these old fortified manor houses, not happily needed in these days, when they were happy enough to enjoy their possessions in peace and quietness. He simply mentioned this as affording a strong contrast to the prevailing characteristic of last year's excursion. He must repeat their thanks to the kindred society in Derbyshire for their kind reception of them, and for the provision they had made for their entertainment throughout what promised to be a most interesting visit.

The proceedings then terminated.

At two o'clock the members assembled in St. Peter's Church, where Mr. W. H. St. JOHN HOPE described the building.

It was, he said, the only church in the town that had escaped partial or entire rebuilding in recent times.

In the reign of Edward the Confessor it pertained to one Leuric, and at the time of the Domesday Survey (1086) to Ralph Fitzhubert.

Robert de Ferrers, *temp.* Stephen, according to one charter, gave the church to Darley abbey, probably as feudal lord only, for a suit in 1154 decided that the advowson belonged to Hugh, the dean of All Saints, who was the chief founder of Darley abbey. Dean Hugh had shortly before given the advowson of St. Peter's to the canons of Darley, and his gift was confirmed by bishop Walter de Durdent.

St. Peter's was a vicarage as early as the reign of Henry II. ; the vicar being endowed with the usual small tithes and all altar fees and offerings, but he had to pay an annual sum of three marks to the abbey, which was afterwards increased to five. The *Valor* of 1291 estimated the total revenues of the church at £13 6s. 8d.

The church belonged to Darley abbey till a few years before the suppression, when the canons, foreseeing the fate of their house, sold the next presentation to Peter Marten, of Stapleford, whose executors were allowed to present in 1552, but the patronage was then claimed by the Crown, and granted to the Babingtons. Queen Mary, however, included the advowson of St. Peter's in her munificent grant to the Bailiffs and Burgesses of Derby, but her successor set this aside, and it again belonged to the Babingtons until their downfall in 1588, through their complicity with Mary queen of Scots. It was then granted to the Dixies, and after descending through several families, was sold some 20 years ago to trustees.

In 1338 John de Crich, priest, Walter and John de Shardlow, Simon and William de Nottingham and others, obtained the consent of the bishop and the abbot of Darley to found a chantry in this church at the altar of the Blessed Virgin. The chantry was definitely established in 1342, and John de Crich became the first chaplain.

In 1348 another chantry was founded in this church in honour of St. Nicholas, by Adam de Shardlow.

Robert Lyversage, a wealthy dyer of the parish, by deed dated November 3rd, 1529, granted to the vicar of St. Peter's and others as

trustees, after the death of himself and his wife, certain tenements in Derby, the rents to be paid to a priest for saying mass daily in a chapel within the parish church for the souls of the said Robert and Alice his wife, and on every Friday a silver penny was to be given to each of thirteen poor folk present at mass. Tradition says that the Lyversage chapel was a small enclosed structure with a canopy over it, which stood on the site of the pulpit. Robert Lyversage's herse is also said to have stood in the chancel till it fell to pieces. The bequest of Robert Lyversage is still held in trust for the benefit of the poor of the parish, and is now worth over £2000 a year, out of which the vicar is paid £50 for providing a Lyversage lecture every Sunday evening.

The church consists of a chancel with north vestry and modern organ chamber, a nave with north and south aisles and a north porch, and a western tower, which once opened into the south aisle as well as the nave.

The earliest work is of Norman date, viz., three out of the four responds, shewing the Norman church had aisles, but the arcades were rebuilt in the fourteenth century. The north aisle is next in point of date. There are marks on either side of the east window, and also on the adjoining respond, where corbels for images or lights have been cut off. The chancel has suffered so much restoration that its real date is difficult to fix. It is longer than the nave, but seems to have once been even longer, but shortened in Perpendicular days, when the east window and those on either side of it were built. On the north of the chancel is the vestry. It formerly had the rare feature of an upper chamber, which was gained by a vice in the south-west angle; but having been unroofed and suffered to fall into decay, it was rebuilt without much regard to the old lines in 1865. It has a large squint looking into the chancel, and part of the stair-well remains. The floor of the lower room is about two feet above its proper level. The steps of ascent into the chancel and the lower portion of the vice to the upper room remain under the floor. The jointing of the masonry shews that the south aisle is of later date than the chancel. The tracery of its large 5-light windows is peculiar. In the south wall are a number of grave slabs, one with an unusual amount of sculpture. Part of a coffin lid stands in the corner and some pieces of alabaster slabs at the west end. The nave clerestory is Perpendicular, but the original hammer-beam roof was replaced in 1646. The westernmost beam of the old roof is left. The battlements *within* the east end of the nave are somewhat puzzling. The sprawling chancel arch is Perpendicular. The tower arch is a fine and lofty one of early Perpendicular character; a similar one, though not so high, opened into the south aisle, but was partly cut away and blocked up in 1817.

The lower part of the tower has been entirely rebuilt and recased except on the north side internally, where the rude character of the masonry seems to be Norman, if not earlier. The upper stage is early Perpendicular.

Of the fittings of the church nothing original remains except the fine Flemish chest, which is identical in design and date with that seen last year at Brancepeth. There are others precisely similar at Wath, near Ripon, and at Wroot and Haconby, Lincolnshire. The date is *circa* 1360. The alms box is also in part Flemish, but was only given to the

church some thirty years ago. The rood screen did not belong to the church originally; until 1861 it stood in the church at Crich, but was turned out in the work of "restoration," and presented by the contractors to the present vicar, who placed it here. It has lately been repaired and enlarged.

Externally there is not much of interest, except that the old stonework mostly remains unrestored.

Over the east window of the chancel is a shield with a pair of keys saltirewise, and the central battlement has the stump of a cross. The aisle buttresses, on both sides, once terminated in pinnacles. Those on the north were slender ones rising from behind a cinquefoiled pedimental head, while the south buttresses ran up into a real pinnacle. The south door has been a fine one, but is now sadly ruined. The nave and chancel have some quaint and huge gurgoyles. The tower has been much injured by the ugly casing it received in 1817, and by the loss at the same time of the belfry turret on its west side. The clock-face on the east may be useful, but it is certainly not ornamental.

The old building to the west of the church is the Old Grammar School. This foundation, now known as Derby School, claims to be the oldest endowed school in the kingdom, having been founded by Walter de Durdent, bishop of Coventry, in 1154. It was refounded by queen Mary in 1554, to which date this building may be referred. The School was transferred in 1861 to St. Helen's House at the other end of the town.

A move was next made for All Saints church, where Mr. Hope again took charge of the party. Taking up his stand in front of the Consistory seat, Mr. Hope read the following remarks on the history of the church:

"In the days of Edward the Confessor, Derby must have been a place of some ecclesiastical importance, for it had no less than five churches, of which two were collegiate. One of these was All Saints. It then had seven clerks, who held two carucates of free land at Little Chester, and was on the royal demesne. Henry I. between 1100 and 1107 gave the church of All Saints to the cathedral church of Lincoln to be held *in praebendam*. It was annexed to the office of dean, and by this grant the dean of Lincoln was made dean of All Saints, and had the sole right of nominating and instituting the subdean and six prebendaries. In the letters patent of Henry III., dated 1254, relating to a dispute about tithes, the dean of Lincoln is described as *persona hujus ecclesie pro se et canonicis libere capella*. In 1279 it was formally placed on record that All Saints was one of the king's free chapels and exempt from all episcopal, as well as archidiaconal, jurisdiction, and subject only to the pope. This declaration was made because of the claim of the bishop to exercise jurisdiction over the church other than the holding of ordinations, the taking of synodals, and the ordinary rights over the parishioners, which he always had power to do. The question was definitely settled by a composition made in 1292, by which the bishop was finally excluded from all powers as a visitor of any of the royal free chapels in the diocese.

The church of All Saints was always parochial as well as collegiate, and the goods and ornaments were found and maintained by the parishioners. The canons lived in a house to the north of the church called the College.

There were chantries at the altars of St. Mary and St. Nicholas, and a Trinity guild ordained by the bailiffs and burgesses for a priest to say mass daily at the Trinity altar at five o'clock in the morning, for the benefit of travellers and others.

The college was dissolved in 1548 and its estates sold.

On the accession of queen Mary, she restored part of the prebendal estates to the church by granting them to the Corporation, on condition that they should institute and endow two perpetual vicars, who were to 'have perpetual succession and be instead of rectors there and maintain hospitality there, and have cure of souls of the parishioners there, and do and execute all other things which are known to belong to the office of rector or vicar.'

There is no proof that the Corporation ever *did* maintain *two* vicars, but they certainly appointed *one*, giving him the stipend intended for two, and for a long time shewing themselves most jealous of any recognition of episcopal claims to institution. The first institution made by the bishop was that of my great-grandfather Charles Hope in 1774. He was in the same year instituted to the vicarages of St. Alkmund's and St. Werburgh's. He was succeeded at All Saints by his son Charles Stead Hope, who was also vicar of St. Alkmund's and found time to discharge with his clerical duties those of the office of Mayor of Derby, which office he held five times.

In addition to the vicar, the parish formerly provided out of the rates a 'reader', whose duty it was to say the daily morning and evening prayers ordered by the Church. After 1748 the reader was no longer paid for out of the rates, but by voluntary contributions, and this state of things continued until 1825, when the daily service was cut down to Saints' days, Wednesdays and Fridays, and finally to Wednesday evenings only.

The advowson of All Saints was sold in 1835, when the Corporation Reform Act became law, and now belongs to the Simeon Trustees.

This church is fortunate in possessing a very complete and lengthy series of parish books. The churchwardens' accounts are complete from 1620, and the books of orders go back as far as 1465.

We learn from these that in addition to the officers already named there were others who held more subordinate positions. Parish clerk, sexton, and beadle we might expect; but in the seventeenth century there was a 'dog-whipper', who was paid sixpence a week for driving dogs out of church. In 1715 we meet with the first record of another important personage, the 'bang-beggar', a title sufficiently expressive of his duties. He was provided at the parish expense with a wig and a coat faced with red cloth. In spite of such a multiplicity of officers, great trouble seems to have been caused to the parish in the last century by the irrepressible boys, who *would* use the churchyard as a playground. The nuisance became so great that in 1771 the parish actually took counsel's opinion 'how most effectually to suppress ball playing and gaming in general in the churchyard.' The legal advice seems to have been that the beadle should be made to do his duty, for in the next year we find two shillings 'paid Thomas Hunt, beadle attending in churchyard to prevent the boys playing at fives.'

The church of All Saints consists of a modern classical body with a fine and lofty Perpendicular tower at the west end. Of the building

that preceded this we know very little beyond the ground plan, as unfortunately no trustworthy drawings of it exist, and the entries of the accounts do not tell us much.

The old church consisted of a chancel with Lady chapel on the north, and St. Katharine's quire on the south; a nave with aisles and south porch, and a western tower. There was also a vestry. From the accounts we learn something of its arrangements. There were at least six altars: the high altar, and those of our lady, of St. Katharine, of St. Nicholas, of the Holy Trinity, and of the Passion. There were images of SS. Christopher, Clement, Edmund, Eloy, John Baptist, and our lady of Pity, and of course the rood of the chancel screen. In the chancel were the canons' stalls, over which hung painted cloths, on one side with stones of the new law, and on the other with stories of the old law. In the Lady chapel in 1527 were a number of 'Bokes tyed with chenes', including the *pupilla oculi* of John de Burgo, the *vitas patrum* (probably that printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1495), the *legenda aurea*, and *paules pistols*.

There remain to us most full and valuable inventories of the goods and ornaments in 1465 and 1527, for which I must refer you to the *Chronicles of All Saints*, by Dr. Cox and myself. There are also some equally interesting Elizabethan lists. In 1560-1 we find 'a brassen cross and a holy water can of brasse, a fyne cope of black vellevytt, and a fyne vestment that Mr. Reynd gave, and blak vestmentes of vellvyt that be in the custody of Mr. Ward.' The 1562-3 list proves that the 'vestmentes' were chasubles, for we find 'a vestment y<sup>t</sup> Mr. Reede gave except y<sup>e</sup> albe and y<sup>e</sup> amyse.' Copes continue to be mentioned yearly till 1568, and albes till 1577. The rood-loft and choir stalls remained for some time after the Reformation. In 1643 Puritan intolerance levelled the chancel, and three years later the painted windows were smashed out.

The most interesting of the parish records are those relating to the building of the tower. In 1475 an account was passed by the church auditors 'for poyntyng of the steple.' This item refers to the old tower, for in 1509 we find mention of one parishioner's 'graunte after ij<sup>d</sup> a weke to the makying of the steple,' and after 1520 an annual subscription of twelve-pence was given for five years by Sir George Boden, of Chellaston, priest 'to the bilyding of the steple,' and after his death he bequeathed 40s. for the same purpose.

These items are followed by a long list of weekly 'paymentes payed to John Otes ffremason ffounde of charite by Roberte lyversage of sainte pet<sup>r</sup> parische Diar to the byldyng of Alhaloes steple' in 1527, and amounting in all to £6 13s. 4d. The tower was apparently not completed or paid for in 1532, for church ales were held at Chaddesden, Brailsford, and Wirksworth, which realised a gross sum of £25 8s. 6d., and £11 3s. 4d. at the first two places.

The tower is nearly 180 feet high to the battlements, or to the top of the pinnacles 208 feet. It was designed to carry a lantern or spire, the squinches for which were duly completed and may be seen from the floor where the bells hang. The tower is divided into three stages by panelled and embattled bands, and the upper stage is lighted on each side by a large single window of four lights. The effect would have been far finer had the belfry windows been double. The middle stage

has a two-light window lighting the ringing chamber, but sadly spoiled by great clock faces on the south and west sides. The lowest stage has a large west door with a niche on each side and a window over. The other two sides are plain, but on a string course a little way up, may be read on each side

*ponge men & maydens.*

The north legend is original, but the south a modern copy. Tradition says the tower was built up to this height by the young people of the town. The whole tower underwent restoration in 1844-5.

In 1714, a proposal was made to re-build the old church, which appears to have fallen into a sad state of decay, notwithstanding frequent patchings up. The proposal was however strongly opposed, but Dr. Hutchinson, who was appointed incumbent in 1719, made himself the champion of the re-building scheme, and at once set to work to get it carried out. Meetings and counter meetings were held for some time without any agreement being come to, till at length the doctor and his party lost patience and after convening a hasty meeting to give colour to their proceedings, a gang of workmen was let into the church before day-break one February morning, who proceeded to unroof the chancel and demolish the fittings before the townsfolk were thoroughly awake. The old building being then considered past hope, the present church was erected from the designs of James Gibbs, at a cost of over £4000, and opened for service on November 21, 1723.

The new church contains little of interest. Its most ornamental feature is the fine screenwork now dividing the chancel from the nave and the chancel aisles. This was executed by Bakewell, but has been terribly cut down and reduced within the last fifteen years. Some of the monuments are interesting, *e.g.* an incised slab to John Lawe, subdean, *circa* 1430, representing him in cassock surplice and almuce, and holding a chalice; the wooden tomb, lately restored, and effigy of Robert Johnson, subdean, *circa* 1530, in surplice almuce and cope; Elizabeth, countess of Shrewsbury, better known as 'Bess of Hardwick,' who died 1607; and Richard Crowshawe, master of the Goldsmiths' Company, who died 1631."

After an inspection of the church under Mr. Hope's guidance, the members entered the carriages, which were waiting in St. Mary's Gate, and proceeded to Kedleston Hall, an imposing mansion built by Robert Adam in 1765, where they were most hospitably provided with tea and other refreshments by Lord Scarsdale.

After viewing the chief apartments and the treasures they contain, notably a fine collection of Derby china, a move was made for the church, which though small, and dwarfed by the size of the adjacent mansion, is full of interest.

In plan it is cruciform with central tower, but wholly destitute of aisles, and dates in its main features from about 1300; but there is a good south Norman doorway, with a singular unfinished tympanum with a hunting scene. The monuments are varied and interesting, and entirely pertain to the Curzon family. They range from a cross fleury on a stone slab, recently found under the flooring of the nave, to good examples of the modern sculptor's art, and include a brass of 1496, and two remarkable military effigies, with unusual arrangement of armour, earlier in the same century.

The church was described by the Rev. Dr. Cox, and as the nave and transepts of the church are now in process of "restoration" under Mr. J. O. Scott, Dr. Cox gave some useful general remarks on the true spirit of restoration, deeply deploring much that had been recently done in the county. Mr. W. H. St. John Hope drew the attention of the visitors to the different appearance of the arches and columns supporting the central tower, a part of which was deeply scored and practically rendered new by being re-chiselled in removing the plaster and whitewash, whilst another part was saved from all such disfigurement. This was owing to Mr. Hope having suggested, during the progress of the work, that "Manchester card" should be used for the removal of the plaster rather than the rough-and-ready instruments of chisel and mallet. Mr. Micklethwaite added a word of caution to this saying that even "Manchester card" was too destructive where the stone was of a soft kind.

On the proposal of Lord Percy, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Lord Scarsdale for his kind hospitality, who in acknowledging it expressed the great pleasure which he felt in entertaining the members of the Institute.

The party re-entered the carriages and after a pleasant drive reached Derby about 6.30 p.m.

At 8 p.m., the Antiquarian Section met in the Art Gallery at the Free Library, where the Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D. delivered his opening address as President.

He took for his subject "Place and Field names." He claimed special and peculiar interest for Derbyshire beyond all other counties, as being so remarkably mixed in its nationalities. The whole of the village and hamlet names had been gathered together, and about one-third of the field-names, with most interesting results. The first or Gadhelic part of the great Celtic wave had left its traces in Derbyshire as well as the second or Cymric division. Almost side by side were found the Scotch *Ben* and the Welsh *Pen*. There was the Welsh *Allestree* and the Erse *Ballidon*. He also claimed that it was possible in this county to distinguish in the place-names the three great families of the Teutonic invasion, the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons, and gave many and convincing proofs of the fact that the Norse settlers in this shire were both of Danish and Norwegian descent. Those specially distinguishing particles *thouite* and *thorpe* were only to be found in comparatively close juxtaposition in Derbyshire. He had found abundant proof of one Derbyshire valley being colonized or overrun by Danes, and then just over the hill equally strong proof of a Norwegian settlement. He attributed this great admixture of races partly to the central and mountainous character of the county, but more especially to its ancient lead mines of wide repute, that caused many an invading tribe to look upon it as their eventual goal.

He concluded by remarking that there was Vandalism in dealing with names as well as with material fabrics, and expressed a hope that a body apparently so well affected to archæology as the Derby Corporation would cease to commit acts of Vandalism like changing the time-honoured appellation of "Bag lane" into "East street," and "Dog Kennel lane" into "Great Northern road."



Dr. Cox's reference to this change of street nomenclature, with special relation to Bag lane (now East street) is so interesting—in view of the fact that an Irish Vice-Chancellor granted an injunction the other day restraining the Corporation of Dublin from altering the name by which a street (the well-known Sackville street) had been long known, that we reproduce his words on the subject, which were as follows:—"We had recently been deprived of the name of 'Bag lane,' which the thoroughfare had held for centuries, and we had given to it the modern appellation of East street. It was under consideration to give it the name of Commercial street, the promoters apparently thinking that the 'Bag' had something to do with bag-men, but he could assure them that he had himself read more than one charter, going back as far as Edward II, where 'Bag lane' was used as an important factor in describing property which was then on the outskirts of the borough of Derby. At all events a name which stood from the time of Edward II, should not be in any light spirit changed. Being interested in this question, and hoping the Corporation would give back the name, he had been trying to find out what was the most probable etymology of the word. Most likely it was a diminutive form of 'badger,' indicating that in days gone by these animals were found there. Some etymologists would connect it with the old High German 'bagan,' to contend or do battle; others said it was from a chieftain named Bega; whilst others made bold to connect it with the Celtic, though he thought that was rather far-fetched. At all events, though its etymology was certainly doubtful, we ought not lightly to interfere with names which had been handed down to us through centuries by our ancestors."<sup>1</sup>

MR. R. S. FERGUSON, in the course of some remarks, said the Ordnance Survey were great sinners in this matter by designating places by numbers, instead of by their time-honoured field names. He concluded by moving a cordial vote of thanks to Dr. Cox, which was seconded by the Rev. Prebendary Scarth and carried unanimously.

The Rev. Prebendary Scarth then read a paper on "Roman Derbyshire," with special reference to the stations and roads; illustrating his remarks from a carefully prepared map of the county.

A vote of thanks having been given to Mr. Scarth, the President announced that in consequence of Parliamentary duties Mr. Beresford Hope's address, as President of the Architectural Section, would be postponed. The meeting then came to an end.

Wednesday, July 29th.

At 9.45 a.m. a large party drove from Derby to Ashburne, passing through Mackworth, Kirk Langley, and Brailsford. The first visit was to the beautiful church of Ashburne, with its fine lofty spire, known as the "Pride of the Peak."

The various features of the church were well described by the vicar, the Rev. F. Jourdain, under whose direction the restoration of the nave, transepts, and central tower has been carried out, though it is much to be regretted that the jointing of the stonework has been carefully emphasised with black cement. The huddling together of the really fine series of tombs is another mistake, though it is only fair to say that the present vicar is not responsible for this.

After luncheon, which was served under canvas in an adjacent field,

<sup>1</sup> Since these remarks were delivered, street its time-honoured name of 'Bag Lane.' the Corporation have restored to the

where a bazaar was being held for the church restoration fund, the members again entered the carriages and drove to Norbury. The very interesting church was first visited. It is principally in the Perpendicular style, though of different dates, but the chancel is a grand specimen of Decorated work, with some singular details. The church contains a very considerable quantity of fourteenth and fifteenth century glass, much of it in fair preservation. In a window in the south-east chapel is a figure inscribed "Sanctus Burlok Abbas," which gave rise to some discussion, as this saint has hitherto escaped identification. The chancel contains some good monuments of the Fitzherberts, including two magnificent altar tombs with knightly effigies, which it would be difficult to surpass. Both knights wear the Yorkist collar of suns and roses, but one has the white lion of the house of March, the other the silver boar of Richard III, as pendants. The architectural features of the building were described by the Rev. Dr. Cox and the monuments by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope.

The party then proceeded to the adjoining Manor House, which was described by Dr. Cox. Though to all outward appearance an ordinary brick farm-house of the time of the Restoration, Norbury Manor House is really a building of exceptional interest. Despite the brick casing, there still remain in fair preservation two sides of the inner court of the old manor house of the Fitzherberts. The most interesting part of it is the great hall, *temp.* Edward I, though much mutilated, and spoilt by floors and partitions. The main portion, that now inhabited, retains a variety of excellent sixteenth century panelling and some good fragments of old glass.

A further drive brought the party to Longford church, which was described by Dr. Cox. The chief feature is the fine series of knightly effigies of the Longfords, which will repay careful examination.

After a somewhat prolonged drive Derby was reached at 7.15 p.m.

The Historical Section opened at 8.30 p.m. The Very Rev. the Dean of Lichfield occupied the chair as President, and gave his opening address which is printed at page 389.

The Rev. Sir Talbot Baker moved, and the Rev. Dr. Cox seconded a vote of thanks to the Dean, which was heartily accorded.

The Dean then vacated the chair in favour of Sir Talbot Baker, who called upon Professor E. C. Clarke to read a paper on "Romano-Greek Inscriptions of England." An interesting discussion followed, in which the Rev. Father Hirst, Mr. Hilton, Rev. Prebendary Scarth and the Rev. G. F. Browne took part. After a vote of thanks to Professor Clark for his able paper the proceedings terminated.

Thursday, July 30th.

At 8.50 a.m., a special train conveyed the members and their friends to Chesterfield. Here carriages were in readiness, and leaving behind them the fine parish church with its curious twisted and bent spire, the party drove at once to Hardwick Hall, the seat of the Marquess of Hartington. This is a fine specimen of late Elizabethan architecture, and was built from the designs of the Smithsons, between 1590 and 1597, for Elizabeth, the famous countess of Shrewsbury. This lady was married four times—(1) to Robert Barley; (2) to Sir William Cavendish; (3) to Sir William St. Loe; and (4) to George, earl of Shrewsbury: After

her fourth husband's death she developed a great passion for building and although there was then standing at Hardwick a fine Hall of considerable size, only recently finished, she caused it to be dismantled and the present edifice to be erected close at hand.

The party proceeded first to view the picturesque ruins of the old Hall, which still retains in parts some good molded and painted plastering on the walls.

The present Hall contains an 'unrivalled collection of ancient tapestry, and a quantity of furniture coeval with the building. In the chapel is a remarkable hanging thrown over the altar rail, entirely made up of the hoods and orphreys of some twenty or thirty embroidered copes, as well as several chasubles, cut up and worked in. Almost the whole is of English work, but it is sadly worn in places and should certainly be removed to a place of greater safety.

A leisurely inspection of the whole house was made under the guidance of the housekeeper, for whom Dr. Cox acted as interpreter.

The party then sat down to luncheon in the great hall. This finished the carriages were again entered and after a pleasant drive of ten miles, Winfield Manor House was reached.

Here are the remains of a most extensive mansion erected by Ralph, lord Cromwell, in the reign of Henry VI. It consists of two great courts, in the inner of which are remains of considerable beauty, principally of the great hall with its porch and undercroft, and withdrawing rooms and kitchen offices beyond. The range of state apartments once occupied by the unfortunate Mary queen of Scots was pulled down in 1744, and the materials used to help build a modern house at the foot of the hill on which the manor-house is so finely situated. Dr. Cox acted as guide, and read an interesting paper descriptive of the plan and history; this was followed by some short notes on the architecture by Mr. B. E. Ferrey, which are here reproduced:

"I do not think there is much that I can add to the information given in my little architectural monograph on the Manor-House, published in 1870. The rough drawings for all the plates therein given were plotted and finished to scale on the spot during my pleasant sojourn in the hospitable farm house within the old Manor House, at two different periods, in all about seven weeks. It was then occupied by Mr. John Cupit, and I take this opportunity of again expressing my sincere appreciation of that gentleman's valuable help, which enabled me to get actual measurements of many parts of the building that under less favourable conditions I should have had to approximately obtain.

As will be seen by reference to the ground plan it was somewhat difficult to measure owing to the irregularities of the site, and that then caused by the very uneven character of the ground within the building, now happily removed. The modern excrescences and the conversion of the south quadrangle into the appurtenances of a farm-house tended to increase the difficulties. But by frequent diagonals I was enabled to test the angles and thus to assure myself of their accuracy, I am alluding particularly to the south quadrangle, the area of which is so large that one can scarcely realize it can be so out of the square. But those who have been accustomed to study and measure old buildings know how common such irregularities are, and how little noticeable till tested by the crucial test of actual feet and inches.

I trust the Institute will not omit to take a glance at the interior of the old barn, which owing to the superior attractions of the north quadrangle it might be tempted to do. Though the walls of the barn are substantially buttressed, the roof seems to be supported independently of them on large oak posts not placed concentric with the buttresses.

Turning to another part of the Manor House, the site of the chapel is popularly reported to have been to the north-east of the hall. The so-called 'crypt' under the hall might more properly be termed simply an undercroft or vaulted chamber, which in the opinion of a late eminent antiquary was probably used as a retainer's hall. The chimney-cap to the east end of the hall I am glad to have actually measured by clambering up a ladder placed along the top of the coping, the stones of which, some eighteen or twenty years since, were so loose that it would have been hazardous to accomplish it in any other way. The south window to the 'state apartment' with its ogee-shaped crocketed hood-mold is an admirable specimen of its date, and the arrangement of the upper transoms, (those to the side-lights being *below* the springing line of the window arch) gives a very picturesque effect to the tracery-head. I would particularly draw attention to the jointing of the jamb-stones externally. In the west jamb, near the lower part of the window, some very large stones are used. In the central part of the tracery-head, above the transom, the treatment of the second order of moldings, etc., is rather uncommon. In the two-light window underneath it, the pseudo *hood-molding* is very curious, as the mouldings are *sunk* instead of *projecting*, which entirely does away with the *raison d'être*. The circular window of the gable has the axis of its tracery very considerably out of the perpendicular, and this appears to have been done designedly. This is just one of those peculiarities which in a nineteenth century architect would probably be most severely censured!

Again, in the porch it is remarkable that the diagonal buttress at the south-west angle is not placed centrally, but is brought more in front, and for no apparent reason. The beautiful window on the east side of the porch is very peculiar, the moldings and general treatment appearing of much earlier date than the rest of the building. The parapet to the porch and hall is very shallowly recessed: I need scarcely comment on the beauty of the design of the bay-window to the hall.

I hope the foundations of two bold semi-octagonal projections, which, in the year 1865, I was able to lay far more bare than they were previously, are still visible on the west side of the inner court. For this will give an idea of what the elevation of this part of the north quadrangle originally must have been. In this west wing are said to have been the apartments occupied by Mary queen of Scots during her enforced sojourn within the walls of Winfield Manor House.

The entrance gateway to the north quadrangle seems to be one of the earliest parts of the building, judging from the character of the moldings, and its main archway, which, though four-centred, does not appear to be of Tudor date. The effect of the elevation of this entrance front with its array of boldly projecting chimneys and turrets is certainly most striking.

The beautiful state of preservation of the ashlar stone of which the Manor House is principally built cannot fail to attract the notice of the

Institute. It is a crystalline millstone grit, said to have been quarried at Ashover Moor, some four miles from Winfield. Some of the blocks employed are of very large size and in one instance, that of the window over the south side of the kitchen, the whole of the tracery is in one stone. For the rougher walls red sand-stone was employed, probably obtained on the spot, as the greater part of the south quadrangle is built on the solid rock, which dips down beneath the north-east portion of the structure.

My attention has been particularly drawn to the points I have mentioned owing to my long sojourn, and the measurements I then took, at the Manor House. Though the work involved labour, I always look back upon the honourable task with pleasure, and am convinced that the minute study of this once magnificent old house was a very valuable one to me.

As several by far greater authorities than I am on the subject of fortified Manor-Houses of the period of Henry VI, are examining Winfield I need add no more."

Some discussion followed on the position of the chapel. Mr. W. H. St. John Hope said that he and Major Beamish, R.E., had carefully examined the site, and by the aid of excavations had come to the conclusion that it was a detached building, approached by a pentise, at the north-east angle of the inner court, as Mr. Ferrey had already surmised; but that it had been removed as an extraneous part of the house when the place was fortified during the civil war.

The party then drove to Winfield station, where the special train was in readiness, and reached Derby at 6.30 p.m.

At 8.30 p.m. the President and members of the Institute gave a *conversazione* in the Free Library and Museum, to which a large number of guests were invited.

In the course of the evening Mr. Beresford Hope delivered his deferred opening address of the Architectural Section to a large audience.

MR. HOPE commenced his address by expressing his pleasure at meeting the Institute at Derby, as he was in a way a Derbyshire man. Having spoken of the connection of architecture with archæology, he asked—What is architecture? It might be the highest and most sublime of the fine arts. It might be the most grovelling and material of pursuits, and it might be the summing up of the visible forms of the history, manners, customs, wants, deficiencies, and cravings after higherthings of many past ages. It might be the dregs of time, the worldly-wise, unpoetic, and practically summing up of this material age. It might in short be poetry or intense prose. There might be the dreamy mansions with deep embayed windows, rich in lights and shades, projecting and receding, panelled chambers, painted glass, solid staircases, delicately molded ceilings; or the baronial hall showing the poetry of life of the olden time, but perhaps not well drained, and, perhaps, with surroundings such as a modern sanitary doctor would turn his nose up at. Architecture, in short, might touch everything, because it was, in fact, the great and dominating instrument of civilisation: it was the something which a savage first gets hold of when he puts three sticks together and

throws a skin over them to form for himself a habitation. That was not a very noble conception, but it was the beginning of architecture, and from the beginning, through the changes and chances of this world, they went on with weird and magnificent traditions until they got to those astounding and elaborate buildings of pre-historic days found among the creepers and trees of the Mexican forest. Thus they came to the buildings of Cambodia, Egypt, Greece and Rome, and to those of still later date. All this was architecture, but all this was equally archæology, so inextricably intertwined were the two. Should he call them sciences? He could not see why not. While architecture indeed put out likewise overpowering claims to be recognised as an art, but with this they were not concerned. Let him then sum up these thoughts in a short sentence: archæology was the science which dealt with buildings analytically, and architecture was the one which dealt with them constructively.

He then proceeded to ask whether the members of the Institute had acted wisely in coming to Derbyshire? He had no hesitation in answering "Yes" to the question. In Derbyshire, it was true, there was no cathedral church, although in the county town there was a Georgian church built by Gibbs, the most conspicuous thing in which was a monument that no longer existed. The great Cavendish monument had been pulled down by way of improvement, and now the lords of Devonshire stood in a row on a shelf. Then it had had a stone altar, but that they had hung up, gibbeted in fact, against the wall with an insulting inscription. Well, that was not very remunerative in the way of architecture, and scarcely worth coming into the county to see—a Georgian church with Cavendishes on shelves, and an altar flat against a wall! But he would remind them that in the county there was a series of good churches. There was, for instance, Ashburne church, with its beautiful steeple, and early English pointed work, with chancel and transepts almost cathedral-like, and a vicar who had dared to restore his church without an architect. He must refer to the churches at Bakewell, Tideswell, Chesterfield, Youghreave, Repton, and Melbourne, to Haddon and Hardwick Halls, to Winfield Manor House, and of early date, to Peveril's Castle, and the remarkable stone circle at Arbor Low; and although in the county there was no cathedral church nor such a pile as Alnwick, yet there was a rich, varied, and most instructive treat in Derbyshire.

MR. MICKLETHWAITE, in seconding the vote of thanks proposed by Earl Percy, said he ventured to disagree with Mr. Beresford Hope in some of his assertions, and brought up the subject of Westminster Hall, one which Mr. Hope declined to follow, expressing a fear that if he did so, he might be compelled to take shelter beneath the table. But Mr. Micklethwaite succeeded in eliciting from Mr. Hope that he did not admire the black cement lines at Ashburne church.

Later on a paper was read in the Antiquarian section by Messrs. W. H. St. John Hope and T. M. Fallow, on Medieval Chalices and Patens, illustrated by several actual examples, and a fine series of photographs. The classification, for the first time, of all the known examples into a series of types was most excellently and thoroughly done. This paper will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

Friday, July 31st.

The members left Derby by special train at 8-50 a.m., for Bakewell. Here carriages were in readiness and conveyed them to the church.

The extensive and varied collection of Saxon and early Norman headstones, crosses, and other memorials in the porch did not receive the attention that it deserves, but the party listened with keen interest to the description of the monumental effigies by the Baron de Cosson, especially that of Sir Thomas Wendesley, and the singular mural monument with half effigies of Sir Godfrey Foljambe, who died 1377, and Avena his wife. The fine early churchyard cross was also inspected.

Re-entering the carriages, the party proceeded to Haddon Hall—so well known to all students of medieval domestic architecture. In the unavoidable absence of Mr. W. H. St. John Hope and the Rev. Dr. Cox, the main features of the building were most excellently pointed out at very short notice by Messrs. Micklethwaite and C. J. Ferguson.

After an inspection of the varied and interesting details of the mansion the antiquaries sat down to luncheon, which by the kindness of the duke of Rutland was served in the great hall.

A move was next made to Arbor Low, a prehistoric monument on the summit of the moor between Hartington and Youlgreave. It consists of a circular platform 173 feet in diameter with an outer circle of some thirty odd stones, once probably erect and in pairs, but now prostrate and broken. In the centre lie several large stones which may have formed a cist. The whole is surrounded by a vallum, with the almost unique feature of an *inner* ditch.

This stone circle has been scheduled under the Ancient Monuments Act.

Some discussion took place as to its origin and purpose, in which Mr. R. S. Ferguson, Mr. Lambert, and others took part.

On the return journey a brief call was made at the interesting church of Youlgreave, with its fine lofty tower. The singular font, with attached holy water stoup, attracted considerable attention, as did the miniature alabaster effigy of Sir Thomas Cokayne (*ob.* 1488), which was described by the Baron de Cosson. The figure has been "restored," and as the Baron truly remarked, the armour represented on the newly carved legs and feet was such as could never have been used or worn, and the dagger of such a pattern as had never yet been known or seen.

Rowsley station was reached in sufficiently good time to allow of a visit to the renowned "Peacock" inn hard by, and at 6.25 p.m., a special train conveyed the party back to Derby.

At 8.30 p.m. the Architectural section met in the lower room of the Art gallery at the Free Library, when the Rev. C. R. Manning read a paper on "Lockers for the Processional Cross," a subject that has not hitherto received much attention. Mr. Manning's paper is printed at page 435 of the current number.

A concurrent meeting of the Antiquarian section was also held in the upper room of the Art gallery, where the Rev. G. F. Browne gave an admirable address, rich in painstaking research, illustrative of the pre-Norman "Sculptured Stones of Derbyshire." Round the room was suspended a large number of rubbings of early stones from Wilne,

Bakewell, Darley Dale, Aston, Spondon, Wirksworth, Derby St. Alkmund's, etc. These were described in detail by Mr. Browne, whose remarks were listened to with the keenest interest. Some of the stones he considered were of as early a date as the seventh century. A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Browne, and the section then adjourned.

Saturday, August 1st.

At 10 a.m. a large party drove to Sawley church, a building but little visited, though a remarkable one from the remains of its ancient fittings and arrangements. These and the architectural features were well described by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, who called special attention to the stone wall at a short distance from the east end which forms the reredos. The Saxon chancel arch; the massive original chancel seats, returned against the screen; and the woodwork of the roofs, and of the parclooses screening off the aisles, were also pointed out. The church is fortunate in possessing no less than four effigies of priests, three in mass vestments, the fourth in surplice and amesse. There are also two good brasses to the Bothe family.

Dale abbey was the next place visited. Here the rock hewn cell of a hermit was first inspected, from whence a move was made to the little church. Both were well described by the Rev. C. Kerry, who graphically related the chief incidents in the life of the hermit-baker, and how he took up his abode here in the eleventh century, and first excavated the rock dwelling, and afterwards built a cell and oratory on the site of the church.

The abbey was next visited under the guidance of Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, who directed the extensive excavations on the site for the local archaeological society in 1878-9. Mr. Hope briefly described the history of the abbey, which was one of the Præmonstratensian order, and pointed out the various features of the plan of the church and conventual buildings. A singular effigy of a deacon discovered in the chapter house received much attention. It is effectually protected from the weather, together with a large and varied assortment of carved and molded stones, tiles, glass, etc., by a wooden hut covering in the area of the chapter house.

After luncheon the party re-entered the carriages and drove to Morley church, which was ably described by the Rev. Dr. Cox. After inspecting the church, which is especially rich in brasses and old painted glass, the members were hospitably entertained at tea, one section by the rector, the Rev. C. J. Boden; the other at Priory Flatte, by Mr. F. Walker Cox.

The last place visited was Breadsall church. Here the Rev. Dr. Cox again took the party in hand, and explained the chief features of the building, drawing special attention to a beautiful alabaster figure of our Lady of Pity, found under the flooring during recent repairs. It is of undoubted English work and of fourteenth century date.

The journey home was then resumed, Derby being reached at 7 p.m.

A meeting of the Historical section was held at 9 p.m., when Mr. H. S. Skipton read an able paper on the House of Cavendish.

On Sunday the deputy-Mayor, with aldermen Roe, Bemrose, Sowter, and Russell, and a large number of town councillors, met at the Guildhall,



and, accompanied by many members of the Institute, went in state to All Saint's church, preceded by the mace bearers and the sword bearer, and the customary retinue of constables and halberdiers. The Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D., preached from Ecclesiastes, ix. 10.

Monday, August 3rd.

The members and a large number of friends left the Strand at 9.45 p.m., and drove to Repton.

An inspection was first made of the church of St. Wystan, where Dr. Cox gave a brief outline of the ecclesiastical and political history of Repton. In Saxon times it was the chief town of the kingdom of Mercia, and the first seat of a bishopric in the Midlands before its removal to Lichfield. The great monastery founded here in the seventh century was the favourite burying place of the Saxon kings. It was destroyed by the Danes in 874.

The church is mainly of Decorated date with a fine lofty Perpendicular tower and spire at the west end. The building is, however, far better known for its Saxon chancel and undercroft. Owing to the comparatively small size of the latter, the party could only visit it in sections, to whom Mr. W. H. St. John Hope pointed out its singular construction; a late Norman vault carried by detached pillars and wall pilasters having been inserted into an apartment undoubtedly Saxon in construction. Mr. Hope also explained the details of a fine effigy of a knight, which has been relegated to the obscurity of this part of the church. The Rev. G. Woodyatt, vicar, shewed in his garden to the west of the church two rough arches, each carved out of a single stone—the one the head of a doorway, the other of a window. These have only recently been exposed, and after careful examination were pronounced to be of early Saxon work.

A visit was next made to the remains of the priory of the Holy Trinity, now partly incorporated with the buildings of Repton school, which were inspected under the guidance of Mr. W. H. St. John Hope. The ground plan of the priory church has been recently laid bare by the Rev. W. M. Furneaux, head master of the school.

After luncheon at the Boot Hotel, the carriages were again in readiness, and a pleasant drive through Tickenhall and Melbourne brought the party to Breedon. On reaching the summit of the hill, Mr. W. H. St. John Hope pointed out the great earthwork encircling it. In the midst of this stands the church, where Mr. Hope read the following notes on the architectural history and features of the building:

"The church of SS. Mary and Hardulf at Breedon was given about 1144, to the Augustinian priory of St. Oswald at Nostell, Yorks, by Robert de Ferrers, earl of Nottingham, and thereupon a prior and five canons were established here.

The church nevertheless continued to be parochial as well as conventual.

A vicarage was ordained in 1360 by the bishop of Lincoln, the vicar to have 'in the name of his vicarship, for himself and two chaplains whom he shall have for companions, and for a deacon and his two clerks, a sufficient allowance of victuals at the canons' table.'

In 1253, Robert de Alneto entrusted to the prior and convent of Breedon 'a certain *superpelitium* which was St. Edmund the confessor

of Pontigny's, with a certain *saculo lineolo et flaneolo*, for the term of eight years from the feast of the Invention of Holy Cross. After which the relics were to be returned to the said Robert, but at his death they should revert to the priory.

At the suppression of the monasteries in 1537 the prior was the only member of the establishment.

The conventual church—that is, the eastern half the building—was purchased of the king by Francis Shirley of Staunton Harold, for the use of the parish and as a burying place for his family.

The church now consists of a choir, 55 feet long and about 18 feet wide, of four bays, with aisles 10 feet wide; a tower at the west end; and a south transept now turned into a porch and vestry. The nave had a south aisle only, and was seemingly allowed to fall into ruin when the parish acquired the conventual choir. Some remains of the walls were standing in the last century but have now disappeared. There was no north transept.

The choir piers are curiously variable in plan; the central pillar being hexagonal, and the one on either side of it quatrefoil, while the responds are again different. The capitals are plain, except that of the north east respond, which has good foliage. The north aisle retains its vault, but that of the south aisle has been destroyed. At the west end of each aisle is a stair turret. The walls and arcades are early English, but during the Decorated period larger windows were inserted in place of the original lancets, and only three of the latter are left, one at the west end of the north aisle, and the other two in the east ends of the aisles. The great east window has been replaced by the present Georgian monstrosity. The south aisle windows are early Decorated with intersecting mullions, but those on the north side are somewhat later, with flowing tracery *circa* 1335. There are some fragments of old glass in the north aisle, including a rood and the incredulity of St. Thomas.

The nave clerestory is Perpendicular with two-light windows, but the two sides vary. The roof is modern.

The fine pieces of carving built into the walls over the arcades and beneath the east window, etc., deserve attention. There is also a panel with an exceedingly bold carving of an angel built into the tower. Most of these carvings are of Norman date.

The whole of the ancient fittings have disappeared.

When the Shirleys bought the choir the north aisle was railed off for their burying place. Here are fine tombs to Francis Shirley (*ob.* 1571.), and his wife Dorothy; to John Shirley (*ob.* 1570.); and to Sir George Shirley (*ob.* 1622.), and his first wife Frances. Sir George Shirley's monument was erected in his lifetime, on the death of his first wife in 1598.

The draft indenture for the erection of John Shirley's tomb, dated August 9, 27 Eliz (1585), between George Shirley of Staunton Harold, Esq., and Richard and Gabriel Royley of Burton on Trent tombmakers, has been preserved.

In it the Royleys undertake 'artificialle, conninglie, decentlie, and subtantiallie to devise, worke, set up, &c. at Breedon, before the feaste of the Annunciation of Our Lady next ensueinge, at or near the grave of John Shirley, Esquier, deceased, a very faier tombe of very good, faier,

well chosen, and durable allabaster stone' to be 6½ ft. long, 3 ft. broad and 5 ft. high; and on the upper part of the said tomb to make 'a very fair, decente, and well proportioned picture or portraiture of a gentleman, representinge the said John Shirley, with furniture and ornaments in armoure, and aboute his necke a double cheyne of gold, with creste and helmett under his heade, w<sup>th</sup> sworde and dagger by his syde, a lyon at his feete, and as beinge upon a matte' and on the north side of the tomb to make 'three decente, usuall, and well proportioned escutcheons, w<sup>th</sup> compartments aboute every one of them, the first whereof shall contain the very trewe arms of the said John Shirley only; the second the very trewe arms of the said John and Jane his wife, empannelled together; and the third, the arms of the said Jane only, with one frenche pilaster between every one of the said escutcheons, and likewise at y<sup>e</sup> west and east end of y<sup>e</sup> tomb an escutcheon with the trewe arms of the said John and Jane quartered together; the whole to be painted and gilt, w<sup>th</sup> good and convenible oyells, golde, and culloures.' The epitaph and an annexed sentence were to be engraved on an alabaster slab 1 yd. long and ¾ yd. wide.

The carriage of the tomb from Burton to Breedon, and the foundations thereof, were to be at the cost of Mr. Shirley, who undertook to pay the tombmakers £22 for the work.

Sir George's eldest son, Sir Henry Shirley, built the singular canopied pew in the north aisle, for which he obtained licence in 1624. It bears the Shirley and Devereux arms, the motto *Stat sua cuique dies*, the letters H<sup>S</sup>D., and the date 1627.

The font, which stands at the west end of the south aisle, demands attention from its probably unrivalled display of heraldry.

The upper band has panels filled thus:

1. (Stood against the pier and is plain).
2. Tracery.
3. Shield.—A wheel within an orle of roses.
4. Tracery.
5. Shield.—3 fleurs de lis on a field crusilée fitchée. Apparently for the donor.
6. An escarbuncle.
7. Tracery.
8. A Tudor rose.

Round the upper part of the stem is a second band of panels bearing:

1. (plain).
2. Shield.—On a chevron, 3 roses.
3. Shield.—Barry of six.
4. Shield.—3 cinquefoils and a canton.
5. Shield.—Barry of six, 3 crescents.
6. Shield.—A fess between 3 roses.
7. Shield.—A chevron between 3 escallops.
8. Shield.—3 chevronels.

A third band round the lower part bears:

1. (plain).
2. Shield.—3 crescents.
3. Shield.—5 fusils conjoined in fess, and in chief 3 martlets (†)
4. An uncharged Shield.
5. Shield.—7 mascles conjoined, 3. 3. 1.

6. Shield.—A chevron between 3 eagles.
7. Shield.—A chevron between 3 garbs.
8. Shield.—On a bend, 3 roses.

The transept has been much knocked about. It has a nice door opening into the choir aisle. The arch opening into the tower is blocked up, and the south window has been cut down to make a door.

The lower part of the tower is Norman: it retains its blocked nave arch with a two-light window over it, against which stands externally, one of the nave responds. The marks of the nave and aisle roofs are very plain. The north side retains a pilaster buttress. The upper stage of the tower is good Perpendicular, with two-light transomed windows and an embattled parapet with gurgoyles. To the same period pertains the choir parapet, but it has lost the pinnacles originally at the side and angles.

With one exception the whole of the early-English side buttresses have been considerably added to and strengthened to carry the thrust of the aisle vaults.

Some very remarkable panels of Norman date, containing figures under canopies executed in low relief, together with some fine pieces of carving, will be seen built into the transept and choir east walls.

The canons of the priory apparently did not live in a regular cloister with surrounding offices, but in a separate dwelling on the north side of the church."

Descending the hill by a steep pathway cut through the great earth-work, the party re-entered the carriages and made the return journey to Melbourne.

Melbourne church is a well-known and grand example of Norman work, cruciform in plan, which remains much as it was erected at the beginning of the twelfth century. The church was one of the first endowments of the see of Carlisle, on its foundation by Henry I. in 1132. It was suggested by some members of the Institute that the bishop then commenced the building of the church on its present fine scale, but others thought that the style could scarcely be as late as that. The Rev. J. Deans said a few words as to the church of which he has been vicar for fifty-four years, and the account was continued by Dr. Cox.

Melbourne Hall, with its beautiful gardens laid out in the Dutch style, was next visited. Here the antiquaries were most hospitably received to tea by Mr. W. D. Fane, who showed some valuable 17th century documents, including an autograph letter of archbishop Laud.

The great gates of Beauvale priory, a Carthusian house in Nottinghamshire, moved here when the gatehouse was pulled down, were examined with interest by some of the party.

The drive back to Derby was over Swarkestone Bridge, the most southwardly point reached by the Young Chevalier and his army previous to that retreat which for ever destroyed all prospects of success for the Stuart dynasty.

At 8 p.m. the Historical section held its concluding meeting in the Art Gallery of the Free library, Mr. R. P. Pullan in the chair, when Mr. Theodore Bent read a paper on "The Survival of Mythology in the Greek Islands." On the motion of Mr. Hilton, seconded

by Professor Clarke, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Bent for his excellent paper, which will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

This was followed by the final meeting of the Antiquarian section, under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. Cox, when the Baron de Cosson read a really admirable paper on "the Military Effigies of Derbyshire," which he described as being of special value and beauty, and for the most part unusually well preserved. They are forty-seven in number, and illustrative of most of the types into which the Baron divides our English effigies. He specially commented on the undoubted portraiture of the alabaster effigies of Derbyshire.

A valuable discussion followed, which was taken part in by Mr. R. S. Ferguson, Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, and others, and instances were given from medieval wills of the bequeathment of suits of armour from father to son.

The President made the welcome announcement that the Derbyshire Archaeological Society proposed to accurately illustrate the whole of the effigies of their county, and the Baron de Cosson promised to annotate them.

MR. R. S. FERGUSON proposed, and the REV. F. SPURRELL seconded a vote of thanks to the Baron de Cosson; the proceedings then terminated.

Tuesday, August 4th.

At 8.30 a.m. a large party went by special train to Chapel-en-le-Frith, where carriages were in waiting and conveyed them to Castleton. Here an ascent was made to the Peak Castle, which was described by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope.

Little more than the keep now remains, a small Norman rectangular tower probably erected shortly before 1170; though some remains of herring bone masonry in the precinct wall point to yet earlier buildings. The chief feature about the castle is its extraordinary strength of position; it being situated on a lofty hill, surrounded by steep precipices and accessible in only one direction, and that with difficulty. On descending the hill, a few of the party went through the Peak cavern, and a larger number approached its majestic and awe-some portal. They might fairly claim to do so on archaeological grounds, for the rope-walk, now in active operation within the vast entrance to the cavern, was certainly worked here in Elizabethan days, and probably much earlier.

After luncheon at the Bull's Head, a move was made for Tideswell, past Hope church, and the Roman station of *Navio* at Brough, and through Bradwell Dale.

The vicar of Hope, the Rev. H. Buckston, has recently made himself notorious by building a brand-new chancel in the place of a most exceptionally interesting old one, without the slightest necessity and in face of repeated and intelligent warnings of archaeologists and architects. The members of the Institute in passing, expressed their indignation, though not their surprise, on learning that Mr. Buckston had curtly and positively refused the Rev. G. F. Browne, of Cambridge, all access to the valuable pre-Norman cross that stands in the vicarage garden, although the work on which Mr. Browne is engaged is recognized by all scholars to be of national importance.

The splendid church of Tideswell occupied the attention of the Institute for some two hours. It is a wonderfully fine example of four-

teenth century work, and the chancel and transepts abound in interest. The Rev. S. Andrew, the vicar, gave an excellent account of the church, pointing out many features not often met with, such as the stone wall built across the chancel, as at Sawley, to serve for a reredos; the consecration crosses on the walls and door jambs, etc. The Baron de Cosson made some remarks on the fine effigies of Sir Thurstan de Bower and his lady.

A beautiful drive brought the party to Miller's Dale station, whence a special train at 6.8 p.m. conveyed them to Derby.

At 9 p.m. the general concluding meeting was held in the Art Gallery, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, V.P., in the chair.

In opening the proceedings the Chairman explained that he occupied that position as senior vice-President, in the regretted absence of their President, Earl Percy, who was reluctantly detained by business in his own county. This was the last occasion on which they would all meet together and have an opportunity of expressing what they thought of their week's experience in this neighbourhood. The winding-up evening was at once a pleasure and the reverse—a pleasure that all had passed off so satisfactorily, and regret that it brought to a close so instructive and pleasant a gathering.

The Rev. Sir TALBOT BAKER said he had pleasure in moving a most hearty vote of thanks to the Mayor and Corporation of Derby for the very cordial reception they had accorded to the members of the Institute during the local meeting. One of the best of our old institutions, to his mind, which he trusted might long continue, was "the Mayor" of the various towns in which they met. The mayoralty was an archaeological institution in itself, and of all the important institutions which had visited Derby of late years—a list of which was given the other day by the Deputy-Mayor—there was none, he ventured to think, more in accordance with the studies and the bent of their minds than that ancient office, whose dignity was symbolised by the ancient maces and other imposing insignia of office which interested them on these occasions. In London especially, the office of Lord Mayor was a most ancient and important one,—foreigners thought the Lord Mayor was, next to the Sovereign, the greatest personage in the realm—and that office carried them back to the days when Sir William Walworth cracked the skull of one of the roughs of his day. The Mayors of the various towns they visited received them, as a rule, most cordially. It was a misfortune to them, at the outset, that the Mayor, through ill-health, was prevented from receiving them in person—he sincerely trusted that His Worship would soon be restored to health. But, in his absence, the Deputy-Mayor made them a very good and appropriate address at the opening meeting, and received them with graceful cordiality. He trusted they would receive this resolution in the spirit in which it was given, as a hearty vote of thanks to those named in it, viz, the Mayor and Corporation of Derby. Mr. Tyson seconded the motion, remarking that in the regretted absence of the Chief Magistrate, the Deputy-Mayor had certainly acquitted himself with credit to himself, and with equal credit to the borough; besides which he had shown them, both personally and officially, a very great amount of kindness, and that he sympathised with the objects of the Institute of which they were members. It had been

a great pleasure to him to take part in these proceedings, and to experience, as a somewhat subordinate member of the Institute, the kindness and hospitality which the Mayor and Corporation had, in accordance with ancient custom, extended to them on this occasion. The motion was carried unanimously.

Mr. PULLAN said in their various excursions they all knew what an advantage it was to be well housed. In the present instance, the Free Library and Museum Committee had put them in their best room—the delightful room, with its charming pictures, in which they were assembled—for their meetings, had given them the loan of the galleries for their museum, and rooms for their offices. In fact, they were as well housed as they had been for years. He proposed a special vote of thanks to the Free Library and Museum Committee for the free use of an Institution of which the town ought to be proud. It was a most picturesque building, commodiously arranged internally, and must be a great benefit to the town as well as to those vagrants like themselves, who casually visited it.

The Rev. F. SPURRELL seconded the motion, observing what a privilege, it was to have a nice place of assembly like this. They could not but have been struck, as they went through England, how art was growing in our land, the result of advancing education and increased culture. The resolution was cordially adopted.

The Rev. A. S. PORTER said that at the close of a most pleasant, charming, and successful meeting, it naturally fell to them to consider the causes of the conspicuous success of the meeting. One of the chief causes of that success, he ventured to say, was the cordial welcome and unsparing labours of the council and members of the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society. Their welcome was most cordial at the outset, and their subsequent kindness had made them feel as friends. All their excursions had been most skilfully planned and excellently carried out. In visiting the old churches and manor-houses of their most interesting county, they had been greatly aided by explanations of local archæologists, and should go back to their several county societies to tell them what an excellent society the Derbyshire Archæological Society was, what an admirable work it was doing, and how worthy it was that they should all follow its good example. Their thanks were specially due to the local committee and secretary of the society, to whom the success of the Derby meeting was largely due.

Mr. WALFORD, seconded the motion, and rejoiced in the good work which the local archæological societies were doing.

The Chairman said in connection with this vote, they ought specially to thank Dr. Cox for his valuable services—Mr. Arthur Cox, who had had much to do with the making of the arrangements—and if it was lawful to couple with the vote the name of one who, besides being a very excellent officer of their own Institute, was also a very active member of the local society and a native of Derby, Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, to whom a very considerable part of their success was due. The vote was carried with acclamation.

PROFESSOR CLARK moved a vote of thanks to those country clergymen and gentlemen who had received them with so much kindness and hospitality, and, he thought he might say, with so much patience—the result of which had been to enhance so greatly the pleasure of their visit to Derbyshire.

MR. BAYLIS seconded the motion, bearing special testimony to the kindness of Lord Scarsdale, and not only Lord Scarsdale, but his sons and daughters, on the occasion of their most pleasant excursion to Kedleston. Although they studied archæology, they studied friendships also, and they had made many in Derbyshire, which he trusted they might retain as long as they lived. The motion was carried with much heartiness.

MR. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE moved a vote of thanks to the directors of the Midland Railway Company, to whom they were under special obligations for running them special trains up and down the line, and charging them nothing for it. Mr. Rowley seconded the motion, remarking that the arrangements made by the Midland Railway Company in connection with the Derby meeting had been second to none, and it was such instances of enterprise that had made this great system foremost in the railway world. The motion was carried unanimously.

The following new members were elected :—

Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D., proposed by Mr. R. S. Ferguson ; Mr. J. Langhorne, proposed by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, seconded by Mr. R. S. Ferguson ; Major Arnison Beaumont, proposed by Mr. R. S. Ferguson ; Mr. A. E. Hudd, proposed by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, seconded by Mr. T. H. Baylis ; Rev. Canon Jackson, proposed by Mr. T. H. Baylis ; Mr. P. D. Pranker, proposed by Mr. Back, seconded by Mr. Keill ; Mr. E. Boardman, proposed by Mr. Back, seconded by Mr. Mottram ; Mr. A. Cox, proposed by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, seconded by Mr. H. Gosselin ; Mr. H. S. Skipton, proposed by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, seconded by Mr. T. H. Baylis ; Miss Sutton, proposed by Mr. R. P. Pullan.

A vote of thanks to the chairman brought the meeting to a close.

Wednesday, August 5th.

Although this was an extra day, a large party left Derby by special train at 9.15 a.m. for Hassop. Carriages were here in readiness, and after a beautiful drive of some miles, the antiquaries reached the interesting desecrated chapel at Padley, which forms, with the lower story, the only remaining portion of the inner court of Padley Hall, the old seat of the Eyres. The chapel is built over some minor offices, and has an excellent hammer beam roof. The sill of the east window formed the altar and is still quite perfect.

When visited by the Institute the chapel was nearly filled with hay, so that its proportions were not easily seen, though the details of the roof were more accessible.

The building shows alarming signs of weakness on the south side, and unless speedy measures are taken, this valuable specimen of fourteenth century domestic architecture will become a ruin.

After some interesting notes from Dr. Cox on the vicissitudes undergone by the Eyre family in the Elizabethan persecution, for the sole reason that they refused to conform to the altered state of matters ecclesiastical, the party divided—one section preferring to walk, the other to drive to the edge of the moor, where was the next object of pilgrimage.

After a toilsome scramble over boulders and through fern and heather,



the party again reassembled at the "Carl Wark," a prehistoric fortress of great interest, with dry walling of well-built masonry—probably British. Here some delay was caused by a lady fainting through over-exertion and a weak heart. The time was however not altogether thrown away, as opportunity was afforded to those present to examine the remarkable strength of this ancient fortification, which from its position in the midst of the moor, and surrounded by bogs, has come down to us almost uninjured.

After the principal features had been pointed out by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, a move was made across the moor to the carriages, the sight of which was a welcome one to not a few.

A rapid drive down the hill brought the party to the George Inn at Hathersage, but not in time to escape from the rain, which now began to descend in a threatening way. By the time luncheon was finished a steady downpour had set in, which, however, did not prevent a large proportion of the party proceeding first to inspect Hathersage church, under the shelter of which "Little John" lies buried, and then to walk to Brookfield, where Mr. and Mrs. Cammell kindly entertained them to tea.

A small but indomitable section, including a lady, was brave enough to complete the programme of the meeting by walking to the old manor-house at North Lees, a most interesting late Elizabethan house with some good molded ceilings.

On again reaching Hathersage the carriages were in readiness and the return journey was made to Hassop under the dispiriting influence of continued wet. Here the special train was waiting and the party soon arrived at Derby. It was most unfortunate that the termination of so interesting a meeting should have been marred by rain, being the only wet day of the meeting.

#### The Museum.

This was arranged in the Free library and Museum, under the direction of Mr. Henry Allpass, and Mr. W. T. Ready.

The collection of antiquities, though a somewhat smaller one than usual, did not fall short in interest.

The Corporations of Derby, Chesterfield, Stafford, Lichfield, and Tamworth, contributed a fine collection of Maces and other civic insignia. Mr. H. H. Bemrose lent an extensive collection of early printed books and drawings, relating to Derbyshire. And amongst other objects exhibited were a fine suit of late armour, by the Baron de Cosson; an unique Elizabethan mazer, hall marked 1685-6, by Rev. H. F. St. John; some good illuminated missals, books of hours, and other MSS. by Mr. Charles Bowring; a number of fine early deeds with their seals in good condition, by Rev. Charles Kerry; an ivory statuette of St. Sebastian, and specimens of Swansea China, by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, etc. The most noteworthy part of the museum was the collection of church plate, principally from the county of Derby. It included magnificent silver gilt sets from some of the churches of Derby, and some chalices hall marked for 1640-1, which are splendid specimens of the revival of the medieval forms in the Caroline period. Some good instances of pewter vessels also found a place in the collection.

The Council desire to acknowledge the following donations in aid of the Derby meeting, and of the general purposes of the Institute:—

The Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 5*l.* ; W. D. Fane, 5*l.* 5*s.* ; the Mayor of Derby, 3*l.* 3*s.* ; Mrs. Lennan, 2*l.* 2*s.* ; W. H. St. John Hope, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; A Buchanan, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; William Jolley, 1*l.* 1*s.* ; J. S. Haslam, 1*l.* ; Mrs. Sopwith, 1*l.*

## Notices of Archaeological Publications.

**COSTUME IN ENGLAND. A HISTORY OF DRESS** to the end of the Eighteenth Century. By the late F. W. FAIRHOLT, F.S.A., third Edition. Enlarged and thoroughly revised by the Hon. H. A. DILLON, F.S.A., Illustrated with above seven hundred Engravings. Vol I.—HISTORY, Vol II.—GLOSSARY. London : GEORGE BELL & SONS, 1885.

We are not aware that anyone has been industrious, not to say bold enough, to attempt to set forth the multifarious causes that led to the rise and contributed towards the progress of what we venture to call the modern English renaissance, though the subject has almost naturally been more or less touched upon as regards certain branches of it. A renaissance appears to be a natural phase of human nature, and probably few nations have not from time to time gone through some such great mental and material change. There was, for instance, an Egyptian renaissance at the time of the 26th dynasty when, with Egyptian sternness and simplicity, earlier types of art were, for a moment only, so to speak, reverted to. Centuries after, and in strong art contrast, was the great Italian renaissance when the middle ages were rolled away as a cloud, and a rapid and widely spreading development came about, scattering throughout Christendom the noblest buildings, priceless pictures, and other works of art, the mere contemplation of which, if it has not actually made life worth living,—many think it has,—certainly has contributed in an extraordinary degree towards ennobling existence and carrying the mind to higher things. In our own day has come a second Italian renaissance, and no one who has watched the modern progress of the gifted dwellers in that wonderful land but has become aware, not how inferior the second renaissance is to the first, but how much of noble sentiment has descended through long distracted times from the former period to the latter.

In this country our first renaissance was but a dim reflection of that in Italy, leavened first by French foibles, and later by Dutch conceits, but it is fair to say that throughout its course men strove after better things for better things' sake, there is nothing that is absolutely vulgar or purely offensive. Of the second or modern English renaissance it is unfortunately true to say that it has fallen at such a time in the life of the country that it has from various causes, chiefly commercial, been disturbed and dislocated in what might have been a dignified course by the demons of "restoration" unrest, notoriety, and "shoddy"—we may thank the Americans for the use of the last word, it is comprehensive and characteristic. We cannot trace much connection between the first English renaissance and the second ; but we know only too well that within the last fifty years from thirteenth century gothic cathedrals to eighteenth century silver

spoons, every art has been rummaged, ransacked, turned inside out, not for the sake of, or with a national and natural feeling for art, as has ever been the case in Italy, but apparently merely to pander to a craze for change, simply for the sake of novelty, and a movement that began in reason has ended in something very much akin to art chaos. And this present state of things is the more remarkable because at no previous period have the arts been so intelligently and closely studied, but the result shows that the "art manufacturers" have profited very little from the mass of books that have been provided for them. Occasionally a little bit of good detail trickles out and somehow "tickles" the public; it is immediately seized upon and applied in all directions to the wrong purposes, the wrongness apparently constituting its chief attraction; yet some of us are surprised that foreigners do not think us a cultivated nation!

If any quiet man still has doubts in his mind as to the general art record of the modern English renaissance let him spend an hour in the "Emporium" of a modern furnisher, for instance, whose "business" embraces "all the arts." Here he will behold "shoddy" in full cry and let him derive what comfort he may from the most harsh and violent productions in wood, glass, iron, and specially brass,—that beautiful metal which will surrender with such readiness to the artist's hand,—that have been since the beginning of time. That these horrors are to the taste of the average Englishman (in spite of all he has gone through), is shown by the fact that they sell readily, and if there were not at last some slight glimmering of improvement visible one would almost feel disposed to give the whole thing up in despair and ignore, even in the *Archæological Journal*, the appearance of any more new books dealing with "old unhappy far off things."

What a number of extraordinary popular delusions in both taste and dress a middle-aged Englishman has witnessed! "Gothic"; "blue china"; "peacocks' feathers"; "sun flowers"; "high art"; "Queen Anne"; "Japanese"; "Early English"; "Chippendale," and a hundred others have wearied astonished, or disgusted him by turns, the Tulip Mania and the South Sea Bubble have been quite put into the shade, "motley" has indeed long been his "only wear," and he may well acknowledge himself, in art as in costume, a proper descendent of the Englishman whose "mutabilitie" was satirized by Andrew Borden three hundred years ago:—

"I am an Englishman, and naked I stand here,  
Musing in my mynde what rayment I shall were,  
For now I will were this, and now I will were that,  
And now I will were I cannot tell what."

We have been led to the above considerations by the appearance of a new edition of a book that has held a good place during the last forty years, and which, doubtless, had its origin in the modern movement, and we gladly recognize that if the results of some studies, similarly encouraged, have been a good deal travestied, others have gone forward in the right way. For whatever the critical foreigner may think of our artistic efforts he must give us credit for the earnestness, truthfulness and success of our historical studies. To these, the stem of the tree of knowledge, students of costume may be proud to feel themselves usefully and closely connected, in fact, as Mr. Fairholt remarks in his preface to the second edition of *Costume in England*, "a knowledge of costume is in

some degree inseparable from a right knowledge of history." We cannot, indeed, correctly read the story of Senlac without having before us the pictures that live in the stitchwork, any more than we can completely realise the actors in the Barons' Wars, or the strife between the rival Houses, without some of the information that may be gained from the study of neglected and mouldering figures in out-of-the-way village churches, or, more important still, from the attentive examination of illuminated MSS.

Yet, unlike history, the subject of costume has ever been in the hands of comparatively few workers, but that it has been studied in a sound and solid manner has become gradually more apparent as, one by one, the books of Grose, Meyrick, Stothard, Bloxam, Waller, Hollis, Fairholt, Hewitt, and Planché, have set before us the pictures of our ancestors in court, camp, castle and cloister. He would be a captious critic who could now find much worth cavilling about in the mounting of any historic play or pageant that may be set before us, for what has been learnt has been learnt well.

But it may not be at once assumed that there is nothing more to find out; there are still many obscure points in armour that demand solution,—what, for example, is the piece called "tacle," and who will finally solve for us the mystery of the construction of "banded mail"?

Within the last few years the subject of armour specially has been more critically examined and classified, thanks, in great measure, to the acumen of the late Mr. Burges, and other members of the Archaeological Institute, such as Way and Bernhard Smith. We may honestly claim credit for the results and, above all, congratulate ourselves that so little harm,—we except, of course, such senseless mischief as the "restoration" of the Temple effigies, and the gilding of the statue of king John, at Worcester,—has been done to original examples in order to attain them. Would that we could say as much for the modern study of architecture!

It is well for us that we have thus gone forward; the Italians run us very close, as is shown by the solid brick "Castello Feodale del Secolo XV" set up two years ago in Turin and carried out with all its fittings, munitions of fifteenth century warfare, armour, decorations, and costume, with extraordinary accuracy and beauty. Apparently without an effort, bascinets and chapelles have been forged in single pieces, on the banks of the Po, and not a rivet out of its proper place, just as though the course of history had been arrested and there had been no span of five hundred years to bridge over.

It is well-known that Mr. Fairholt, with whose work we are now particularly concerned, was a very painstaking antiquary; he was a good draughtsman,—we believe he made his own drawings on the wood blocks, omitting, however sometimes to reverse them,—and the first edition of his "Costume in England," brought out in 1846, was well up to the knowledge of that time. Mr. Planché, as long ago as in 1834, had brought out his valuable little book on costume, and in the same year, Mr. Bloxam, the kindly veteran happily still among us, had published his "Glimpse." A second edition of "Fairholt" was issued in 1860, much enlarged, and again up to the knowledge of the day, and the third, or Revised Edition is at present before us.

This is, in many respects a new book. It is enlarged to two volumes so

that we have the History and the Glossary kept apart. This is a convenience, for while the book remains a Handbook, in more senses than one, it is still such that the student may carry about with him on his travels. We may certainly congratulate the publishers on having obtained the services of so capable, conscientious, and enthusiastic an editor as Mr. Dillon, and when we say that the book is a third time even with our present knowledge, and in many ways a good deal beyond it, we at once indicate the amount of careful labour that has been necessary to make it so. We ascertain from Mr. Dillon's preface that he "has striven to make such corrections and additions as the present state of knowledge of the subject demand." That this is an extremely modest way of telling us how much he has done soon becomes apparent if we turn over a few pages only of the book. "The quotations have been restored to their original spelling." The amount of vexatious labour that this statement implies is best known to those who have undertaken such a wearisome task. In the cases of armour and costume so very much depends upon the proper reading of a quotation that if this point alone had been dealt with in the revised edition the gain would have been great.

We rejoice that the editor has expunged the Druids. The little we know about them has been surrounded and darkened by such a mist of nonsense, that we are glad to have seen the last of them in a work where reliable information—simple truth,—is the first object.

We should also have rather liked to have seen that Flaxman's notion, which everyone quotes, that the figures of queen Eleanor at Northampton and Waltham are the work of Italians had also been set aside. Mr. Burges has pretty clearly shown in his admirable paper on the tombs at Westminster in Scott's "Gleanings," that the sculptor of the effigy of the queen was an Englishman. And it would appear from sources which Botfield made available in 1841, in his valuable contribution to the Roxburgh Club, that the figures at Waltham and Northampton were, in all probability, modelled from that very graceful statue. The figures of the queen at Geddington are inferior, and seem to be the work of a local sculptor. But all of them partake more of the character of the purely English school of sculpture, such as may be seen in its earlier character, (in spite of modern restorations), in the wonderful array in the west front of Wells cathedral church, than of that of Pisano.

Although Mr. Dillon's additions to the letterpress have been very sensibly worked into the "Fairholt" text, or inserted in notes, we think we can nevertheless without any reference to the former issues of the work, track the editor's improving touch page by page, and a more continuous and interesting story is the result, illustrated by apt and now correct quotations, by Mr. Fairholt's well-known illustrations, and,—we are grateful to him for them,—by numerous new wood-cuts from the delicate and faithful pencil of the editor.

It would be easy to extend our remarks far beyond the limit of the space at our command. The Glossary alone contains about two hundred new headings, forming an addition of much value; but we cannot, if we would, consider them one by one on this occasion, nor can we attempt to take the sections of the History *seriatim*, though we could linger long over more than one of them: each student will turn to his own particular period. For ourselves we went at once to "the Plantagenets," passing in review, as it were for the hundredth time, "helm and hauberk's

twisted mail," the varied harness and fascinating costume of the companions, soldiers, and subjects of the great Edward, and, at this distance of time, feeling rather disposed to be grateful to his unworthy son for his follies and extravagances, which produced the richest and most interesting armour and dress.

Mr. Dillon recognizes the value of an Index, and, unlike many persons similarly convinced, has taken the pains to give us one, as well as a capital list of illustrations, giving their *provenance*, and a list of books treating of costume.

As we intimated before, the modern renaissance gave a great impetus, and if some of the seeds of that movement fell among thorns, others, happily, fell upon good ground, as this book among many others of its class certainly shows." Additions and insertions there must always be, but Mr. Dillon tells us "the selection, rather than the supply of information has been the chief difficulty to contend with. We may therefore perhaps offer our sympathy in advance to the editor in the next century, who attempts to disentangle the amazing and bewildering intricacy, the almost daily change in the costume, if costume it is, of the last fifty years. To the present editor our warm thanks are justly due for the improvement he has made to the picture of our ancestors "in their habits as they lived" up to the end of the eighteenth century, and that this will be the feeling of every student of costume we have not the smallest doubt.

## POSTSCRIPT.

## MR. C. D. E. FORTNUM'S PAPER ON EARLY CHRISTIAN GEMS.

On again examining better impressions and the engraving of the gem described at page 169, line 9, *et seq.*, Mr. King finds that he has here given a wrong reading, "in consequence", he writes, "of my examining the letters through a defective transcript. It reads NEMEOIO H KYPIA METAHH, and thereby addresses the invocation to Nemesis and not to Isis, which adds greatly to the interest and rarity of the gem."

The globular fruit is, doubtless the apple, the straight line above and those below the left arm may represent the bridle, the gryphon holds the wheel, attributes of Nemesis.

C. D. E. FORTNUM.

## MR. J. V. GREGORY'S PAPER ON DEDICATION NAMES OF ANCIENT CHURCHES IN DURHAM AND NORTHUMBERLAND.

The church of *Alnwick* is dedicated to St. Michael only. The addition of St. Mary occurs in Randal (1778); but it has apparently arisen from a chantry dedication.

Alnwick abbey was dedicated to St. Mary only, as appears from its charters. The addition of St. James is also from Randal.

The name of St. WALERIC, though now extinct, existed on the Northumberland coast, in the twelfth century, in a chapel at *Newbiggin-by-the-Sea*; and the church of *Long-Houghton* is said to have been originally St. Peter and St. Waleric. St. Waleric (in French St. Valery), a shepherd of Auvergne who became abbot of Leuconay, now St. Valery-sur-Somme, and died about 619, was considered the patron of the mariners on the coast of Picardy.

*Auckland Castle*.—The present chapel, which dates from 1665, is dedicated to St. Peter.

J. V. GREGORY.



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